



Founded by
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

The MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY—1971

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXXVIII No. 1

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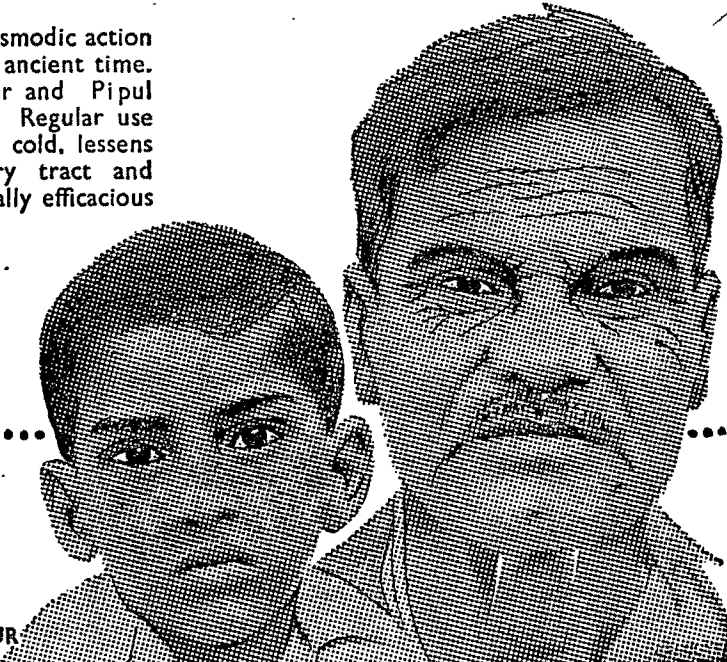
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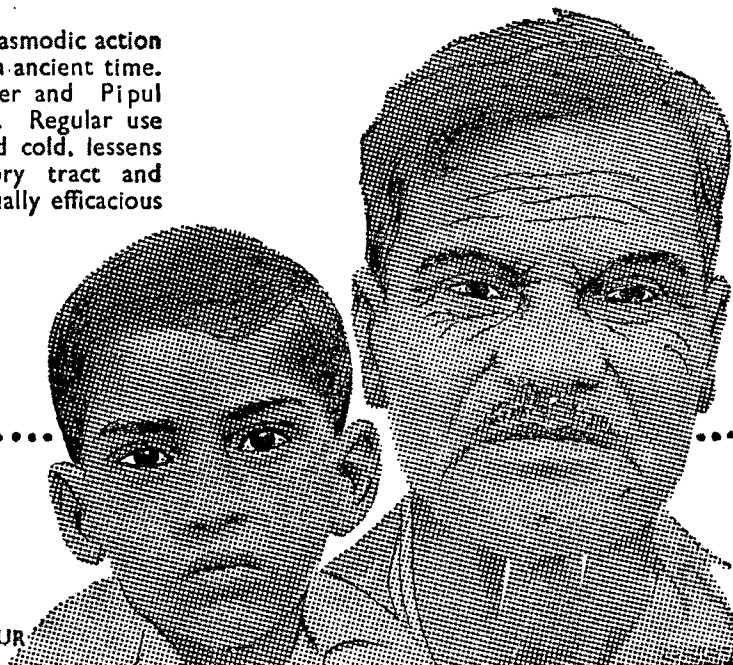
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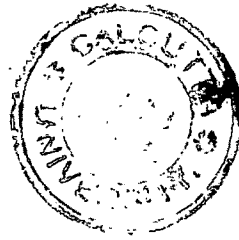
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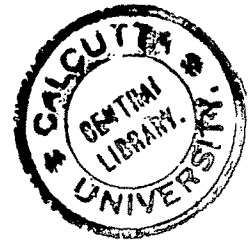
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SIR JADUNATH SARKAR



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NOTES

Jadunath Sarkar Birth Centenary

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the eminent historian was born on the 10th of December 1870, at Karachmaria village in the Rajshahi district of then undivided Bengal. His father Rajkumar Sarkar was well known among the elite of the period. Jadunath had a brilliant academic career having obtained scholarships at the Entrance, the Intermediate, the B. A. examinations and the Premchand Roychand scholarship too. He was equally qualified in English language and literature and in History. His first college appointment was as a teacher of English at the Surendranath College (then Ripon Collage) in 1893. Later he joined the Vidyasagar College (then the Metropolitan) and in 1898 the Presidency College Calcutta. This was a government job and he was transferred to the Patna College in 1899. He was again brought back to the Presidency College but taken back to Patna soon after. He remained thereafter at Patna for a long period and he began his historical research work during this period when he taught English as well as History. His thesis for the Premchand Roychand

Scholarship was on *India of Aurangzib, Topography, Statistics and Roads*. As Professor of History of the Patna College he wrote *Economics of British India, Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays, Chaitanye his Pilgrimages and Teachings* and the earlier portions of his famous *History of Aurangzib*. He had by this time established himself as an authority on Moghul History and the Government of India now took him into the Indian Educational Service (known as the Imperial Educational Service). As a member of the I. E. S. Professor Jadunath Sarkar was posted at the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, for some time ; but was returned to Patna in 1923. He remained at Patna till he retired in 1926. He was however made the Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University. He did this work for two years, but refused to accept a renewal for a further two years. He was very eager to give up all official work and to devote himself entirely to research. He now took up residence in Darjeeling and remained there till 1941. During the period before going to Darjeeling he completed the *History of Aurangzib* and wrote the following books : *Shivaji and*

his *Times*, *Studies in Moghul India*, *Moghul Administration*, and *India through the Ages*. At Darjeeling he completed *short History of Aurangzib, Bihar and Orissa during the Fall of the Moghul Empire*, *Fall of the Moghul Empire* (3 vols) *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, *House of Shivaji* and he contributed several chapters to the Cambridge History of India.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar had to leave Darjeeling for medical reasons and he took up residence at Calcutta in 1941. He edited many books, wrote several and contributed numerous original articles to well known journals. His contributions to the Modern Review have been many and most valuable. He wrote extensively also in Bengali and his contributions to the *Prabasi*, *Sahitya Parishad Patrika*, *Sanibarar Chithi* and other high class Bengali journals have been many. Sir Jadunath Sarkar had mastered many languages, such as, French, Portuguese, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Marathi etc. This helped him greatly in his research work. He was the first Indian Historian to undertake research work by laborious documentation and he trained many research students who carried on this line of work during and after their *guru's* personal presence on this Earth.

The centenary of the birth of Sir Jadunath Sarkar was celebrated at the Asiatic Society Hall by a joint committee of the Asiatic Society, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and Calcutta Historical Society. Several hundred admirers of the great scholar assembled at the centenary meeting which was presided over by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, prof. Nirmal Bose and many other well known persons addressed the meeting. The centenary celebrations committee deliberately cut out spectacular propaganda and publicity on this occasion as they felt Sir Jadunath would not have approved of any pompous display in connection with his birthday. He was extre-

mely allergic to demonstrative celebrations and always preferred the company of hand picked men of letters and scholars to crowds showering rose petals and shouting "jai, jai!" He even avoided collecting honorary doctorates from foreign and Indian Universities. The very sober and simple manner in which his birthday centenary was celebrated would have therefore received his approval, had he been there to witness it. Sir Jadunath was called "Bengalee Gibbon", quite early in his life and he well deserved to be classed with the greatest historians of the world. He placed many historical characters, like Shivaji Tipoo Sultan, Ranjit Singji, Maharaja Pratapaditya in their rightful place in Indian history. His vast knowledge and great analytical skill put right many mistakes and misjudgements of Western dabblers in Indian history. In this way he rendered a great service to India. The people of India should acknowledge this indebtedness in a fit and proper manner.

What Shape Socialism May Assume

Camouflage and make believe are the two faces of political propaganda which prevails in all countries where there are governments which bluff to rule and populations which are exploited and bluffed to be governed. For no governments can exist without acquiring a large share of the national incomes of the countries which are governed. This acquisition of wealth requires that large chunks of the nation's capital too will be taken over by the governments. The more the governments grab the capital assets of the nations the more socialistic the states are declared to be. But wage earners continue to remain there in large numbers; only they are employed and exploited by the state rather than by private employers. Exploitation of man by man is changed to exploitation of man by collective bodies of men, namely the state. It in no

way changes the nature of the exploitation in so far as the workers produce much more than what comes to them in wages. But in many allegedly totalitarian states, where communism operates as the political principle of government, very definitely capitalistic arrangements are coming into existence now a days, which enable some privileged individuals to earn wealth through the labour of other individuals. One such communist country is the German Democratic Republic, where there are reported to be 3500 privately owned business establishments which employ ten to seventy workers each on wages which are much less than the value produced by the persons who earn the wages. If we assume the average number of employees of these establishments to be forty; then we have about 140000 wage earners in the G.D.R. who are exploited by their fellow men. Besides these 3500 establishments there are another 5000 establishments partly owned by private persons conjointly with the state, which employ workers in fairly large numbers. An establishment may have over 500 workers and an annual product of five to ten million marks (1 to 2 crore rupees). The persons owing a share in such establishments earn fairly large salaries over and above their share of the profits. These profits, even after deduction of income tax at a very high rate make the total earnings of the share holders quite substantial. They are no less rich than most rich people in capitalistic societies.

Our Socialist Pattern of economy has an outlook in which certain economic institutions have to belong to the state. So far these include life insurance, banks, railways, electricity companies, ship building yards, petroleum and by-products refineries, steel factories (new ones) and air craft manufacturing concerns. Alongside of these nationalised institutions, which have only propaganda value, we have a wide net-work of economic

organisations which exploit the people quite ruthlessly. Money lending at exorbitant rates of interest, adulterating consumption goods, profiteering by sellers of various kinds of goods such as fish, meat, eggs, poultry, milk, edible oils, butter, ghee etc.; car makers fixing high prices for their cars without reference to cost of production, high fees for lawyers, doctors, technical experts and others—all that and many more can be mentioned to show how the public are exploited. Life insurance or banking did not exploit the public and these institutions have not become any better from the social point of view by being nationalised. There is now intensive propaganda against private ownership of large houses. Though when it comes to rack renting of tenants, the large house owner is left far behind by those who build and hire out the cheap huts in the *bustees*. The state protects the *thika* tenants who pay a rent of a few rupees per month for small plots of land and put up 250 rupees huts on the same for renting out to working class people. They quite often realise Rs.30/- p.m. by putting up a hut on a 100sq. ft. plot for which they pay their land lord only Re1/- per month as rent. The bustee hut owners earn 50 to 100 per cent return on the money they invest. Of all anti-social exploiters of fellow human beings, these hut owners are some of the worst. While our socialist pattern makers are doing propaganda to dispossess house owners, farm land owners and share holders of banks and insurance companies, they are giving highly lucrative contracts, supply orders and very highly paid jobs to thousands of undeserving people all over India. These men, the contractors and order suppliers, are experts in corrupt practices and they make friends with high ranking people with the greatest ease. What they spend to buy influence they realise by exploitation of their workers.

The socialist pattern therefore allows many

major evils of our economic life to continue unhampered ; and takes particular interest in destroying rights and privileges of a far less harmful type. Playing to the gallery is the basic principle of India's propaganda for socialism. So far it has done more harm than good to the people of India. In our socialistic pattern of economic organisation we have the state as a monopolist. Railways, airlines, bus services in big cities, life insurance, telephones, gas and electricity suppliers and many other lines of trade and commerce have been monopolised by the state. The state acts, like a monopolist too and gives, as little as possible for the highest price they can extort from the consumers of these goods and services.

Elections Again

Nobody is or can be an expert in matters political relating to India. The modern political developments in India began when the national front declared their disapproval of the imperial British management of India's affairs. This happened in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the beginning things were rather mild and rested on words and arguments. But, when in 1905 Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal, politics became super heated and we had moderates, extremists and terrorists ; not to speak of mass movements for the boycott of British goods, for building up our own economy by producing "swadeshi" or home-made commodities of all kinds. The Russian revolution of 1917, Gandhiji's non-violent non-cooperation, the attempts to organise armed risings for pushing the British out of India ; added a variety of motifs to the grand structure of Indian politics. After that came various other additions to our political thought and endeavour. Communism, socialism and their different sub-divisions began to confuse our minds. The religions affected political thinking too and we had the Muslim League

the Hindu Mahasabha, the Akalis and so forth. After independence, obtained by dividing India into two independent states, we had linguistic and regional differences which gave rise to further political opinions. And nobody knows clearly how many political parties, sub-parties and secret societies there are in India to-day. A very large number, led by the Ruling Congress, the Organisation Congress, the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party Marxists, the Socialist party, the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Swatantra Party, Jan Sangh, the Muslim Leagues, the American Agents, the Russian Fifth Column and the Chinese Infiltrators. The alphabets are used freely by permutation and combination, to give new names to new political groups and alliances until they vie successfully with the various World Organisations under the United Nations.

Indian political parties have ideologies and platforms but it would be a very difficult task to distinguish one party from another precisely and clearly by any intelligible analysis of their purpose, aims and objects or principles. Broad divisions can be made, such as Nationalistic and Anti-National, socialistic and non-socialistic, Muslim and non-Muslim, upholding individual rights and wishing to establish a totalitarian form of government. Generally speaking most parties excepting the Communists of different categories, are nationalistic. The Communists are anti-national, no matter what they pretend to be. They are Russian aided, Chinese inspired or of an indigenous brew which has a strong foreign flavour in so far as they want to establish a dictatorship in India with the support of foreigners. Among the nationalistic parties the Congress (R) have sociatistic pretensions but their socialism has a definite complexion which limits state control and ownership to Life Insurance, Banks, selected

industries or branches of trade or commerce. For purposes of show the Congress (R) would like to fix ceilings for land holdings, value of urban property, incomes and this or that. But private rights, privileges and evil anti-social practices would continue behind the scene as the old bureaucracy and political miscreants would be allowed to stay on with additional newly created V. I. P.s. The Congress (O) if brought back to power would be no better—perhaps far worse as they could produce a galaxy of hardened exploiters of the gullible masses. The communists of all kinds are anti-national and any victory for them would surely mean the end of Indian culture and civilisation. Whether people would get more food and clothing is a matter of conjecture. For it is an established fact that the people of any country usually get a lesser share of what they produce, when they set up a communist form of government. It would not be any different for Indians; for the reason that Indian communists have all the disabilities connected with productive skill and talent for economic planning that other Indian politicians suffer from. A communist India will begin its career by the death of millions through starvation and, later, settle down to play third fiddle in a world order in which freedom from want will play a relatively unimportant part. The so-called socialist groups are second string communists in so far as their talents for governance go. They are, moreover very badly disorganised and split up into numerous sub-categories and are unlikely to produce a capable and winning front.

If Indians can set up new candidates who have not been too closely associated with the old order of politicians and who are distinguished by reason of their high moral calibre, education, technical skill or organisational ability, they may change the face of Indian politics which has latterly not been

very attractive or promising. We want men who can do things or get things done in a capable manner and not just act flashily or try to impress the crowds by tales of affluence and freedom from illiteracy, ill health, malnutrition and lack of roads, drinking water, housing and all else that India wants but cannot get. The old order of politicians have proved to be useless for India. We do not want the same or the same sort of men and women, no matter what names they adopt. We want better men and women who can solve our numerous problems in a sure and certain manner within a short period of time and at a reasonable cost.

Price Increase in Medicines, Paper and Cotton.

We have got so used to increase in price of most commodities that we shall be doubting our sanity if we were to discover some day that prices were beginning to fall. But such a possibility is utterly unlikely and we should not worry about such an eventuality. The latest phase of rising prices have affected three very important articles of common use. Medicines were subjected to price control by a minister Dr. Triguna Sen, who thought medicines should not cost as much as they did. His price control was apparently carried out without any careful study of costs of manufacture and the result was that about 30 per cent of the very important medicines went underground. Some took the price control without any difficulty and the rest adjusted quality to suit the new prices so that people are having to pay black market prices for some essential medicines which are higher than the original open market prices. The extra profit in black is enabling them to sell certain medicines at the new reduced rate of prices without any loss on the whole.

Paper prices have increased unduly and the result is higher prices of books; school

college texts and others. There is also shortage in supplies and students are having to go round shops to get books or being told to come back after so many days. Journals and newspapers which have not much income from advertisement are beginning to face losses. Modern civilisation needs cheap supply of printed books, journals, newspapers and also diaries, copy books, catalogues, forms, medical and other literature in large quantities. Cheap and sufficient supplies of paper are essential for the running of modern social institutions. Next to bread education. And education becomes impossible without necessary supply of paper.

We donot have to dilate upon the requirement of cotton in so far as we know that in a hot country almost all clothing is made of cotton. In the cold weather we use cotton for quilts which provide the majority of the people with bedding. Cotton goods also are exported from India in large quantities and for the manufacture of those articles of export we need cotton. The rise in the price and the shortage in the supply of cotton will effect our exports. Cheaper, better and more cotton will help us to stabilise our economy.

Economic planning by experts had many faults in our country. It was pointed out by many knowledgeable persons from time to time that India's planning was proceeding on assumptions rather than on facts. Elaborate calculations based on insufficient and incorrect data have made things unevenly balanced after spending thousands of millions of rupees. Not enough was done to produce all essential ingredients of medicines in India. Foreign parent holders were permitted to do what they liked in a haphazard and thoughtless manner. Indian producers were not backed in a suitable manner. Paper production also was neglected. In the matter of cotton cultivation, there had been negligence both in regard to quantity and quality. Had timely steps been

taken to assure the growth of medicine manufacture, paper production and cotton cultivation, the present imbalances and shortages in supply would not have happened.

Change of Leadership in Poland

The old order is changing in the communist world. The people are no longer accepting suffering in a dumb and unprotesting manner. In Poland bad management of economic affairs led to great price increases. People got less and less of food due to wage freeze and 300 people died in food riots in Gdansk. Great resentment was expressed by demonstrating crowds and public pressure caused the replacement of Mr. Gomulka by Edward Gierk. Four politburo members were removed. They were Boleslaw Jaszezuk, Zenon Kliszko, Marshal Marian Spychalski and Ryszard Strzelecki. This is perhaps the first time that public pressure has removed top party men from a communist state. The nation has come on top in a struggle with the party. Mr. Gierk, a leader from the mines and industries has been a critic of the Gomulka coterie for their economic policy. He is a practical man who judges theories by their effectiveness. Whether he will be considered a reformer by the Russians is a question which can not be answered until Mr. Gierk does a few things to give Poland a new look.

Year 1970

The year 1970 is now over. It has not been a very happy period in the history of many countries. Internal disorder, clashes with outsiders, natural calamities and other troubles and difficulties had to be faced by many nations. Development of human ideals did not proceed to any greater heights in any sphere of man's existence. Colour bar was intensified in some lands ; Jews and Arabs did not arrive at any settlement of their disputes, rather foreign assistance to both increased and strengthened their determination to be

unreasonable ; Indian politics developed more symptoms of secondary and tertiary complications, linguism, communalism and partisan attitudes becoming stronger and more obnoxious ; even communism showed signs of political diseases customarily affecting non-communist countries. The only good signs noticed anywhere were in the economic field and in lands unaffected by complexities of foreign policy. West Germany, Japan and Canada were relatively happier, if one overlooked cases of hijacking, kidnapping and Hara Kiri by important persons. Calcutta's 1970 was full of lawlessness and inhuman crimes motivated politically and found uncontrollable by the President's Raj. Our Police have always been inefficient in checking crime and they did not build up a new reputation for enforcing law and order in 1970.

Murder of a Vice-Chancellor

The murder of sixty year old Dr. Gopal Chandra Sen, vice-chancellor of Jadabpur University, was a crime which for sheer base cowardliness, inhuman bestiality and senseless ferocity beats all the vile records of crime set up by the "idealistic" lunatics of West Bengal. Dr. Gopal Chandra Sen is possibly the first vice-chancellor in history who has been thus assassinated. The West Bengal police and the "brain trust" of New Delhi have so far failed to do anything noticeable for the control of crime in this state. Governor Dhawan, who is a trusted miracle-maker of the Central Government is probably trying to induce a "change of heart" in West Bengal's wagon breakers, bag snatchers and Chinese fifth column; but his behind-the-scene contact men appear to be in an inspirational vacuum which they share with the Governor. After this ghastly murder Mrs. Gandhi should do something with the West Bengal Police, the CRP and the Governor. We can only express

our strong revulsion for this low and meaningless crime and convey our deepest sympathy to the family members of the late Gopal Chandra Sen.

Supreme Court on Privy Purses

When A promises to give something to B which, let us say for argument's sake, B has no economic, ethical or normal right to get ; A should give that something to B in order to fulfil and honour his undertaking and promise. We said repeatedly that the Indian government should give the Princes the money that was described as their privy purse ; as it was an undertaking given by the government of India, freely and without being forced or duped in any manner whatsoever. But the government of India thought it wise and just to break their pledge by taking shelter in legislation. It was not a very fair and honourable thing to do. We all know and agree that there should be no hereditarily privileged classes and we have known that long before the present political leaders of India came into power and started delivering long speeches on matters about which the people required no instruction or lessons. But we nevertheless felt that an agreement to make certain payments was an agreement which could not be broken without loss of prestige, honour and credit. Law making cannot release a government from its solemn undertakings.

The Supreme Court has given their judgement on the matter of the Law enacted for abolishing the princes' privy purse payments. The law enacted for discontinuing these payments and for depriving the princes of their other privileges has been judged invalid by the highest court of India. When rulers think that they can do what they like by using their parliamentary majority ; they can, if not deterred in time, repudiate their national debt. legalise murder, adultery and

robbery with violence, and render all sales, purchases and contracts only tenable so long as the ruling factions chose to allow them to be upheld. Such possibilities would make a parliamentary majority a menace to human civilisation and a destroyer of all moral values.

Opposition Getting Stronger

The Ruling Congress is hoping to consolidate their position by the mid-term elections. They think that in several States they will get a majority of the Lok Sabha seats. They have doubts about some States like Kerala and West Bengal where the Congress have latterly been the least popular. But the recent formation of S. V. D. governments in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar point to developments which are not favourable to the Congress (R). No doubt these are coalition governments and the majority of the Lok Sabha seats may go to Congress (R) inspite of the S.V.D. governments in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. But, again, they (Congress R.) may not win in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, thus making the Congress (R) position shakier at the Centre. In any case the Congress (R) cannot expect a walk over in these mid-term elections and they have to put in their best even to retain their present position.

Losses in Public Sector Business

We hear that nationalisation of business and industries will be taken up by government on a wider scale in the near future. There are no rational grounds for thinking on such lines, for nationalised industries had not been managed profitably so far by the managers employed by the state. The half year ending September 1970 saw losses of Rs. 9.35 crores in the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Rs 8.76 crores in Hindustan Steel, Rs 5.14

crores in Neyveli Lignite Corporation, Rs 3.54 crores in Heavy Electrical and Rs 4.76 crores in Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals. State Trading Corporation showed profits probably for the reason that it exported and imported other people's products mostly on others peoples' account. The Indian Telephone industries made profits, but then its products had to be purchased by the state at prices fixed by the state on a non-competitive basis.

Nationalisation of economic institutions is justified by assumptions which turn out to be unfounded in facts. One assumption is that nationalisation cuts out private profit and thus enables the public to obtain goods at a fair and just price. It also assures quality as private profit makers cheat the buyers by lowering quality. Facts show that inspite of national ownership the state owned industries give ample scope to private contractors, suppliers of materials and machinery agents and various other associated persons to make profits by increasing expenses of the parent organisation. The idea that nationalisation enables the best workers to be engaged in the jobs most suited to their talents, also appear to be an utterly false assumption in so far as nationalised industries carry non-productive workers in large numbers and cannot carry out any rational personnel policy worth the name. Nationalisation appears to be the total negation of Rationalisation. The profit motive in private enterprise is a great check on waste and a stimulus to a highly productive outlook. Socialistic thoughts at high level do not guarantee any urges for thrift or high production in the managers or the workers of socialised establishments.

THE ROLE OF CHARACTER IN THE MODERN NOVEL SOME REFLECTIONS

R. N. MOOKERJEE

Of the features of the modern novel, one of the most conspicuous is the absence of memorable characters. While the Victorian novel presents us with an array of glittering men and women who stand out and remain permanently impressed on our minds, the modern novel hardly presents any worth remembering. The denuding of character seems to be an integral part of contemporary fiction. As C. E. M. Joad points out, "The great triumph of the Victorian novelists lay in their ability to create characters, and it is the absence of memorable and outstanding characters which constitutes the chief difference between the Victorian novel and the modern."¹ Almost all the important nineteenth-century novelists considered the creation of character as one of the most important elements of their craft, and did, in fact, possess the gift of creating characters. Their books teem with real live people, as round and rich and vital as their flesh-and-blood prototypes. The characters of Dickens and Thackeray, George Eliot and the Brontes, Trollope and Mrs. Gaskell are undoubtedly among the most memorable achievements of fiction. A mere look at the number of Victorian novels having the name of the hero or the heroine as their title gives an idea of the prominence they gave to this aspect of fiction. By their characters they set great store. They rarely introduced them without a lot of fan-fare and descriptive matter preceding them. One can get any number of illustrations in Dickens. Even such an unimportant character as Mrs. Corney, widow

and matron of the workhouse in *Oliver Twist* is given three full pages of preliminary description. Mr. Podsnap, in *Our Mutual Friend*, who plays no part in the main story, is described in three pages before Dickens allows him to open his mouth. This elaborate introduction of the characters was undoubtedly symptomatic of the importance they had in the Victorian novel.

The modern novel, beginning with the Edwardians, presents a striking contrast to the Victorian in this respect. "An array of memorable characters," as Joad remarks, "is precisely what the modern novel does not provide... When we come to the most modern writers, Joyce and Lawrence, Huxley and Virginia Woolf, the memorable character has disappeared altogether. It is difficult to remember so much as the name of any of the personages in these later books."² Miss Mary McCarthy, after a rather extensive examination of this subject, also comes to a similar conclusion: "the great national portrait gallery that constituted the English novel is short of new acquisitions. The sense of character began to fade with D. H. Lawrence. After *Sons and Lovers*, we do not remember figures in Lawrence's books, except for a few short malicious sketches. There are hardly any people in Virginia Woolf or in Forster or Elizabeth Bowen or Henry Green."³ Even a Marxist critic, Ralph Fox, bemoans the death of the hero in the modern novel and writes: "It seems an unnecessary platitude to emphasize that a novel should be chiefly

concerned with the creation of character. Unfortunately, except in a formal sense, this is no longer in fact the chief concern of modern novelists. Novels today are concerned with almost everything but human character."⁴ We are led to the conclusion that "a concern with character in the old sense—ideas of verisimilitude, believability, pleasure in the character for its own sake—these have not been respectable responses to fiction for a long time."⁵

Once, however, this premise is accepted, it raises an important question. Does it mean that the moderns are inferior to the Victorians and are incapable of creating characters to match their predecessors? Such an inference would not only be totally unjustified but also grossly mistaken. Few can deny that the modern novelists have made a tremendous advance in the art of the novel and their achievements are enough indication of their skill in the craft of fiction. The disparity, therefore, arises not from any inferiority of talent, but is a logical outcome of a difference of aim. It is proposed to examine in the following pages the views of the novelists themselves on the role of character in the novel, their interpretation of character, and make an attempt to account for the disappearance of Victorian-type characters from the pages of the modern novel.

II

A study of the novel as an art and detailed examination of the various aspects of fiction was begun by Henry James. It is James, more than any one else, who sums up the modern novelist's attitude towards character, which is applicable to the modern novel in a wide sense. In his essay, "The Art of Fiction," James says, "What is character but the determination of incident? What is incident but the illustration of character? What is either

a picture or a novel that is not of character? What else do we seek in it? It is an incident for a woman to stand up with her hand resting on a table and look out at you in a certain way; or if it be not an incident I think it will be hard to say what it is. At the same time it is an expression of character."⁶ In these words James strikes the keynote of the modern novelist's attitude towards this problem of which first: character or plot? He further clarifies: "Character, in any sense in which we can get it, it is action, and action is plot, and any plot which hangs together, even if it pretend to interest us only in the fashion of a Chinese puzzle, plays upon our emotion, our suspense, by means of personal reference. We care for people only in proportion as we know what people are."⁷

All the major novelists who followed James, the 'Edwardians' as termed by Mrs. Woolf, acknowledge that character is important. It is interesting to note that the starting point of Mrs Woolf's famous lecture, "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown," is the following remark of Arnold Bennett: "The foundation of good fiction is character-creation and nothing else. . . Style counts; plot counts; originality of outlook counts. But none of these counts so much as the convincingness of the characters."⁸ John Galsworthy thinks, that "vitality of character creation is the key to such permanence as may attach to the biography, the play, and the novel."⁹ Mrs Virginia Woolf expresses herself on this point exhaustively and a major part of her lecture referred to earlier is devoted to her interpretation of Character. About the role of character in the novel, she says, "I believe that all novels, that is to say, deal with character, and that it is to express character—not to preach doctrines, sing songs, or celebrate the glories of the British Empire, that the form of the novel, so clumsy, verbose, and undramatic, so rich, elastic, and alive, has

been evolved."¹⁰ To make herself more explicit, she adds: "But novelists differ from the rest of the world because they do not cease to be interested in character when they have learnt enough about it for practical purposes. They go a step further; they feel that there is something permanently interesting in character in itself.... The study of character becomes to them an absorbing pursuit; to impart character an obsession."¹¹

A number of other novelists, though not prepared to give such unqualified prominence to character over all other aspects of fiction, nevertheless, acknowledge that it is important. Miss Elizabeth Bowen, who finds the claim of plot greater and holds that "characters are called into existence by the demands of the plot,"¹² is at the same time prepared to concede that our interest in the novel is largely because of the characters. "Would you or I, as readers, be drawn into a novel—implicated with what may be its other issues, at all—if our interest was not pegged to the personalities and the outlooks and the actions of the people whom we encounter inside the story? They are the attractive element in the book."¹³ She, like Henry James, feels that character and action are intimately linked: "The character is there [in the novel] for the sake of the action he or she is to contribute to the plot. Yes. But also, he or she exists outside the action contributed to the plot. Without that existence of the character outside the action, the action itself would be invalid."¹⁴ W. Somerset Maugham, primarily interested in the story, however, does not approve of the novelist's exclusive concern with characterization. "At present there is a tendency," he remarks, "to dwell on characterization rather than on incident and, of course, characterization is important; for unless you come to know intimately the persons of a novel, and so can sympathize with them,

you are unlikely to care what happens to them. But to concentrate on your characters, rather than on what happens to them, is merely one way of writing a novel like another. The tale of pure incident, in which the characterization is perfunctory or commonplace has as much right to exist as the other."¹⁵ Graham Greene, concerned in his novels with the larger issues of sin and corruption in life which does not afford much opportunity for ambitious character-creation, nevertheless, considers character as vital. He even suggests that a novel can stand on the basis of character alone. Writing of Mauriac's great power of creating characters, he declares: "Described as plots his novels would sometimes seem to flicker like an early film. But who would attempt to describe them as plots? Wipe out the whole progression of events and we would be left still with the characters in a way I can compare with no other novelist. Take away Mrs. Dalloway's capability of self-expression and there is not merely no novel but no Mrs. Dalloway: take away the plot from Dickens and the characters who have lived so vividly from event to event would dissolve. But if the Comtesse de Mirbil had not committed adultery, if Jean's guardian, the evil Papal Zouave, had never lifted a hand against him...the characters, we feel, would have continued to exist in identically the same way."¹⁶

Many other novelists have not specifically expressed themselves on this aspect in their writings on the art of fiction. E. M. Forster devotes two chapters to what he terms 'people' in his book, *Aspects of the Novel*, but his concern is with character-portrayal and its methods and not its significance. It is, however, worth noticing that the majority of the modern novelists agree that character is an important element in the novel, though, in their views on its relative importance, they differ. Yet one looks in vain for great characters in their

books. This seeming incompatibility is explained only when one understands that what the modern novelists mean by character is something very different from what the Victorians had in mind. It is this difference of conception of character which, besides other factors, is the basic reason for the absence of Victorian-type characters.

III

It has been stated that the modern novelists, by and large, do think that the creation of character is an important element of the novelist's work. But when they talk of character, they are more interested in rendering a true-to-life image of the human being, probing into the innermost recesses of his mind. The great nineteenth century characters, memorable no doubt, hardly show any such concern, and are relatively less complex.

The real point of difference, thus, is the new and different meaning the moderns give to character. Mrs. Woolf wants this distinction to be clearly understood: "To express character, I have said; but you will at once reflect that the very widest interpretation can be put upon those words. For example, old Mrs. Brown's character will strike you very differently according to the age and country in which you happen to be born. ...And then besides age and country there is the writer's temperament to be considered. You see one thing in character, and I another. You say it means this, and I that. And when it comes to writing each makes a further selection on principles of his own. Thus Mrs. Brown can be treated in an infinite variety of ways, according to the age, country, and temperament of the writer."¹⁷ It is, therefore, quite incorrect to assume that the modern novel ignores characters at the cost of ideology, or the plot or the story. If we do not find Victorian-type heroic figures in modern novels, it is because

the modern novelist finds that such figures hardly exist in life. Even if some such figures exist, he is not interested in them only. Arnold Bennett had said that, "the race of heroes is essential to art"¹⁸; but if there are hardly any heroes in the society which the artist depicts, how can one expect them? As James says in "The Art of Fiction", "the only reason for the existence of a novel is that it does attempt to represent life." Even Galsworthy, who is more close to the Victorians than the moderns so far as technique is concerned, felt that "the demand for the heroic character in fiction is, indeed, the cry of such as do not understand the implications of their own request. It is a sure sign of inexperience; and, in general, evidence of a deficient aesthetic sense."¹⁹

A number of other reasons have been advanced to account for the absence of character (Conventional) in the modern novel. D. J. Hughes mentions the following: "Freudian, psychology, of loss of personal and social authority, the dazzling example of Kafka, that undefined determinant we have come to call the Human Condition, etc."²⁰ Miss Mary McCarthy thinks that it is due to the loss of interest in the social: "the fictional experiments of the twentieth century went in two directions: sensibility and sensation. The effect of these two tendencies on the subject matter of the novel was identical. Sensation and sensibility are the poles of each other, and both have the effect of abolishing the social. Sensibility, like violent action, annihilates the sense of character."²¹

These explanations are valid to an extent, but the basic reason lies in the change of outlook towards character. This change and its resulting impact on the contemporary novel is, in turn, due to the psychological approach of the modern novelist, his desire to look inside his men and women, and not be content with his external actions. To him "the principal

material of fiction is the inner life of minds under the stress of situations."²² Unlike the nineteenth-century novelist, whose object was to create characters from an external view, to point a moral or to adorn a tale, the modern writers's chief concern is to find out exactly what people are like, and to record his discoveries. Joseph Warren Beach draws attention to the fact that "the novel has generally concerned itself with that which most interests men, action; and the subjective moments are such as bear upon a definite line of conduct. In our day an extra-ordinary amount of interest has been shown in what we may call passive states of mind, states undirected by what Arnold terms 'our sense of conduct.'"²³

Once interest in the actions of men ceases, the disappearance of the Victorian-type characters logically follows. If the novelist sets out to convey the whole variety of contradictory moods and impulses which is a person, entering with other persons similarly constituted into relations which inevitably reflect the shifting characteristics of their constituents, it is hardly possible for him to produce a straightforward tale in which clear-cut personages, reacting according to their natures, play their appointed and predictable parts. On the contrary, the story is bound to be unimportant, the characters scarcely remembered. Hence, the modern novelist, since he moves "into the labyrinthine realms of inner being,"²⁴ is not expected to be concerned at all with the Victorian sense of character. In fact, according to the psychological novelist, the portrayal of character (as he understands it) is hardly possible, for, to him, as David Daiches puts it, "character is a process not a state, and the truth about men's reactions to their environment—and what is a man's character but his reactions to environment, actual and potential?—can be presented

only through some attempt to show this process at work. An understanding of this view can help us to understand one of the main directive forces at work in contemporary fiction."²⁵ In their sense of the term, these novelists are, therefore, deeply concerned with character and all their experimentation with technique has been motivated by their desire to find a suitable means of expressing what they think is character. In *Ulysses*, for instance, Joyce's narrative hangs loosely on its borrowed Homeric framework, but its concern is really with character, not plot. The hero has not really disappeared: he has been so changed that we are unable to recognize him. As Professor Leon Edel observes: "Marcel unravelling his life at Cambray, Stephen strutting with his ashplant, Bloom eating the Kidney in Eccles Street, Moly submerged in her sexual fantasies—these are hardly the noble exalted, developed figures of the old novels. Granted we have moved from the open air of Waterloo and the Napoleonic battles on the route to Moscow, into the corklined room, the Martello tower, or even the privy in Eccles Street. We touch here on the question whether a figure is diminished in stature because we see it in its more mundane character."²⁶

From the foregoing analysis, it becomes quite obvious that the importance and role of character in fiction has not diminished in the modern novel. However, it is equally evident that while the modern novel has gained in reflecting the complexity of human character, it has lost in the creation of memorable characters, which was one of the outstanding achievements of their predecessors. Writing in 1947 about the future of fiction, V. S. Pritchett said that whatever happens it is reasonable to say that the interest in character for its own sake has gone, and that the real subject of the best writing now being done is that impersonal shadow, "the contemporary situation."²⁷ This

is perhaps true in a way, and an interest in character as such may never again be seen. However, there seems to be a tendency in the fiction of recent years to break away from the tradition of the novelists of the twenties who were ever experimenting with form and psychological enquiry. In his recent book, *Reflections on a Literary Revolution*, Graham Hough records that he finds, "two influential novelists of the present generation who are not at all parochial but very much men of the world. Mr Angus Wilson and Sir Charles Snow, have expressed or implied or suggested a large lack of interest in the experimental fiction of the twenties; their suasions are toward the large-scale socially oriented novel."²⁸ Among others there is an increasing awareness of the possibilities that lay before the novelist in concentrating on character and one wonders if "this theme, the novelist in search of a character to write about, might not become an important strategy for the novelists in the coming years."²⁹

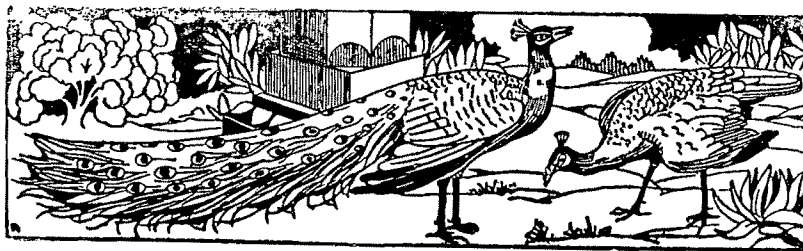
After decades of experimentation and innovation in the form and content of the modern novel, the present novelists seem to be getting free of the excessive preoccupation with form and as William Van O'Connor remarks, "leap back of Mrs Woolf and Joyce—to the pre-modern Bennett."³⁰ The books of John Baine, David Storey, and Alan Sillitoe are not very different from Bennett's, and "deal with their subjects in a manner he might have employed."³¹ Is this a prelude to the reinstatement of character (in the sense of heroic personages) to its former place of prime importance in fiction? Time only will say. One conclusion, can, however, be safely drawn; whatever its relative place in the novel of the future be, character will continue to be an important element in the art of the novel. "There are certain primary reasons why the creation of individual character as the chief

motive and function of the novelist may never be adequately replaced by the pursuit of fine writing, verbose dialectics, vibrational reproductions of life, or even by these subtle expositions of the generalized human soul."³² These words of Galsworthy will continue to be valid irrespective of time, for as Miss Bowen says, "One thing we may be certain of: people are the novel's concern, and with people the novel will remain involved; though who they are and what parts they are to play may change with time and the showing may change accordingly."³³

NOTES

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LOBBIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS AT WORK IN NEW DELHI

DIPAK B. R. CHAUDHURI

(Though the C. B. I. and Central Intelligence Bureau have already made some progress in identifying the lobbyists and liaison men of the major business interests and foreign powers, the present author feels that the Parliament should adopt legislative measure for registration of all types of lobbyists and the Council for Social Sciences Research should sponsor depth studies of the various existing and emergent pressure or interest groups operating in the country)

Every democratic society worthy of the name must have some lawful means by which individuals and groups can lay their needs before various branches of the government. One of the central purposes of government is that people should be able to reach it; the principal purpose of what we call 'lobbying' is that they should be able to reach it with maximum impact and possibility of success.

In the American constitution the 'right to petition' the government and the legislature is guaranteed by the First Amendment. In our constitution, the right to petition the legislatures has not been specifically mentioned, but the rules of both Houses of the Parliament anticipate petitions. The term 'lobbying' has been in common usage for approximately 100 years and has been given many definitions. In the language of contemporary political science, 'lobbying' is the activity of representing the cause of an interest group in the political system.

Lobbying is an integral and often constructive part of the legislative process, not as a source of information that Congress must have in the enactment of sound laws and as an outlet for the aims and desires of special

interest groups. But systematic and well planned operations of large pressure groups prevent rather than encourage the balanced compromises that are the goal of the democratic system.

At this stage, it is necessary to define the terms 'interest groups' (also described as pressure groups). An interest is simply a concern shared by a large number of individuals. An interest group is an organisation of individuals who share one or more interests and who try to influence decisions of the political system so as to promote their interests. A lobbyist is an individual hired by an interest group to represent its cause before the political and administrative decision makers.

Both political parties and pressure groups are unofficial instruments of government—that is they are not provided for in the constitution and they are not among those governmental institutions whose actions are binding on the society. Yet their unofficial actions have a most important bearing on how public decisions are made. While parties are broadbased groups able to appeal to a fairly wide range of interests and philosophies, pressure groups memberships are generally limited to those who share a common affiliation and interest or to those who subscribe to a specific position on a particular issue. Lobbies and pressure groups seek to influence the government while the political parties seek to organise and control it.

Private interest groups justify their private interests in terms of public principles. It would appear that private interest groups generally see themselves as rivals in a contest

for advantage, entitled to be given a 'fair' weighting rather than to have their claims to a public interest considered. The inclusive objective of pressure groups is to influence public policy in some desired direction. The techniques which will promote that objective are varied: gaining access to and influence in the centres where governmental decisions are made, developing favourable attitudes among the public at large and in other groups or influencing the nomination and election of favourably disposed candidates.

As a result of their interest representation function interest-groups play an important role in generating support for the political system. Whenever persons are able to influence them they are likely to give support to the political system.

Major pressure groups can be classified in the following categories—Economic Interest Groups e.g. Farmers' Parliamentary Forum, Fertiliser Assn. Concorde FICCI, TUCS 2. Ideological Interest Groups e.g. Prohibition lobby, Anti-Cow-Slaughter lobby etc. 3. Economic-Ideological Interest Groups e.g. Forum of free enterprise (late Mr. Nehru described the Swatantra Party as political projection of this Forum 4. Minority Interest Groups e.g. Depressed Classes League save Aligarh, Arya Samaj etc. 5. Formal Governmental Organisations e.g. state Liaison set-ups in Delhi 6. Foreign Interest Groups e.g. Friends of Taiwan or Israel, Indo-GDR Society etc.

The majority of our citizens pay more taxes than they should because of special privileges and concessions arranged by lobbyists for wealthy individuals, powerful corporations, rich farmers etc.

The well-developed and emerging lobbies here work in iceberg way, only the tips are visible. But in the recent days specially during the last two years several lobbies

worked vigorously even trying to alter the character of the parties and the government.

During the 11th session (August 1970) the fourth Lok Sabha approved certain measures including the Patents Bill and the Constitutional Amendment for Abolition of the Privy Purses. The history of the difficult Patents legislation efforts since the early 'fifties' at different enquiry select committee and house stages shows the intense work by a number of lobbies. The Foreign Drugs lobby credited themselves for achieving dissolution of the 3rd Lok Sabha a month ahead of the due date. It is also well-known how the concord of the Princes tried to influence voting on the constitution Amendment Bill in both houses of the Parliament. The lobbies do not only work in the legislatures at the house stage. They start their work at legislative drafting and select committee levels. There were many other forums through which the decision making by the ministers and civilians can be influenced. A perusal of the agenda papers of various advisory and consultative committees will show the hands of industries and other interests.

In lobbying parlance, those who rely essentially on the sum of the private interests definition are commonly referred to as profit or status quo lobbyists. The shoe usually fits, since their legislative interests, when the verbiage is stripped away usually come down to the protection of profits or private property. Those who invoke the rallying cry of the greatest good for the greatest number generally are referred to as non-profit lobbyists or sometimes pro bono publico lobbyists. In India where the Prohibition Lobby financed by the government instead of bootleggers may be described as pro bono publico lobby. Similar is the case of the congress Forum for Socialist Action.

Some of the earliest organised lobbies in

New Delhi besides the various organisations of the Scheduled communities are the groups of Farmers and that of the Fertiliser interest. Of course I am excluding the lobbies maintained by great powers and other foreign political agencies. An oral History interviews with former M. Ps, Ministers and retired civilians will be able to provide a historical background to today's better organised lobbying set-ups.

It is quite well known that several Big Business Houses maintain their friends in the legislatures and the secretariat. Quite frequently their interests clash and neutralise each other.

But besides lobbying for the individual businessman or house certain common trade interest groups work together. In recent years the cement and sugar industries exhibited consolidated and well planned lobby work. The cement industry secured decontrol and CACO and many politicians and political groups benefitted from it. They lost their position when Mrs. Gandhi became the Prime Minister.

On the other hand defeat of Tripathy leadership and success of the S.V.D. in Uttar Pradesh shows the strength of the sugar industry of Uttar Pradesh. The largest and costliest lobbying campaign was conducted by the Indian sugar mills association in the interest of their members from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The ISMA commissioned a public relations agency for grassroots and highlevel lobbying against the proposal to nationalise sugar mills of this state. Before presenting the cases against nationalisation of the industry they prepared a booklet presenting the faces of the giant demon known as the public sector. The well produced booklet (through the identity of the printer was not disclosed as required by law) attacked the Prime Minister. This and some more booklets in English, Hindi and other languages were mailed to all legis-

lators, newsmen and civilians all over India. The Sugar Mills Association secured active assistance of a top leader of the INTUC in their highlevel liaison work. Major newspapers were patronized. The ISMA campaign was modelled on the British sugar industry's earlier campaign nicknamed as Mr. Cube's campaign in the public relations circle.

Several advertising agencies have started special public relations departments for liaison and lobby work in the national capital. Several big foreign firms have shifted their public relations branches headquarters from Calcutta and Bombay to New Delhi, some have renamed these branches as 'Public Affairs Divisions' instead of simple public relations. Most of these foreign and Indian private sector agencies look for ex communists to head these liaison and lobbying units. The 1969 split in the Congress party will be better understood in terms of lobbying activities on behalf of several interests like 'liquid amonia'.

The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) it is understood, has already prepared a list of notorious liaison representatives of business houses working in the economic ministries and elsewhere. The Intelligence Bureau study on foreign money has also revealed the operations of lobbies and pressure groups working within the country on behalf of great and smaller powers.

The lobbies and pressure groups work both in the lobbies of the legislature and at other levels including the grassroots level (through such means of direct mailing). The political scientists and specially the council for Social Sciences Research should initiate scientific and systematic study of pressure groups. The responsibility for study of secret and open parliamentary groups will be primarily with the press correspondents and official investigating agencies.

Meanwhile the parliament should enact for compulsory registration of all lobbyists and recording of lobbying expenses, improving on the present American Federal Legislation.

THE MESSAGE OF TAGORE'S POST OFFICE

D. V. S. R. MURTY

Rabindranath Tagore's *The Post Office*, the most successful play on the stage, is a remarkable artistic whole which launches the poet's experience which is quite abstruse and elusive to the common imagination. The experience is quite concrete to him and so he avows ; 'To me, they '(incidents in *The Post Office*) are very concrete.' The theme of the play seems to be quite simple though the problems loom large when one comes to the end of the play, where Amal falls into sleep. Is this sleep or trance or death or something else ? Dr. Iyengar highlights the problems thus : 'Would the king send a letter to Amal ? Could Amal become a postman and carry the Kings's message to one and all ?Is the *Post Office* an allegory ? He points out that a child could read and understand, though it might intrigue the grown-ups. It is most intriguing to one who confronts those problems.

The Theme :

To most common readers it is the life of an orphan boy, Amal. His uncle, Madhav, who is childless, adopts him, and then finds a meaning in his life. Till then 'earning was a sort of passion' to him, and it becomes a 'joy', when he finds one to bequeath it to. Unfortunately the boy becomes an invalid to whom the autumn sun and wind are most harmful. So he is locked up in a room when he longs to go out to play and associate with the objects of Nature. He converses with the passers-by, and the curd-seller, the flower-girl and the maids let loose his imagination.

The Watchman comes to him, and Amal enquires whether the time is ripe for him to

strike the gong. The Watchman tells him that the time is not ripe for him to strike, and he strikes it to tell that Time waits for none, and goes on forever to an unknown place where all people will go finally. All people will be liberated one day by one greater than all. Amal enquires about the big house, and knows that it is the King's post office. The King will have Postmen, Watchmen and Headmen.

Amal hears the striking of the gong finally. Gaffar in the costumes of a fakir, asks him to prepare to wed his niece. Amal becomes angry and leaves him. The King's Herald enters and announces that the King calls on him that night. Amal is free from all pain, and is fresh. The King's Physician comes and declares that Amal is asleep, and the play ends.

The Allegory :

The play undoubtedly reflects the days of Tagore's childhood. Like Amal he was a prisoner in the Jaransanko mansion, which offered him little escape, and imposed more or less a regimented life. At the same time he lived in the centre of an important religious renaissance as his father was a great religious force, and especially the power behind the Brahmo Samaj. Rabindranath, therefore, was fed on the deeply disturbing currents of religion which proliferated in the young mind deep devotion and profound worship of Nature. He lived in perfect isolation as a boy, for there was no intimate contact between him and the elders, and so his life was devoid of that ineffable love and affection that would spring out of human

intimacy. Deprived of the contacts he was flung to the servants' quarters, where he spent most of his time.

Like Amal Rabindranath had a dull, drab and insipid home life, and it spread from morning to night reducing him to a mere gadget. At the age of eight he left Calcutta for a villa on the bank of the Hugly at Peneti, which was about eight miles from the city. He was almost a prisoner in the Jarasanko mansion, and he yearned for Nature that 'beckoned him from beyond the prison bars.' His real communion which Nature began at that time, and he had his first mystic experience when he was eight years old. It is a deliverance from the earthly bonds, for as Wordsworth says :

Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living a soul :

Amal's Sleep :

Amal is kept in a dark room and all the windows are closed to stop the autumn air from entering the room. But the State Physician comes, and opens all the doors and windows. The human soul is also imprisoned in the human body, and the senses are the windows that let the soul escape out of the 'rose mesh', that becomes a living soul in communion with Beauty and Truth. When the body dabbles in earthly pleasures, the soul gets no succour and languishes like that of Amal. The soul's malady will be mistaken to be that of the body. Amal is treated with medicines, which keep the lingering life of the boy on. The Watchman says that the boy's face is pale, and dark rings are round his eyes. They are the signs of the impending emancipation and release. Just before he falls into that final sleep Amal says :

'No, Fakir, did you think I was asleep ? I wasn't, I can hear everything ; yes, and voices far away. I feel that mother and father are sitting by my pillow and speaking to me.'

His soul is now beyond Time and Space, and commune with all. Therefore we cannot but conclude that Amal had his final emancipation and entered eternal sleep.

A Messenger :

Why should Amal enter eternal sleep then ? And why should Amal wish to be a messenger and not a watchman or a Headman ? If he wants to be a messenger, what is his message ? Amal is a messenger of death, and dies to convey the message—the futility of earthly life—to people like Madhav. Consummation is to be sought not on this earth, but in Heaven, and death is the only way. Birth binds us to the earth with a flowery band. There are the Watchmen and Headmen, who warn the people, and try to place them on a right path. They carry the messages of God to one and all. Amal says 'It would be splendid to have a letter from the King everyday.. To have a letter from him is to remember him. Madhav does not think of the King and so the Headman says : 'Madhav's impudence staggers me. If the King hears of this, that'll take some of his nonsense out of him'.

Madhav is driven to distraction by the pursuit of the fragmentary, and sees only the aspects of unity. To Tagore life is a continuous process of synthesis, and not of additions like that of Madhav. The activities of production and enjoyment of wealth attain the spirit of wholeness when they are blended with a creative ideal. Evidently Madhav lacks that creative instinct, which imparts the sense of wholeness to his life. To Tagore our society exists to remind us through its various

voices, that the ultimate truth is not in his intellect or in his possessions but in his illumination of mind. Amal rightly shows this to Madhav, who lives a life of additions. In everyday life his personality moves in a narrow circle of immediate self-interest. Indeed it is a break of harmony with the good, and dissociation with the true. The world goes gloriously ahead only when there is in the atmosphere the calm of control, of purity and renunciation. That atmosphere enters the life of Madhav with the death of Amal, who acts as a messenger of emancipation.

The Post Office is the second play in the trilogy. In his first drama *Chitra* Tagore gives expression to 'the eternal in the wedded love, a union between the spirits of Reality and Goodness*'. The play ends with a suggestion of birth when Chitra tells Arjuna that she is nursing his baby in her womb, for 'love springs up struggling toward immortal life'. There is Amal in *The Post Office*, and he is born out of the union between Reality

and Goodness, i.e. *Prakrit* and *Purush*, enunciated *Chitra*. He has no place in the world of Madhav and it is the world of ours; and he is a sick child who finds no nourishment, and therefore enters eternal sleep. In our world of materialism there is no place for beauty and goodness, and Mammon, who rules the roost and is worshipped. Tagore turns the minds of such people like Madhav with the message of Amal to *The King of the Dark Chamber*, which is the third play of Tagore. Life loses its charm and value, if people pursue worldly possessions ignoring the message of Nature. *The Post Office* is, therefore, intriguing when considered separately. Amal is a pure child of Nature, and he craves for her, exalts in her presence and finally escapes from the sick world into eternal sleep to have a perennial communion with her.

Foot note :

*. *Nature in 'Chitra'*. *Modern Review* July, 1966.



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INDIA ON THE THRESHHOLD OF AN AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

N. KAMARAJU PANTULU

Agricultural development is an essential condition of economic growth in India. Agriculture contributes 50 percent of the National Income; provides livelihood to 70 percent of the people; supplies the bulk of wage goods to the non-agricultural sector, produces raw materials for a large sector of industry and accounts for over 50 percent of the export trade. Transport, marketing, processing, financing and other aspects of Agricultural production have also a strong influence on the national economy. Development of agriculture is fundamental to the building up of the much needed economic and social overheads in the rural sector. The key to our economic progress lies in the development of agriculture. Prof. A. M. Khasro, one of the leading economists on the agricultural problems of India, while discussing the relevance of agriculture in the Indian economic development said "almost everything which happens to the Indian economy, whether it is inflation or under utilisation of industrial capacity or a balance of payments crisis, seems to have its roots in agricultural shortfalls. Agriculture forms the very foundation of industries.

Indian agriculture is on the threshold of a major revolution. A new strategy adopted some two years ago has now started paying rich dividends. Agriculture no more continues to remain a way of life, it is fast becoming an industry under the New Strategy for Agriculture, first outlined in the union Ministry of Agriculture Report "Re-orientation of Programmes". In November 1968, it was estimated that one eleventh of the cultivated area or 33 million acres in selected districts with

assured irrigation, could, if sowed with the new varieties, be expected to yield 25.5 million tonnes by 1970-71 and this would increase the total production of foodgrains to 120 million tonnes. It is proposed to extend the area of operation of the strategy from 15 million to an area of 60 million acres or about 15 percent of the total cropped area by 1975 to give an additional foodgrains production of 35 million tonnes. By 1970-71 the country is to be made self sufficient in food by increasing foodgrain production to 125 million tonnes.

The streamlined and strengthened agricultural administration has been making herculean efforts to bring about a major breakthrough in the age old stagnant agricultural sector. Its all round intensive efforts have been recognised not only in the country; but also by the international agencies like the World Bank. The long term trend in agricultural production in India has been observed, to be on the upward direction. The rate of growth achieved over the period of the three five year plans is not unimpressive. The progress of agricultural production in India compares favourably with that of other countries. There was a jump of 25 percent in the foodgrains production from 76 million tonnes in 1966-67 to 96 million tonnes in 1967-68. In the Economic Survey for the year 1968-69, presented in the Lok Sabha by the then Finance Minister on 21st Feb., 1969, it was reported that there has been a marked improvement in the case of wheat as a result of the New Agricultural strategy. Coarse grains like maize also responded significantly. The New Agricultural strategy is stated to

have taken the country on the right road to rapid agricultural growth. Mr. Morarji Desai, the then Finance Minister during the course of his budget speech for the year 1969-70 also acknowledged the impact of the agricultural strategy on increasing production by stating that "the expectation in my last budget speech that given the right policies, 1968-69 could become a year of revival has been largely fulfilled". Mr. Desai himself admitted that the imports are now being replaced by domestic production over a wide front as a result of the efforts made over successive plan periods. Almost everyday we are reading in the newspapers stories about the impact of agricultural prosperity on the living conditions of our agriculturists. Apart from spending more on better varieties of seeds, or improving irrigation facilities on his fields, oil engines and pumps, the Indian agriculturist is spending sizeable amounts on building houses, and buying of gold and silver also, particularly in the prosperous areas of the country. Though the green revolution is only in the first stage there have been record crops in the last two years. Revolutionary improvement has yet to come in rice and indeed it has yet to come in maize and in non cereals like sugarcane, groundnuts, and oilseeds, the latter having a great export potential. Mr. Khusro therefore wants to place a curb on our enthusiasm by saying "you are far away from any kind of revolution. So do not live with pipe dreams. The agricultural revolution is not all milk and honey. There are many big things that have yet to be done if the new revolutionary trends are not to peter out or spell colossal wastages".

Markets, business practices, rural roads, means of communication, grading, storage, and credit, all will have to be improved. A long process of acreage shifts from one food crop to another and from one non foodcrop

to another has to be initiated soon on a massive scale, through forecasting, calculating, planning, pricing, taxing, and subsidizing appropriately. The pains of these frictions of the price mechanism and the adjustments following therefore, would have to be smoothened out. To make the green revolution successful over a period of time, it is essential that the inputs are made available in requisite quantities and at proper time. For ushering in an agricultural revolution, appropriate institutional and organisational structure has to be created, improved implements, electric power and diesel oil, fertilizers, pesticides, and improved seeds and adequate credit have also to be made available, an impact has to be produced on every farmer, to evolve for each village a programme and a calendar of action with a view to utilize the additional resources to the maximum advantage. The administrative and organisational apparatus outright from the central government level, extending down to the State, district, block and village levels and even to each of the individual farmers needs to be geared up and our own attitude to the problem of agriculture has to be realistic and practical. Investment on agriculture including those in research, inputs such as fertilizers and water and provision of credit and storage facilities must have a prior claim, the requisite social and the ability and willingness of the dominant political institutions to carry out the necessary structural reforms have to be developed. Major emphasis should be laid on the relatively inexpensive ground water resources and their uses, flow cum ground water irrigation system covering large areas for intensive cultivation, wells, filter points and tube well construction programmes transformation of the traditional agriculture to agriculture based on modern scientific and technological methods, injected on a massive scale into almost every sphere of agricultural

section viz. research, experimentation, education, training, extension, optimum utilisation and proper management of land and water resources etc. This is only an illustrative list, not an exhaustive list of the various steps that are to be taken immediately for the ushering in of a green revolution in India.

The agricultural revolution that is now being extensively talked about in this country is not a matter of soothsaying or guessing, it is a matter of projecting in the near future the new trends that are already visible as stated by Mr. A. M. Khusro. Accomplishment of an agricultural revolution is a task of national importance and not an item for a Ministry or Ministers and Departments. It must develop over the whole sphere of national life, Starting from Government, extending to governmental and non-official organisations, educational institutions, representative bodies of people at various levels, traders, industrialists and individual farmers—all have to contribute their mite in the accomplishment of the goal of agricultural prosperity and abundance. The commercial banks also have a vital role to play in the transformation of the traditional agriculture and injecting a new spirit of dynamism into agriculture by the application of massive doses of modern, scientific and technological methods, processes, devices, and techniques. At a time when Indian agriculture is undergoing rapid transformation it would not be advisable for the banks to keep away from it. In his inaugural speech at the seminar organised jointly by the U. P. Agricultural University, Pantnagar and the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, in the month of October 1968, at New Delhi, Mr. D. Shivaraman, Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture Government of India also emphasized the need on the part of the bankers to understand the economic implications of the current agricultural revolution.

There is an urgent necessity to coordinate the efforts of commercial banks and cooperatives to ensure that any over-borrowing and duplication are avoided; over-borrowing is not resorted to by the farmers, high potential projects are not left out for want of funds and that no area is denied the financial facilities for agricultural production. The structure of interest rates in the field of rural credit, costs of providing farm credit, economic viability of rural branches, legal aspects of security, linking of credit with marketing, causes and consequences of overdues of co-operatives and mobilization of rural deposits; are some of the several important problems discussed at the seminar organised by the U. P. Agricultural University and the Indian Institute of Management.

Financing the Production of agricultural inputs, both agro-based and industry based, the distribution of agricultural inputs, agricultural marketing, processing and warehousing, farming operations of the cultivators and the specific projects such as seed farms, minor irrigation schemes, including tubewells, pump sets, laying out field channels etc, improvement on land reclamation, soil conservation and consolidation of holdings, distribution of fertilizers, pesticides, improved seeds and more efficient farm implements, including tractors electrification schemes, construction of godowns, and cold storages, marketing and processing, plantations and orchards, dairying, animal husbandry, poultry, fisheries, etc which promote agricultural development which are very big, very costly, and technically more sophisticated; should be done in collaboration with official agencies such as electricity boards, agro-industries corporations and development schemes such as the I.A.D.P. and the I.A.A.P., Agricultural Universities, state farms, land development banks etc. A seminar was held in the month

of January 1968, under the auspices of Sardar Patel University at Vallabh Vidyanagar on the role of commercial and cooperative banks in financing agriculture. Several participants at the seminar recognised the importance of a multi-agency-approach in the interests of flexibility as well as greater flow of finance to agriculture. It was also agreed that, to function effectively in the field of agricultural finance, it is necessary to build up the contacts at the grass roots level so that it can acquire first hand experience in the field of financing experiment with a number of lending techniques and assess the impact of its lending operations on farm productivity as against that of credit agencies.

A good deal of study is necessary for evolving a proper system of credit to be made available to the farmer. The Reserve Bank of India has already undertaken a study of the problem. We should get out of mere slogan shouting and make a pragmatic approach to the problems. Wherever necessary we will have to strengthen the cooperative agencies and make them effective instruments in the distribution of credit. Timely and adequate supply of credit is important. The Reserve Bank of India organised a seminar on "Financing of agriculture by commercial banks" in the first week of December 1968. A view was expressed by many participants including Mr. L. K. Jha, the then Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Mr. R. G. Saraiya, a veteran cooperator and Mr. B. Shiva Raman, Secretary, Agricultural Department, Government of India, that as the commercial banking system was entering the field of agriculture for the first time, the privileges and the concessions such as exemption from stamp duty, registration fees, free access to landrecords for ascertaining the title to land extended by the State Governments, to cooperative financing agencies

should also be extended to the commercial banks. It was also suggested at the seminar that a high level committee should be set up to review various tenancy, debt relief and other legislations which come in the way of the farmers borrowing on equal terms with other sections of society. Many difficulties arose from the various legislative provisions which placed restrictions on the mortgage of land in favour of lending agencies. Every Bank should re-examine its strategy and refashion its tools and techniques. In the ultimate analysis, the success of a bank in this new venture will depend upon its spirit of innovation, and enterprise. "The banks have to evolve a definite approach, formulate concrete action programmes, build up the necessary organisational set up, devise suitable procedures and practices and above all spearhead farm revolution."

The rapidly mounting pressure of demand on agricultural commodities on account of the increase in population, increased levels of consumption made possible by raising per-capita incomes and the urgent need to provide balanced and nutritive diet to the people, to enable them to lead healthy and productive lives and the persistent food crisis in the country, focussed the attention of the people and the government on the problems of development of agriculture in recent years. A variety of agricultural development schemes were undertaken in recent years as a consequence. Investment in agricultural schemes had increased progressively from Rs.504 crores in the first five-year plan to Rs.670 crores in the second plan and to Rs.1281/- crores in the third five year plan. During the first five year plan investment on agriculture worked out to 25 percent of the total outlay and 14.5 percent during the second plan and 17.8 percent during the third five year plan.

Under the first two plans an area of 18.5 million acres benefitted from minor irrigation schemes and 12.8 million acres during the third five year plan. In so far as major and medium irrigation schemes are concerned the outlays have shown continuous increase from the first plan (Rs.310 crores) to the second plan (Rs.372 crores) and from second to the third plan (Rs.600 crores). The absolute figures of outlay on minor irrigation schemes show a continuous increase from Rs.50 crores in the first plan to Rs.95 crores in the second and further to Rs.177 crores in the third five year plan.

Developmental efforts in soil conservation show the most striking increase during the last eighteen years. From a meagre Rs.1.6 crores (during the first plan period) the outlay on this head has gone up to nearly Rs.18 crores in the second plan and Rs.72 crores in the third plan. The soil conservation programmes which are intended to stabilize soils and avert a decline in production levels benefitted about 3.2 million acres in the first two plans and 11 million acres in the third plan.

For popularisation of the use of improved seeds about 4000 seed multiplication farms in terms of 25 acre units have been set up in the country for production of foundation seeds. The coverage under improved seeds of food-grains has steadily risen to the level of about 101.5 million acres. The plant protection measures have also been gradually expanded and covered an area of about 30 million acres by the end of the third plan. The outlay incurred on cooperative credit directly helpful in the promotion of agricultural production, and the allied activities such as cooperative marketing, warehousing, processing etc has also increased by sixteen times from the first to the third five year plan.

Considerable progress has also been made towards improving administrative coordination in matters relating to agricultural production. Coordinating committees at cabinet and secretarial levels have been set up in the states, where decisions having a bearing on the working of the departments of Agriculture, Irrigation, Revenue, Animal Husbandry, Cooperation, Community Development and Panchayats etc. are taken. I have given only illustrative list of the multifarious activities undertaken by the Central and State governments in the direction of stepping up agricultural production or rather ushering in the green revolution in India. This is not an exhaustive list. India has not yet completed the oldest of man's revolutions, the agricultural revolution. Her agriculture does not sufficiently feed even her cultivators, much less can it now support the industrial and urban population. There are many big things that have yet to be done to accomplish the agricultural revolution. Our ministers of Food and Agriculture, both at the Central and State level almost daily stress on the adoption of better agricultural administration and more applied research in agriculture. It is no use merely preaching that we should gear up our administrative machinery. Merely talking about it would bring no tangible results. We should not only draw up the programme of action, but it should be correctly implemented as well. We should move towards scientific agriculture in which more advanced techniques will be used for the purpose of increasing production. Scientific agriculture cannot come about unless the base required for this purpose is prepared, particularly the basic knowledge which is necessary for scientific agriculture, the age old conservative, out dated, traditional, primitive and crude methods, and techniques of agricultural operations are modernized

and based on scientific and technological processes and the cultivator is supplied with improved seeds, fertilizers, insecticide, pesticides, adequate water at the required time, for better irrigation, better farms tool, plant protection, and knowledge of double cropping, crop planning and more effective rotation of crops. The old time "bureaucrats" are as confused about Pandit Nehru's Socialist Pattern of Society as middle aged mothers watching their sons in a foot ball game. Indian administration must be simplified and modernized and made more expert at all levels. This sounds easy enough, but as stated by Mr. Leyland Hazard in a recent publication entitled "Strong medicine for India", involves the rolling of some high heads. The old time bureaucrats must go. They should be replaced by technicians, right from the top to the bottom. When the job calls for technical training, understanding and experience at the highest level, there is no meaning in appointing old time bureaucrats to boost up agricultural production and reorganise our agriculture.

The Indian agriculturist was looked down upon as being illiterate and backward. This is wrong notion and this out look must change.

As Sri Jagjivan Ram believes India's green revolution is the result of the joint-efforts of the farmer, techniques, and administration. Mr. P. K. Sowant, Agriculture Minister, Government of Maharashtra, in his presidential speech at the inaugural function of the National Agricultural Fair held in Bombay on 23rd September 1969, also almost echoed the same view by describing the farmer as the hero of the green revolution which had made its impact on the agrarian economy of our country. Mr. Sowant, rightly said the revolution was not a matter of accident, but it had been brought about by substantial effort and that the farmer had shown, that given incentives, he was ready to accept and adopt modern techniques. Agricultural progress can make great strides only if the farmer supplements his practical knowledge with modern techniques of farming. Arrangement for the education and training of agriculturists must go ahead on a war footing to accomplish the green revolution in India. A comprehensive mass training programme for the farmers has to be undertaken immediately for bringing about a major change in our agricultural pattern and the accomplishment of an agricultural revolution.



AFTER VIETNAM WHAT ?

SANTOSH KUMAR DE

America was the only super power that came forward to halt the onward march of Communism in Asia and she became hopelessly entangled in the endless Vietnam War which has very aptly been called "an unmanageable mess". It is like a quicksand—a voracious quagmire that sucks and swallows everything into it. Compared to all other United States wars it has been 1st in length of war (about 10 years), 2nd in cost of war, (In fiscal 1969, the United States spent \$28,800,000,000 on the war in Vietnam. That is \$2.4 billion a month or 550 million per week, \$78 million per day, \$3.3 million every single hour, or \$55,000 every single minute. If you divide this enormous cost by the kill statistics, you would find that each enemy soldier killed cost the United States approximately \$150,000. Another blood-curdling information is that 2,955,000 tons of bombs were dropped on North Vietnam. This is more than double the total bomb tonnage dropped on Europe during World War II. A country of 62,000 Sq. miles received on the average almost 50 tons of bombs per sq. mile.). And 3rd in total casualties. (By January, 1970 American dead in Vietnam exceeded 40,000, and wounded surpassed 261,000. Total U. States casualties were above 300,000, South Vietnamese dead surpassed 100,000 and the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese death exceeded 584,000.)

Still there is no end to the war. An all-out victory for the United States is out of question. Even a layman can understand that. The war is now a war of attrition—turning on that side which can last longest. How long will it be possible for America to continue this endless war? America is humiliated and her pride in military power is broken. On seeing the cost and casualties American people have become restless. There is dissent, protest, strife and division in the United States. The Communist leaders in Hanoi are determined to continue the war until they achieve victory. So sooner or later America will have to pull out and she has already embarked on a policy of gradual withdrawal of forces from Vietnam and "Vietnamizing the war".

Now the question is if the United States finally withdraws, what will happen? That would signal the beginning of the end of American influence in Southeast Asia. But that is not a major disaster to us. The major disaster would be in the words of Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templet, Commander of the British troops in Malaya: "If the Americans pull out of Vietnam, the Communists will take over the whole of Southeast Asia and Burma. India right up to the Caspian Sea would go."

The Communist triumph in Vietnam would inspire Communist movements in the whole

of Asia. It would lead to the fall of the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. Other nations would eventually fall, including Burma, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Afganistan, and Iran. How? That is going to be delineated in the following paragraphs.

Chinese Communists' challenge to South-East Asia has not grown overnight. If we make a close study we shall see that a decade and a half following World War II Chinese activities in S. E. Asia became very intensive. In 1954, Vietnam was partitioned with the Communist Ho Chi-minh who gained control of the north half of the country. Then there were serious Communist-led revolts in Burma, Malaya and the Philippines, and an abortive Communist uprising in Indonesia and communist-encouraged political instability in Laos. The Laotian problem which assumed major proportions in 1960-61 has again been causing a wide spread concern to peace-loving people as a possible starting point for a larger conflagration. Although at present, the relations between Communist China and Soviet Russia are not so cordial as it was when Red regime was firmly established all over the Chinese mainland for the first time, and Peiping—Moscow alliance was cemented by the Treaty of February, 1950; still Communist China poses a perpetual menace not only to India but also to the whole of Asia, specially South-east Asia which has always been known as the "Soft under-belly" of the non-communist world.

When Mao's Communist armies conquered China in 1949 it was not only hailed by Malenkov with the words, "The national struggle of liberation of the peoples of Asia, the Pacific Ocean basin, and of the whole colonial world has risen to a new and considerably higher stage." But also by a sizeable

section of the intelligentsia of Asian countries who regarded the Chinese Communists as nothing but patriotic, sincere and disinterested opponents of western imperialism. But soon the mask was off, and the skeleton in the cupboard was exposed. The Chinese Communists at the first opportunity, began military inroads into other lands for the achievement of Communist objectives in Asia in the garb of liberating the countries from colonial slavery.

Red China's overt military action was seen in Indo-China, Burma, Malaya and the Philippines, and finally Tibet was conquered and made an integral part of China. Her military activities did not end here. She silently and imperceptibly occupied several thousand square miles of India's borders first, and then openly invaded India in 1962. This much of Red China's activities between 1949 and 1962 are too familiar, and they need no elaboration here.

But what we fear is that the expanding and overpopulated Communist China will not stop here. She is having a covetous look at various parts of South-east Asia which are still neutral, and she is still dreaming of recovering her alleged lost territories, and bringing back the vanished imperial glory of Cathay. The unlimited raw materials such as rice, rubber, tin, timber, tungsten, tea, kerosene etc. and the strategic position of these places are a great temptation to Red China for which she will undertake any risk however big.

Communist penetration in Southeast Asia (total land area exceeding 1.6 million Sq. miles) has become comparatively easy, as these countries having colonial or semi colonial position for a long time are underdeveloped or undeveloped and economically backward. The people of this area still cannot forget the insult and injury that they

suffered so long at the hands of foreign masters. The masses are poor and mostly uneducated. Naturally whenever Communists hold a rosy picture of a totally new socio-economic system as the only means of overcoming this age-long poverty and backwardness they easily fall a prey to the temptation.

Red China will possibly adopt the following tactics for the extension of her territories in South-east Asia :—

1. The frontiers between Red China, Burma and Indo China being contiguous, Communist activities will increase very much in these areas, and Communist ideas will be successfully imprinted on the plastic mind of the youth.

2. Red China has secured a safe foothold in various parts of S. E. Asia. From here she will extend her greedy claws to Burma, Nepal (disregarding the border adjustments with them), Bhutan, Sikkim and the NEFA. To strengthen her grip over these parts, she will try to seize power through subversion and armed insurrection by native Communist parties who long for the aunt instead of the mother.

3. She will try to disrupt the economic and social life of the people and discredit the existing governments. In order to make her power seizure broad-based she will try to win the good will and support of the majority of the population, and wean away vacillating people by holding tempting offers to them.

4. The native Communists financed and helped by all means by Red China will infiltrate into every type of public organisation—Gram Rakshi Dal, Village Panchayat, Border Defense party, governing bodies of schools, colleges and universities, municipalities, local boards, union boards, chambers of commerce, labour unions, and will try to sabotage all useful programmes by creating disunion and strife among the members.

5. She will exert economic pressure on the people and open new subsidized stores and shops to compete with the stores and shops of the people who are anticommunists or non-communists. The opening of a large number of laundries and dyeing-cleaning shops overnight by the Chinese, all over Calcutta some years back may be noted in this connection.

6. Student Unions of schools and colleges will be captured by the native Communists to use the young people as tools for propaganda and political activities. This tactics has been adopted by Red China everywhere in S. E. Asia (Nan Yang as they call it); for she hopes to further her ends through the students who are not easily taken to task by any government for their dereliction. Recent Naxal movement may again be noted.

7. These countries will be flooded with nicely printed and well-illustrated Communist literature in native languages. These books will invariably hold a rosy and attractive picture of the Communist way of life, and condemn in bitter language financial help from the Democratic countries as "Dollar diplomacy". Those books will deal with various social political, financial, and economic problems of the countries for which they are meant, and will be sold at below cost price or distributed as complimentary copies to the uninitiated.

8. The whole S. E. Asia air will be thick with Communist radio programme. News, propaganda, music will be the special features, and they will be relayed in all the languages of the region for longer periods every day.

9. Strikes and lockouts will be engineered in every country in South-east Asia on the slightest pretext as they were done in Malaya some years back.

Armed with this well-planned programme Red China has been contributing heavily to

the achievement of Communist objectives in Asia, since 1949. Her first intervention was seen in Korea ; next she sent military help to Ho Chi Minh's forces in Indo China. She did not stop here. Her extension of military power to the borders of Burma in 1950 (Burma has consistently followed a policy of conciliation towards China. The same policy is being followed by Indonesia.), and to those of India, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal in 1951 through the subjugation of Tibet, have also contributed to the advancement of Communist objectives. All this has been possible not simply because China is a big military power and a country with a population of about 75 crores but because she enjoys certain privileges and advantages which even Soviet Russia does not.

a) Communist China is distinctly an Asian power, and that gives Mao T'se-tung a special kind of prestige and privilege in Asia, and as such he is less suspected and more relied on than Kossygin.

b) The geographical position of Communist China has been advantageous to her in preaching and propagating communist ideas in S. E. Asia, for maintaining contact with subversive forces over the border, and for bringing into her camp the intelligentsia of the East.

c) The existence of a large number of overseas Chinese throughout Southeast Asia has been another great advantage to Red China. 350,000 Chinese minorities in Burma pose a great difficulty relating to her national integrity. In Malaya, the Chinese minority accounts for 37 per cent of its population. The Chinese minorities in Thailand, Indonesia, South Vietnam, the Philippines and Cambodia are a positive menace to the governments of those countries. Intervention of one sort or another by Red China will

always hang over the head of these governments. According to experts 15 million persons of distinct Chinese background reside in Southeast Asia who owe their loyalty not to the land of their adoption but to their homeland. They pay regular visits to their homeland, get training and instruction in subversive activities, guerrilla fighting and terrorist tactics, spying etc. Not only that, wherever they get citizenship, they exert collective pressure on the local governments as members of Assemblies, Councillors of Corporations and members of various public bodies. They also control finance to some extent by occupying advantageous position in trade, commerce, whole-sale and retail business, as they have done in Indonesia, and this was fore-told by Manuilsky in 1926, "Liberated China will become the magnet for all peoples of the yellow race, who inhabit the Philippines, Indonesia and the numerous island of the Pacific."

d) The Chinese living in Thailand, Malaya, Singapore, Burma, Indonesia and the Philippines will play the part of the Trojan horse in time of extreme crisis. Red China's strategy of expansion relies more on internal fifth columnists (Chinese nationals and native Communists and their friends) than on external military aggression. She will take advantage of all tensions in the free world for weakening the non-communist camps through the promotion of open conflicts, and will thus harvest the rich crop of conflicts for her own advantage.

Malayan Communists had been driven into hiding in 1960 along the Thailand border; so they do not pose any threat to that State, but communist difficulties might develop in Thailand (It has actually done so) where Communist Chinese may identify their interest with that of the Chinese mainland, although

she is a member of the American backed SEATO alliance designed to thwart Chinese aggression. The Communist Party in the Philippines is outlawed, so it can hardly be regarded as a significant force. But Communist challenge to Cambodia is very likely to come from its borders, and it has actually come and Prince Sihanouk has fled to China and is trying to invade Cambodia with the help of the Chinese army. North Vietnam and communist Laos are also the allies of the Prince.

Now, if the major portion of S. E. Asia falls within the orbit of Red China's influence, the result will be a great disaster not only to the Whole of Asia but to the Western block also. Asian markets which take a considerable volume of Europe and America's overseas trade and commerce will be lost, and that will deal a heavy blow to Europe and America's economic position. Not only that, Japan and India will not escape the consequences. Both Japan and India with their exploding population have been enjoying a mutually profitable trade with South-east Asia; but if Southeast Asia comes within the sphere of influence of Red China, both India and Japan will lose business with the neighbouring countries, and they will feel economic pressure from China-dominated S. E. Asia. The situation as it is today shows that S. E. Asia is highly favourable to Communist penetration.

What is the way out then? Southeast Asia along with Japan and India should realise the gravity of the situation and offer a united front to the naked aggression of China, and fight shoulder to shoulder for common interest with the common enemy number one in Asia. Collective defence is the only means of safety for resisting Red China.

In spite of this imminent danger we do not

find any ray of hope from any quarter. The whole of S. E. Asia is hopelessly divided on racial, religious and economic grounds. The non-communist Asian governments recognize a common danger and see its source in Peking. Still they are inactive, and the irony of fate is that even if united, they are not strong enough to offer any substantial resistance. We cannot expect any intervention from Soviet Russia. One Communist State would never go against another Communist State for the help of a non-communist State. We had bitter experience when China invaded India and grabbed 33 thousand square miles. Even in a small matter like Soviet Russia's willfully showing a considerable portion of Indian territory as belonging to China in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia map in different editions inspite of India Government's protests, we see which way the wind blows.

Nor can we expect any intervention from the side of the United States, the greatest Pacific power as she has already burnt her fingers in the Vietnam war. President Nixon in 1968, in a presidential election speech said, "One of the legacies of Vietnam almost certainly will be a deep reluctance on the part of the United States to become involved in a similar intervention on a similar basis. If another friendly country should be faced with an externally supported Communist insurrection.....there is a serious question whether the American public or the American Congress would now support a universal American intervention, even at the request of the host government."

So India cannot expect any intervention either from Russia or from America if and when India will be invaded by Red China. What is the way out? India, the world's most populous non-communist country must try to become strong economically, politically and militarily and form a military alliance

with Japan, Asia's principal industrial and economic power.

We should not forget that World War-I led to communism in Russia and World War-II to communism in China. The area of communism is spreading fast in Asia and specially in Southeast Asia as poverty-stricken and helpless people tend to accept it most readily. The preying wolf of Chinese imperialism has seized Asia by the throat. She must be checked, if not by force of arms, at least her ideological conquest must be halted by all means. Chinese threat is the principal problem facing the nations of S. E. Asia. Southeast Asia, therefore, requires good leadership to hold the different nations

of Asia together, to patch up their differences by all means and contribute to the development of a stable and mature governmental system. The desire of Red China to be the only dominant power in Asia must be curbed.

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INDIA DEBATES AS CHINA GOES NUCLEAR

NARAYAN C. MAZUMDER

Politics and policies of the modern world are influenced by nuclear weapons ever since their appearance. Nuclear weapons have become so striking a force that the pendulum of policies and politics of a country swings, according to it. Powered with these nuclear weapons the super-powers USA, USSR and lately China play a dominant role, and to some extent an arrogant role over the policies and politics of non-nuclear countries. But India is not concerned with the super-powers USA or USSR; it is China, India's enemy No. 1 that India is anxious about. China's try out of her first nuclear bomb in 1964 posed a serious threat to

India's defence, security and her freedom which are at stake. China has not been silent, being a war-maniac fired by the beligerent ideas of Mao-Tse-Tung, she has become more and more zealous to produce nuclear weapons which is a threat to the Asian countries and particularly to her democratic neighbour India. Recently, a slogan has been raised that India should go nuclear, voiced by a large majority of the country. The questions which naturally crop up are, should India go nuclear? should India change her anti-nuclear policy of not making nuclear weapons? Or does she like to go under any nuclear-umbrella?

Before going to give a verdict we should first cast a careful eye over India's geo-political position. China stands facing India in the East and in the North; while Pakistan catches India by her two wings, in the East and in the West. Relationship with these two countries is not conciliatory but the Pak-China axis is a dagger drawn against India. But Pakistan can be kept down with conventional weapons, if she attacks India. What matters most is the Chinese nuclear arsenal. At any moment China can attack India. This fact has gained more strength after Chinese attack in 1962 in the N. E. F. A. region. It is obvious to all, that at any moment nuclear China may attack India to establish her dominance over Asia. Nuclear China, a cat in the peaceful pigeon's cage, may endanger the peace of Asian countries, especially of India by nuclear blackmailing.

Now, we shall examine the arguments put forward against India going nuclear. Those are the same nonsensical arguments as they were in the 50's. These are (i) China cannot attack a socialist India (ii) If India goes nuclear, her economy will get crippled (iii) a nuclear shield is enough to save India from any nuclear attack. These were the products of the barren brains of our politicians and leaders in 1950. But these dreams were exploded by the Chinese invasion of 1962. Yet our leaders were not made fully conscious of realities. They are even now toying with the same ideas and wishes that China will not attack India. This is playing ducks and drakes with India's defence, freedom and security.

Politicians and leaders may be mad, but our freedom must be properly preserved. We cannot lead the country into danger, nor can we take the risk to be a puppet nation in the

hands of a foreign country. The argument that "going nuclear" will cost too much is neither true nor logical, but is just cheap propaganda to silence the demand that India should manufacture nuclear weapons. Our late H. J. Bhava stated in an International Conference that a nuclear bomb equal to the magnitude of the Hiroshima bomb will cost nearly, 25 (twenty five) lacs. A stockpile of a few scores of nuclear bomb would cost only 10 crores. And estimate shows that 140 crore is enough to start on the nuclear path. But the cost is not additional to our present defence budget. If we make nuclear bombs it will save other expenses and our economy will not be hit by a crisis as it was with the Chinese attack when the defence budget multiplied fourfold jumping from 250 crores to over 1000 crores. Had we been careful and wise enough we could have saved more and like a proud nation preserved our freedom without making any SOS to other foreign countries.

India should also not take shelter under the "Umbrella" of a Nuclear-shield which will be a sword of Democles. It will neither save India nor can it give any assurance against Nuclear attack. To my opinion, India has rightly refused to sign on the dotted line of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, a fraudulent device to prevent India from the use of Nuclear weapons, and thus making her defence weak and feeble. India cannot sit like a helpless lamb before a hungry lion. It can not be made a pawn of the Big Powers.

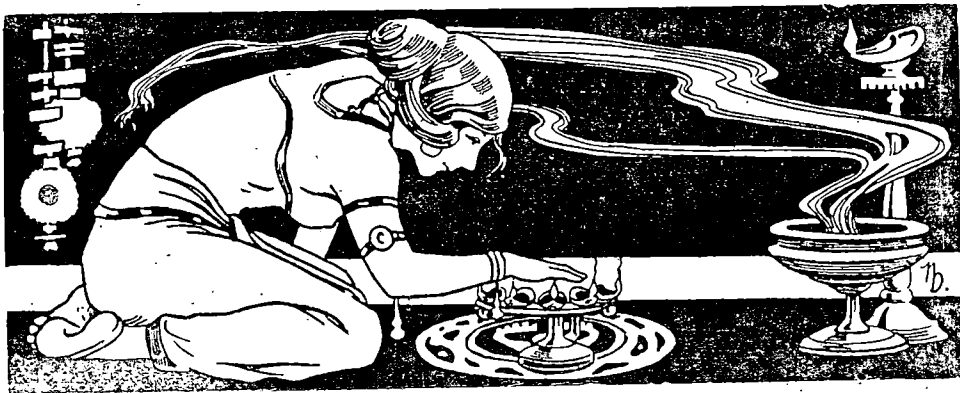
Another wild argument in the air is that if India goes Nuclear Pakistan will not eat grass; she will also get a stock pile of 1 or 2 atomic bombs from some quarter. Suppose that it so happens, yet Pakistan will not dare attack India when she is also Nuclearly armed. China will get not a bit urged to attack Nuclear India. Actions and re-actions are

equal and opposite, Pakistan and China know it very well.

To get freedom unhampered, undisturbed India must build Nuclear weapons, which is a must for India without which her life may be endangered. Gandhian principles of peace and pious wishes could not save India nor could it save it now. World Politics is made of a different and harder stuff. To achieve peace, they must be prepared for any attack upon that peace. Otherwise her freedom can be jeopardised. To achieve peace and freedom undisturbed, we must get rid of the ridiculous arguments of the dwarfs-in-intelligence Politicians, some of whom even dreamt of boycotting and starting a Satyagraha movement during the Chinese invasion of 1962. Our Politicians cry for peace, but it is the whine of a toothless Tiger. When they cry for peace China stockpiles her nuclear bombs.

India should go with a determined mind to build Nuclear weapons which will foil any

Nuclear menace to her freedom. However high the cost may be, the mathematics of cost cannot come in question, where the question of freedom is involved. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, then that liberty can not be saved by the useless principles of our politicians but by practical ideas. Indian Scientists should go on making research on tactical Nuclear Weapons which will save India and will get her freedom fully protected. But what a wonderful land is this! Our Politicians are committing the same Himalayan blunders as they did before 1962. Do they know that they are guilty of a criminal folly by not building Nuclear defences and thus leading the country to suicide? Do they know that they are acting like Nero who played on the violin while Rome burnt? It is amazing that the Chinese stab in the back was not enough to make them realistic? Or, do they need another blow?



B E E T H O V E N : HE MADE MUSIC THE MOST DEMOCRATIC THING IN THE WORLD OF AESTHETICS

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

"Beethoven advanced music from salon to concert hall, castle to cottage, and made it the most democratic thing in the aesthetic world", wrote Robert Haven Schauflier.

Ludwig van Beethoven, whose bicentenary is being celebrated the world over on and from 16th December, liberated music from the long standing indignity of being carried on by lackeys by his sheer personal magnetism will-power and intensity of genius. He liberated the music of his day from the ignominious role of hanger-on of the fashionable world and made it a universal thing—a materialisation of the utmost range of the human mind and spirit, omitting none of the peaks and abysses. Thus, Beethoven will ever be remembered in the world of music for freeing it from the cloistered seclusion of classicism.

Engaged always himself in pressing out delicious nectar for mankind Beethoven was thickset, well-built, untidy in appearance with a look of a Robinson Crusoe with his broad-brimmed hat, ugly but noble in bearing, face broad with a fresh ruddy complexion, hair brick-red, eyes bright and small dilating in a peculiar way, nose short and broad, shaven upto the eye-brows with no beard or moustache, mouth firm, determined and finely shaped, lips protruding with a look almost of fierceness, teeth snow white regular and good upto his death, broad jaws, broad across the shoulders, hands covered with thick hair, fingers strong and short with broad tips and having a deep cleft on the right cheek that made the face strangely asymmetri-

cal, but at the same time a man of fine feelings.

Born in Bonn (now capital of the Federal Republic of Germany) at 515 Bonngasse as the first living child of Johann van Beethoven and Maria Magdalena Keverich, Ludwig was baptised on December 17, 1770. On the back of his certificate of baptism dated December 17, 1770 Beethoven wrote himself : The certificate does not seem to be correct, as there was another Ludwig before me. He added the year 1772 ! He was correct. Ludwig Maria, baptised on April 2, 1769, his eldest sister, had lived only for six days.

The house where Beethoven was born is designated by a tablet erected in 1870 after it has been purchased by an association of amateurs and dedicated for ever as *Geburtshaus Beethovens*. Beethoven's family came from the Flemish Brabant and were farmers. The title *van* therefore does not indicate nobility. Ludwig inherited the musical tradition from his grandfather Louis van Beethoven (1712-1773) who was the principal singer at St. Peter's at Louvain, bass singer at St. Lambert's at Siege, and from 1733 singer and later kapellmeister of the electoral chapel at Bonn.

Johann wanted his son Ludwig to be a child prodigy. Ludwig was given lessons in violin and piano when the boy was hardly four. Johann and his colleague Tobias Friedrich Pfeiffer would often come home intoxicated and pull Ludwig out of bed and set to play through his lessons.

Ludwig had little formal education, but he

made up this deficiency by studying Latin, French and Italian in private. His correspondence reveals his wide knowledge of technical philosophical and literary writings. He was able to think loftily and express himself with style and ease. He had a marked love for English authors.

The music training Ludwig had earlier from the court organist Gilles van der Eeden, the musician Pfeiffer and Franz Georg Rovantini was erratic. His first regular teacher was Christian Gottlieb Neeffe. Ludwig was appointed Neeffe's deputy as court organist in 1782 but his first salaried appointment was in 1784 as second organist with the Elector Max Franz at a salary of 150 florins. He also played harpsichord and viola in the court orchestra. It was at the suggestion of Neeffe that Beethoven went to Vienna in 1787 to meet Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-91) who together with Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) dominated the world of music during the second half of the 18th century. "If I should ever be great, it will no doubt be partly through your assistance", Beethoven wrote to Neeffe.

"Second Mozart"

Neeffe was the first musician to recognise the genius of Beethoven. He had high hopes on his student. Beethoven wrote his first compositions under Neeffe's guidance and they were published in February 1783! "The young genius deserves assistance to enable him to travel. If he continues as he has begun, he will without doubt become a second Mozart" Neeffe predicted.

When Beethoven improvised a given theme, ending the improvisation with a perfect fugue, Mozart was enthusiastic. "TAKE NOTE OF HIM", Mozart told his audience, "ONE DAY HE WILL BE FAMOUS !. PAY ATTENTION TO THIS YOUNGMAN. HE

WILL YET MAKE A NOISE IN THE WORLD".

Count Ferdinand Waldstein, Beethoven Patron in Bonn, sent again the young music-genius to Vienna in 1792, this time to take lessons from Haydn, the Father of Symphony and the founder of the string quartet. "Dear Beethoven", wrote the Count on October 29, 1792, "you are travelling to Vienna in fulfilment of your long cherished wish. The genius of Mozart is still weeping and bewailing the death of her favourite. With the inexhaustible Hadyn she found a refuge, but no occupation, and is now waiting to leave him and join herself to some one else. Labour assiduously, and receive Mozart's spirit from the hands of Haydn — Your true friend, Waldstein".

Beethoven reached Vienna in the middle of November, 1792, never to return to Bonn. Haydn was paid 8 groschen on December 12, 1792 as his fee by Beethoven for the first lesson. He took lessons at Haydn's house. Haydn was busy; so Beethoven took lessons from Schenk, a well known Vienna composer in secret. Beethoven was Haydn's disciple till he left for England on January 19, 1794. Haydn nicknamed Beethoven as the GREAT MOGHUL.

The eminent theorist Albrechtsberger was Beethoven's next music teacher in counterpoint. He also took lessons from Schuppanzigh on the violin. His music teachers have testified that Beethoven was not a good pupil. "I want to learn the rules in order to find out the best way of breaking them", confesses Beethoven.

Now a fine pianist, proficient also on the violin and viola, Beethoven made his debut as pianist on March 1795. This first night's concert was criticised in the following words : "His playing is absolutely brilliant but hardly delicate and at times unclear. He is at his best when improvising freely".

Some others characterised this debut as wild as Beethoven himself, but always inspired. Schenk's estimate was different. He wrote: "It had the clarity of daylight at high noon! Casual figures developed into such motifs full of truth and beauty. Suddenly he changed to an entirely different key and expressed the most violent passion. More gentle modulation led in turn to a divine melody, and now the bewitching tones of the piano became melancholy, playful and with a touch of roguery. His playing was as superb as his inventiveness".

Spirited Style

Beethoven was a master of extemporisation. "His improvisation was most brilliant and striking; in whatever company he might chance to be, he knew how to produce such an effect upon every hearer, that frequently not an eye remained dry, while many would break out into sobs; for there was something wonderful in his expression, in addition to the beauty and originality of his ideas, and his spirited style of rendering them", says Czerny.

With his perfect command over German, French and Italian music as he was a member of the court orchestra together with his perfect mastery over improvisation, Beethoven attracted the attention of the élite of Vienna. He played his works in Vienna's salons and academies. Prince Lichnowsky maintained a small but excellent orchestra, and retained Beethoven to play regularly at his Friday Chamber performances. Pupils from all walks of life, including Archduke Rudolph, flocked to his lodgings.

Beethoven's love of nature was profound. He used to have long walks in and around the city of Vienna. He hated the city in summer and would go to the suburbs. He undertook long journeys, especially in 1796 to Nurnberg,

Prague, Dresden and Berlin. He paid several visits to Budapest. He spent sometime at the Bohemian spas with visits to Prague and Linz in 1811-12. He was never out without his sketchbook in which he stored themes. He also kept one sketchbook at beside to use at night.

What was his routine? "At half-past five he was up and at his table, beating time with hands and feet, singing, humming and writing. At half past 7 was the family breakfast, and directly after it he hurried out of doors, and would saunter about the fields, calling out, waving his hands, going now very slowly, then very fast, and then suddenly standing still and writing in a kind of pocket-book. At half-past 12 he came into the house to dinner, and after dinner he went to his own room till 3 or so; then again in the fields till about sunset, for later than that he might not go. At half-past 7 was supper, and then he went to his room, write till 10, and so to bed", describes Michael Krenn. He did not tolerate interruption during his work.

No other person in Vienna changed his lodgings so often as did Beethoven. He will quarrel with Landlords. On one occasion he left the lodgings as he did not want to take off his hat whenever he met his landlord. On another occasion the landlord was angry with his excessive fondness for washing. He used to go on washing his hands for hours together, forgetting everything and enjoying the gurgling sound of the water, as a result of which rooms were sometimes flooded. The Lichnowskys took Beethoven to their house. He never dressed up himself for dinner, never attended to definite hours and definite rules. These were too much for him. He left the Lichnowskys.

How did his room look like? Untidy. Behind his work room in the old Schwarzspani-

erhaus stood his Graf piano, wrecked by his frantic efforts to hear his own playing. Old coins lay scattered among the litter on the table. There were his ear-trumpets, his conversation books, his carpenter's pencil, quill-pencil, a broken coffee cup, remnants of food and his candlestick.

Absent-minded

Like Newton, Beethoven was absent-minded. He forgot that he was the owner of a horse until recalled to the fact by a long bill for its keeping. He was not made for practical life. He never could play at cards or dance. At the same time he took lively interest in topical questions-especially in political developments. He cut himself horribly in shaving; shaved up to the eye-brows; and delighted in shaving every day, keeping the doors and windows wide open, watching the passers-by in his little dressed costume. He was fond of joking and was a master of pun. He was a "disorderly creature", his intimate friends testified. His handwriting was very poor indeed. "Yesterday I took a letter myself to the post office and was asked where it was meant to go. From which I see that my writing is as often misunderstood as I am myself", says the titan of symphony, sonata, string quartet, concerto and the *Missa Solemnis*.

Infinitely strict in the smallest detail, Beethoven had an insatiable standard of perfection in music and daily life. No convenience of singers or players weighed for a moment against the interests of his finished composition. "Every week he altered and grew more complete and every time I saw him he appeared to me to have advanced since the last in knowledge, learning and judgment", said Goethe. Careless in dressing and baffling in character though he was, Beethoven was an epicurian and punished his cook for the staleness of the eggs by throwing the whole lot at her one by one!

He distrusted the expenditure of every half penny.

The mystery behind Beethoven's remaining a bachelor has not yet been solved. Perhaps it will never be as he was wedded to his art. He had a number of ladies as admirers. He was welcome at any time to the boudoirs of the aristocratic ladies of Vienna of his days. Princess Lichnowsky, Countess Giulietta Guicciardi, Princess Odescalchi, Baroness Ertmann, sisters of Count Brunswick and others welcomed this romantic composer to their private apartments as he had neither a taste for immorality nor libidinousness.

Master of love-letters, Beethoven corresponded with ladies of the aristocracy and considered marriage in 1810 with Therese Malfatti, daughter of a land-owner, but her parents objected to the union. Similarly he proposed marriage to Magdalene Willman, a singer. He had a love affair with Countess Josephine Deym, younger sister of Therese von Brunswick and a number of love letters written to her were published. Therese was taken to be Beethoven's IMMORTAL BELOVED. Beethoven was engaged to her three years secretly. Countess Giulietta Guicciardi to whom he dedicated the "Moonlight Sonata" did not marry Beethoven as her family objected to her marrying a man "without rank, fortune and profession".

Love-Letters

A number of love-letters written by Beethoven to his Immortal Beloved are available and a specimen of it is reproduced here for its beauty.

"To the Immortal Beloved

On the morning of July 6th. My angel, my all, my very self! Only a few words today, and those in pencil (Yours).....Why this deep sorrow, where necessity speaks? Can our love subsist

otherwise by sacrifices, by our not desiring everything? Can you do anything to alter the fact that you are not wholly mine that I am not wholly yours?..... Love demands everything and quite rightly so; that is how I feel towards you and you towards me. Only you so readily forget that I must live for me and for you. If we were wholly united you would feel the pain of it as little as I do.

...But to-day I cannot tell you of the observations I have made during the past days with regard to my life. If our hearts were always close together I should scarcely have occasion to make any such observations. My heart is full of many things to say to you. Oh, there are moments when I feel that words are nothing all. Take courage? Remain true; my only treasure, as I remain yours! The Gods must send us the rest, whatever has been obtained for us and must be.

Your faithful Ludwig".

He wrote on Monday night, July 6th and addressed her with a Good morning on July 7th, still from the bed!

"O God! let me at last find her who is destined to be mine, and who shall strengthen me in virtue", Beethoven cried aloud once. It is on record that Beethoven in 1809 asked Baron Gleichenstein to find out a wife for him. "Now you can help me to look for a wife. If you should find a good-looking one there in Freiburg—one who might occasionally spare a sigh for my harmonies...then prepare the connection in advance. But she must be good-looking. I cannot love anything that is not beautiful, or I should love myself". He remained a bachelor as he could not find a woman of his choice. His conception of the ideal woman is expressed in the sublime and sensitive music of *Leonore* called *Fidelio*, his

only completed opera. Asked why he did not marry, he answered: "Among woman, the soul has no body, and the body has no soul".

Deafness, which increased every year, stood in the way of Beethoven's social intercourse. His hearing was lost by physical affections. The arteries of the ears were atheromatous and the auditory nerves, especially that of the right ear, were degenerated and to all appearance paralysed towards the end of his life. The treatment of ears was not developed during those days and his doctors meddled with his hearing, it seems. The loss of hearing was first noticed in 1800. "In my profession this is a terrible affliction. How humbled have I felt when someone near me has heard the distant sounds of a flute, and I have heard nothing; when someone has heard a shepherd singing, and again I have heard nothing", he laments in his Heiligenstadt Testament dated 6th October 1802. In fact deafness drove Beethoven to commit suicide in 1802, but "art alone restrained me". The deafness advanced to such an extent that six years later, he could no longer perform as a pianist and could not even hear what people said to him when they shouted. His deafness was a blessing in disguise, for posterity has received his thoughts in music in writing. His 'Conversation Books' are treasure troves of his thought. His hope of recovery faded like fallen leaves of autumn as years advanced.

Stoic Suffering

Beethoven suffered this worst malady stoically and fought against it with indomitable courage and strove to reach the pinnacle of his profession. He fought with Fate. "I will as far as possible defy my fate, though there must be moments when I shall be the most miserable of God's creatures. I will grapple with fate; it shall never drag me down", he wrote to Wegeler on June 29th and November 16, 1801.

Goethe (Johann Wolfgang von—1749-1832) who was Beethoven's life-long friend, wrote to C. F. Zelter : "I am astonished by his talent, but he is unfortunately an altogether untamed personality. One must forgive him and pity him for his loss of hearing which, however, is perhaps less harmful to him from a musical than from a social view point". In 1812 Beethoven was in the company of Goethe at Teplica, Carlsbad and Bibina. Goethe wrote to his wife during this time : "Never have I met such a concentrated, forceful and fervent artist. I can well understand that he must have a strange relationship with the world".

Beethoven was introvert, tactless, egocentric, and conscientious. As deafness became worse, he grew more unbalanced and shunned society. He would often fly into temper at the least provocation. He was once arrested by police and kept under custody until he was able to prove his identity. He lived in the world of his music and was insensible to what others thought of him. He was not a narcissist, but a conscientious artist who remained a confined bachelor betrothed to his art. "You must not be human, not for yourself only for others ; for you there can be no more happiness except within yourself, in your art. Oh God ? Give me strength to conquer myself ! For nothing must bind me to this life", he once wrote in his Diary.

"She (virtue) alone, not money, give happiness. I speak from experience. It was she alone who raised me in the time of trouble and I think her as well as my art, that I did not seek to end my life by suicide", Beethoven held. He was in indigent circumstances in the initial stages of his career in Vienna, and was often financially harassed. In 1808 three of his patrons—Archduke Rudolph, Prince Josef Max Lobkowitz and Prince Ferdinand Kinsky—joined hands together to guarantee him an annual salary of 4000 florins on condition that

he would devote his time for compositions and be resident at Vienna. This was occasioned by the invitation of King Jerome of Westphalia, youngest brother of Napoleon Bonaparte, to join him as his Court Bandmaster. His compositions found ready acceptance and this was a steady source of income. He sometimes sold his compositions to more than one publisher absent-mindedly. His concerts fetched him good returns. His dedications also brought to him pecuniary benefits. Like his canon, Beethoven's dedications have a personal significance.

Beethoven was a child of the French Revolution (1789-1815) and detonated the world of music with such a profound charge of thought and passion that the world still vibrates with the shock. He stood for democracy, equality, liberty and fraternity and translated the triumphs of the Revolution into music. He was an admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte who consolidated the gains of the Revolution. The Third Symphony is dedicated to Bonaparte. He frequented French Ambassador Bernadotte's levees and was in his confidence. He celebrated the victory of the Duke of Wellington. When the leading statesmen of Europe such as Castlereagh, Duke of Wellington, Prince Metternich and Czar Alexander assembled at Vienna for putting the clock back in 1814, Beethoven was commissioned to write the festival sonata and wrote the cantata *Der glorreiche Augenblick* for the Congress in hurry. He was the cynosure of all statesmen during the Congress. The Congress in fact gave a boost to Beethoven's talents and placed him in an international pedestal. Beethoven was presented to all the leading statesmen assembled at the Congress. The Empress of Russia gave him 200 ducats (£100) towards the expenses of two concerts at the "Concert of Europe". The Russian Ambassador Count Rasoumowsky

was the brother-in-law of Prince Lichnowsky and hence Beethoven's connection with the imperial court of Petersburg was very strong.

Honorary Citizenship

The city of Vienna conferred on her musical genius Beethoven the Honorary Citizenship which exempted him from payment of taxes. He seldom left Vienna, but by 1815 he lost interest in the then intellectual and political capital of Europe. He wrote: "I am now alone in this ugly city, Vienna. Everything that happens here is dirty and mean. It could not be worse. Everyone is mean, from the lowest to the most exalted".

Humanism was Beethoven's religion, just as music was his way of life. He used to give performances for charitable institutions and deserving causes. He never failed to give concerts for artist societies in 1795, Beethoven gave a performance for the benefit of Mozart's widow, playing a concert of Mozart's between the acts of 'CLEMENZO DI TITO'. His religion may be expressed in his own words thus :

I am all that is.

I am all that is, was and ever shall be.

No mortal has lifted my veil.

He alone is of Himself, and to Him alone

All things owe their origin.

Beethoven's life was made miserable on account of litigation for the custody of his nephew, Carl. Though he lived for his brothers and his nephew, they did not have the same feeling. Carl, whom he adopted, a 'good-for-nothing lout' who thought his uncle "an old fool whom I can twist round my little finger." He attempted suicide with which "all that had been purposeful in Beethoven's movement was completely gone. We saw before us an old man, weak-willed and pliable", wrote Schindler.

How did deaf Beethoven conduct his con-

certs? Seyfried described his conducting in these words: "The orchestra had to take great care that they were not disturbed by their leader. He had feeling only for his own work and was incessantly absorbed in expressing his requirements with an endless variety of gesticulations. He would 'diminuendo' by making himself smaller and smaller and 'pianissimo' by virtually crawling under the stand. As the volume increased, he reappeared from his hiding place and grew in stature, assuming almost the proportions of a giant when the orchestra reached full volume, he would raise himself up on his toes—in fact, a veritable *perpetuum mobile*". Imperious and exacting, Beethoven would impress his will on the orchestra by an endless variety of gesticulations.

Robert Haven Schauffler hailed Beethoven as "the man who freed music". How did he free music? He was the last of the Viennese classicists and first of the romanticists. His works marked the close of the classical period. Before his time it was not usual to endeavour to express emotion or atmosphere in instrumental music. He broke with the past by abandoning the minuet and by introducing his own free scherzo in its place. No doubt he was brought up in the classical tradition, but we must remember that he learnt the rules to find the best way of breaking them. The distinctive features of Beethoven's musical language were their cross-rhythms with syncopations and sudden *sforzando* and the crescendos that led not to a fortissimo but unexpectedly and in the form of an illusion to a piano or pianissimo. He gave to the symphony a new richness of expression by striking a balance between expression and form. Beethoven's musical descriptions of rising passion are unparalleled. "He directed music away from harmony and atmosphere and concentrated interest on energy and

dynamic action. He leavened and widened the sphere of man's emotion as great philosophers and poets have extended the sphere of man's intellectual activity."

Universal Language

The range of keys within which the composers of sonatas and symphonies before Beethoven confined themselves was very narrow. Another of Beethoven's innovations had respect to the connection of the different subjects or clauses. His predecessors were in the habit of separating their clauses than of connecting them. An innovation of great importance in the finale, for which no precedent can be found, was the introduction of the chorus. Moreover, each piece and each movement of Beethoven had its own individuality and he rarely repeated. He used variations to a great extent.

Beethoven spoke a language no one had spoken before and treated of things no one had dreamt of before ; yet it seemed as though he were speaking of matters long familiar, in one's mother tongue, as though he touched upon emotions one had lived through in some former existence, according to Dannreuther.

In respect of stylistic origins, Beethoven was not a revolutionary in the ordinary sense. His style has been called polyphonic. He developed music as he found it. His music has been described "Heroic Style" on account of his admiration for the French school of opera composers of his time. From the French he borrowed the idea of fanfare motives that reverberated throughout his work. From an ethical viewpoint Beethoven was naturally drawn to subjects of epic or heroic grandeur and attempted to illustrate them in music by numerous means.

The Shakespeare of music, Beethoven had a perfect command of pregnant melodic phraseology and of a varied, original, and sometimes daring harmonic idiom with such a sense

of the innate principles of form as went far beyond a mere successful adherence to the convention of balance and variety of material and key. His ability to imagine his melodies and harmonies in garbs of glowing instrumental colour was unparalleled.

Music did not come to Beethoven as a magician's mango. He was never out without his sketchbook to store up themes and ideas. Musical ideas developed in the form of a canon also occur in some of the notes with amusing rhymes and puns he sent to his friends. He was fond of improving canons in this way "Beethoven's music was under constant development because it expressed an attitude towards life which opened the way to unlimited advancement", says J. W. N. Sullivan.

"I live only in my music, and no sooner is one thing done than the next is begun. As I am now writing I often work at three and four things at once", wrote Beethoven in 1801. He took three years to write the three Rasoumovsky string quartets. Similarly it took 3 years for completing the great MISA SOLEMNIS written for Prince Nicolas Galitzin intended for the enthronement of his pupil the Archduke Rudolph as archbishop of Olomouc in 1820.

The world's finest symphonies and orchestras are amongst the nine of each that he wrote, its finest pinaforte sonatas amongst his 32, and its finest string quartets among his 17. The first symphony was first performed at the Halburg theatre in Vienna on April 2, 1800 and the Second symphony was first performed at Theatre an der Wien on April 5, 1803. The Third symphony, was first performed at the residence of Prince Lobkowitz in March 1807. The Fourth Symphony was composed in 1807. The Fifth and Sixth symphonies were composed in 1812 and the Seventh performed in December 1813. The Eight Symphony, an orgy of

rhythm in which Beethoven most clearly showed us his true nature, was first performed at Archduke Rudolph's house on February 27, 1814. The Ninth Symphony was written in 1824.

"With the "Eroica" (his third symphony), he established his position as a great composer. The unity of purpose he here achieved within a long and diverse structure is truly staggering, even today. In the first movement alone the structural invention and cogency went far beyond what even Mozart had achieved in his "Jupiter" symphony, and the second movement—a vast funeral March—has an overwhelmingly tragic emotional content. But the "Eroica" was followed by six equally great symphonies, each one as varied, as inventive, as unified as the others. The ninth symphony is significant in both its length and finale: Here Beethoven crowns three superb instrumental movements with a choral movement that, as well as summing up all that has gone before, expresses in music the joy in existence more ecstatically than any other work.

The burning intensity of Beethoven's genius is just as evident in the chamber music. His quartets are the product of a revolutionary age in which the social graces and formal restraint of the 18th cent. were thrown off in a search for more personal mode of expression. The early op. 18 set. and the Razoumovsky quartets, op. 59, go even beyond the range of Haydn's and Mozart's works in the medium but it was in his late quartets, his final musical testament, that Beethoven refined and distilled his art for posterity. No words can possibly describe their unique quality, but any and every chance should be taken to make their acquaintance: the effort required will be more than amply rewarded.

"The early piano concertos do not reach quite this level of attainment, but the last three, together with the violin concerto, are

on a par with the finest of the symphonies and quartets, as well as being considerable test of the performers' technique. The Triple Concerto for piano, violin, and cello is an unusual and rewarding work. Beethoven's grandest choral work—and one of the most noble in existence—is the Mass in D (*Missa Solemnis*). Its vast scale and sublime utterance often defeat performers, but when it is successfully done there is more spiritually uplifting experience for the listener", says *Pears cyclopaedia* in its 78th edition.

In his symphonies and chamber work Beethoven adhered to the four-movement plan of Haydn and Mozart, and used the piano sonata for a great variety of experiments in musical forms, possibly because he was himself a pianist and therefore was able to give immediate expression to his ideas at the keyboard. In most of his piano variations Beethoven followed his predecessors, particularly Mozart, in the practice of maintaining the main outlines of the theme that become progressively transformed by figures.

FIDELIO, the only opera Beethoven wrote and which earned him the 'Martyr's Crown' as he confessed himself, is a simple escape story that was transformed by Beethoven's creative fire into a universal symbol of liberty, the composer identifying himself with the struggle for freedom from tyranny and release from darkness. The *Fidelio der die eheliche Liebe* (in 3 Acts) was first performed at the Theatre an der Wien in Vienna on November 20, 1805 with Anna Mildner. The form of the work remained unbalanced. "Beginning as a simple setting of a popular escape story this conventional *singspiel* is convulsed by the electric current of Beethoven's human passion from comedy thriller into an uneven but magnificent expression of faith in liberty and loathing of tyranny. Not only do the individual charac-

ters transcend themselves and become universal symbols; the opera itself has become symbol of liberty and has frequently been chosen by opera houses after destruction or closure by war", says a critic. Beethoven made sketches for *Vestas Meer* to a libretto by Schikaneddar, and wrote some of the witches' chorus for *Macbeth*. He contemplated many other subjects including *Faust*. Beethoven's thought was usually too deep for words: that is why he did not write more operas.

Last Testament

Beethoven crowned the achievements of Mozart and Haydn and each of his major works still defined a world of its own more sharply than did the cantatas of Bach, the operas of Handel or the symphonies of his masters.

The maestro received the Blessed sacraments of the church on 24th March 1827 and sank into an apparent coma at his Schwarzsapfnerplatz lodgings. Within a few hours locks of his hair were cut off by visitors for keeping as mementos. He died on Monday, March 26, 1827 at 5.45 P.M. at the age of 56. Dr. Wagner conducted the post-mortem examination on the evening of the 27th. His funeral took place on 29th March at 3 P.M. The coffin was borne by 8 members of the opera, a choir of 16 men singers and 4 trombones alternately sang and played two *Equili* of Beethoven. His mortal remains were cremated at the Wahringer cemetery.

Gradually the composer's grave fell into neglect and in 1883 the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* undertook to exhume and rebury the remains. This was done on October 13 and Beethoven's monument now consists of a large flat iron sailing and herded by an stone covering the grave, surrounded by an obelisk in stone bearing a lyre, the usual emblem of eternity, and the simple name Beethoven.

"*Plaudite, amici, comedia finita est*" (Applaud, my friends, the comedy is over). These were his last words. "I feel as if I had written scarcely more than a few notes. I hope still to bring a few grand works into the world, and then like an old child, to end my earthly course somewhere amongst good people." This was his last testament.

Beethoven's personal effects such as furniture, clothes, the pianos etc. were sold by public auction on April 3, 1827. His musical effects were sold on November 5 and the day following by auction for 1193 florins. These included 50 lots of sketches and notebooks, 73 autographs, 40 copies of unpublished works. His Conversation Books and diaries were sold for one guilder and 20 kreutzer! This was the treatment meted out to Beethoven who was always engaged in pressing out delicious nectar for mankind like a Bacchus. Fortunately, more than 5,000 pages of his all-important sketches have been preserved today. Two of the many pianos the composer used for creating his masterpieces are today preserved at his original home at Bonngasse, Bonn. A complete edition of Beethoven's works was published in 24 volumes in 1862-65 with a supplement in 1888 from Leipzig.

Celebrations In Germany

The 27th Beethoven Festival, comprising three musical cycles of 8-to-10 days each beginning from May and ending on December 16-17th will feature celebrated conductors and orchestras who will perform Beethoven's symphonic and chamber music. Philharmonic orchestras from Berlin, Vienna, Leningrad and Amsterdam, playing to the batons of star conductors like Herbert von Karajan, Karl Boehm, Eugen Jochum and others, will be the main features of the three cycles in Bonn. These concert programmes will be topped off with a Beethoven Prize awarded to the winner

of a competition in which 108 conductors from all over the world have entered.

During the Festival, the main centre of attraction for the foreign visitors to the Federal Republic of Germany will be the Beethoven Memorial in Bonn—the composer's 18th century house in the Bonngasse where among other things two of the many pianos Beethoven used in composing his works have been preserved. For the more serious student of musicology, the Beethoven archives display a complete collection of photographs, original works, documents, notebooks and letters throwing light on the little-known aspects of the composer's life.

On the international level, commemorative postage stamps will highlight the Beethoven year. A mobile exhibition of documentary films, tape recordings, books and long-playing discs about the German Composer will go round the British and the Swedish capitals.

According to a Reuter message from Berlin dated August 3, Beethoven has beaten jazz, pop, soul and beat music to head German Democratic Republic's best selling records list. The state-owned record company, Veb Deutsche Schallplatten plans to issue records of his entire works, an effort described by Deputy Culture Minister Dr. Werner Rckwitz as "unique". The first 40 records have sold 600,000 copies so far, more than any other classical or modern composer available at Berlin. By September 80 out of a grand total of 120 Beethoven records will have been released and the remaining 40 in 1971. Prof. H. G. Uszkoreit, recently disclosed that his company was working solely from original Beethoven scores or, if these were not available,

from first editions authorised by the composer himself. The Company plans to record Beethoven's violin concerto with either Russia's David Oistrakh or Karel Suk of Czechoslovakia as soloist. Rumania's Radu Aldulescu will play all the cello sonatas, and GDR's Dieter Zechlin the piano sonatas. The cost of the complete edition of Beethoven's work will amount to 1,560 (about Rs 2,808) and the company has already sold licences for the complete edition to some of the world's leading record companies. Publishing houses are planning the reissue of an 1840 Beethoven biography. Romain Rolland's critical works on the composer and the complete edition of Beethoven's conversation books. At the eight-day festival and a two-day international conference in the GDR, nine symphonies will be played by six different orchestras, including the Leningrad philharmonic, and the Berlin symphony orchestra. The Missa Solemnis and opera Fidelio are also to be performed, and Emil Gilels, the Russian pianist, will be among the soloists during the festival.

Four talented Indian pianists from Bombay, Calcutta and Madras recently qualified themselves for top honours in the All-India Beethoven Piano Contest that was jointly sponsored by the eight regional centres of the Max Mueller Bhavan in India. The finals of the competition, held to commemorate the Beethoven Bi-Centenary Celebrations, drew 35 participants who have an excellent account of their musical talent in Calcutta. The first four prizes were shared by Mr. N. Chinoy, Miss M. L. Fernandes of Bombay, Mr. R. Bharucha of Calcutta and Miss E. Abrahams of Madras.

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIAN PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER

Dr. J. N. LAL

The unfortunate division in the Congress Party created on account of the nomination of Dr. N. Sanjiva Reddy by the Congress Parliamentary Board as its Presidential candidate in the recent presidential election had sparked off many controversies which touch some of the vital aspects of the functioning of parliamentary Govt. in India. One of them is the relation between the President and the Prime Minister.

The relations between the Indian President and the Prime Minister have been quite cordial in the past, The President functioning as a constitutional head of the state and the Prime Minister enjoying the real powers. This had led many to believe that this pattern of relation was not only the one that was desired by the makers of the Constitution but had been also supported by the conventions of the last nineteen years. No sane man is going to place reliance on this belief after many healthy conventions were thrown to the winds in the states after the fourth general election and after so many happenings both at the Centre and in the states which go against the wishes of the Constitution makers.

In order to know the correct relationship between the two high offices we are left with no choice but to look to the various constitutional provisions having a bearing on their relationship and to analyse various extra-

constitutional factors which guide the relationship in practice.

The Prime Minister is appointed by the President and holds office during his pleasure¹. There is nothing in the constitution to suggest in so many words, that the discretion of the President is limited. Yet certain articles of the Constitution indicate that the discretion of the president will not be so unfettered as it might appear on the face of it because the Constitution requires the Prime Minister to satisfy at least two qualifications. First, he must command the confidence of the House of the People. It is so because the Council of Ministers of which he is the head has been made collectively responsible to that House². Second, he should be a member of either House of Parliament or become one within six months of his appointment as a Minister, because there is a provision that a Minister shall cease to be a Minister if he does not become a member of Parliament within six months of his appointment as a Minister³. The term 'Minister' applies to Prime Minister also. This ipsofacto implies that the Prime Minister must possess those qualifications which are required for a Member of Parliament.

Subject to these qualifications, the President is free to appoint anybody as Prime Minister. For instance, he may appoint any person as Prime Minister, who is for the time being not a member of either House of Parlia-

ment, or who is a member of the Council of State after his appointment. Nothing in the Constitution forbids the President to adopt any of the above courses if the circumstances so require. Not only that, the President can, if he finds it necessary or expedient, appoint even that person, as Prime Minister, who does not enjoy the confidence of the House of the People. Such a person, if appointed, can easily carry on, as Prime Minister, so long as he has not to face the House of the People. And he can easily do without facing that House for six months.

In actual practice, the President's choice, in this matter, will normally be limited, not so much because of the constitutional requirements as on account of practical political considerations. If a political party has a clear majority in the House of the People and has a recognised leader, the President is expected to appoint that leader of the majority party as Prime Minister, even if he, for the moment is not a member of either House of Parliament or is member of the Council of State. This situation actually arose when after the death of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Congress Party which was in majority in the House of the People elected Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as its leader. If, however, no party gains a majority or, the majority party does not have a recognised leader, the President has the discretion to appoint anybody as Prime Minister who, in his opinion, shall command the confidence of the House of the People. When the political situation does not make the choice of the Prime Minister clear, the Constitution expects the President to exercise his own discretion in the matter.

There is a section of opinion which, following the practice of some of the Western democracies, holds that the Prime Minister should, in accordance with the democratic principles, belong to the Lower

House i. e. the House of the People. But the Constitution as we have seen above, places no such bar against a member of the Council of State to be appointed as Prime Minister. Besides, there are two other factors which suggest that the Prime Minister need not necessarily belong to the House of the People. First in India, unlike in England, the Prime Minister, even if he belongs to the Rajya Sabha, will be equally available to the House of the People⁴ for answering questions, explaining policies and taking part in the debates and discussions. Second, the practices in the States have clearly established that the leader of the party need not necessarily belong to the Lower House.⁵ At Union level too, this was confirmed when Mrs. Indira Gandhi, a member of the Council of State, was appointed as Prime Minister in January, 1966.

The President has had to face no serious problem in this regard so far. So long as Jawahar Lal Nehru was alive, he was in view of his unchallenged position in the party and the position of his party in the Parliament, an obvious choice. Though after every General Election to the House of the People he used to be formally elected as the leader of the Congress party in Parliament, everybody knew that it was a mere formality. When, however, Jawahar Lal Nehru died on May 27, 1964, it was, quite a problem before the President as to who was to be appointed as Prime Minister. Within hours after the death of Jawahar Lal Nehru the President appointed Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda, the Senior-most Minister in the defunct Council of Ministers, as Prime Minister.⁶ It is to be noted that he was not, as later events proved the recognised leader of the Party. He was appointed as Prime Minister either because he was the senior-most member of the outgoing cabinet or because he was, as the

reports suggested, recommended to be appointed as P. M. by the members of the defunct cabinet. Undoubtedly, the course adopted by the President saved the country from a lot of unnecessary trouble. But it is open to question whether the President was bound to appoint the seniormost member or the one recommended by the outgoing cabinet. There was no constitutional compulsion on the President to adopt the course that he did. The old cabinet, in the eyes of the Constitution, ceased to exist the moment Jawahar Lal Nehru died. The President was, as a matter of fact, free to assess the political situation and decide for himself who among the Congress leaders would command the confidence of the House of the People. To infer from the incident that the President is bound to appoint as Prime Minister either the seniormost Minister of the outgoing cabinet or its nominee is untenable constitutionally and politically too. Yet some one had to be appointed as Prime Minister because it would have been unconstitutional for the President if he had carried on the country's administration without a Council of Ministers, because the Constitution provides that there shall be a Council of Ministers, which means the Constitution does not visualise a condition in which the President could act without a Council of Ministers. Under the circumstances, when the majority party was not in a position to be clear about its leader, the President could constitutionally appoint anybody as Prime Minister to carry on the country's administration till the Congress party made its choice. He was free to consult anybody, or not to consult anybody at all. That he appointed Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda, the senior-most Minister of the outgoing council of Ministers, is not conclusive to prove that he was bound to appoint the nominee of

the outgoing council of Ministers. On the other hand, it proves the contrary. The later events showed it only too clearly that Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda was not the leader of the Congress party in parliament, nor was he an aspirant or claimant. He admitted that he had 'stepped into the breach' for only so long as the Congress party in Parliament did not elect its leader⁷. From May 27, 1964, when he was sworn in as Prime Minister, to June 9, when a new Council of Ministers with Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri as Prime Minister, took office Mr. Nanda was Prime Minister of the country without being the leader of the majority party in Parliament. The same situation arose after Mr. Shastri's death on January 11, 1966. Mr. Nanda had to be sworn in a second time as the Prime Minister of India. Does it not show that in a situation in which the choice of the leader is not clear, the President is free to appoint anybody as Prime Minister?

It is interesting to note that in 1964, all Congressmen including the Congress Members of Parliament were not of one opinion as to how the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party should be elected. While one group held that the choice of the leader should be left to the Congress members of Parliament, another group wanted the All India Congress Committee to nominate the leader. Ultimately, it was decided that the Congress President should find out which leader had the support of the majority of the Congress Members of Parliament and indicate his name, and then he should be unanimously elected as leader of the Congress party in Parliament. The Congress President, K. Kamraj consulted the important leaders of the party including the Congress Members of Parliament and the State Chief Ministers, and came to the conclusion that Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri had the support of the majority. He indicated the choice to the Congress Members of

Parliament who elected Mr. Shastri as their leader unanimously at a meeting of the Congress party in Parliament. However, in 1966, after Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's death, no such unanimity could be achieved and the Congress Party in Parliament elected Mrs. Indira Gandhi as leader, in a regular way.

According to the Constitution, a formal vote of confidence is not required before a person's appointment as Prime Minister. Sometimes it is suggested that a provision for a formal vote of confidence should be made in the Constitution. That would not be proper because it would fetter the discretion of the President which may prove fatal to the vital interests of the country in certain circumstances.

Although the choice of Prime Minister is formally made by the President and the Constitution does not impose any fetters on his discretion in this respect, except that the person chosen should command the confidence of the House of the people, in practice, there would be a number of other considerations which would determine the choice of the Prime Minister in India. For instance, he should be the leader of his own party if there is a majority party in the House of the People; he should carry the confidence of the State Governments also, considering the intricate federal system of the country. This has been, as we say, amply demonstrated at the time of the election of Lal Bahadur Shastri, as leader of the Congress party in Parliament. Chief Ministers also played a very vital role in the election of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Chief Ministers declared their support and pitched their tents in Delhi to canvass for her. Mr. K. Santhanam has raised objections against this role of the State Chief Ministers⁸, but in a federal structure this cannot be avoided.

Dismissal of the Prime Minister

As regards the dismissal of the Prime Minister, the Constitution is quite clear that he holds office during the pleasure of the President, which means that the President can dismiss a Prime Minister at any time. However, since the Constitution has provided for a Parliamentary Government making the Prime Minister and his Council of Ministers collectively responsible to the Lower House of Parliament, it is held that the President cannot dismiss a Prime Minister; only the Lok Sabha can remove him after passing a formal vote of no confidence. This is the practice in most of the countries with a parliamentary form of government. It was expected by the constitution makers and it is even now hoped by the champions of parliamentary democracy in India that this practice would grow in India also. Many as a matter of fact hold that this is implied in the scheme of things provided in the constitution. No occasion for such a dismissal has arisen so far but it is difficult to agree with this contention keeping in view the political conditions in India and the many unfortunate developments that have taken place in the states, particularly after the fourth general elections, involving dismissal of Chief Ministers by Governors.

Situations may be visualised in which the President may dismiss a Prime Minister in spite of the constitution and the so called conventions. The circumstances in which the President may take that step, would be determined by the practical forces operating at the time and not by the Constitution.

To say that the dismissal of a Prime Minister would be unconstitutional and the President would be impeached for it will not be of much avail, because what is unconstitutional has not been precisely defined in the constitution. A 2/3rd majority in each House of Parliament is necessary to impeach a

President. It is this majority which would ultimately decide about the constitutionality of the President's actions. Thus, if a President is sure of avoiding impeachment, he may dismiss a Prime Minister even though he might be enjoying the majority support in the Lower House.

The convention that a constitutional head of a state cannot dismiss a Prime Minister enjoying the support of the majority in the Lower House is a matter of policy and not of Constitution, because in no constitution is it written that a head of the state cannot dismiss a prime minister. The real check on the President in this matter comes from a consensus among the political parties and the people. If all political parties and most of the people, irrespective of their ideological differences are of the firm view that the head of the state cannot dismiss a prime minister, the head of the state would never take that step. This is the case in England. Is there a consensus among our political parties and the people on this point? No, there is not, as is evident from the recent demand of the Jan Sang and Swatantra parties for the dismissal of the prime minister. They would not find anything constitutionally wrong in this; they would rather feel that the President has done his duty if Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is dismissed.

In other circumstances the impeachment provisions might be taken as an encouraging provision for taking this extreme step. For instance, if a President feels that a Prime Minister is bent upon following an unconstitutional course or is pursuing a policy which is detrimental to the basic interests of the nation or is working to further his party's interests as against those of the nation he may dismiss the prime minister for avoiding the very impeachment, because if he allows such a prime minister to function, other parties

might take it that the President has failed in his duty of protecting the constitution for which he must be impeached.

Many other situations of this nature can be imagined in which the President might be inclined to take this step in spite of the constitution and sometimes because of the constitution. For example, if a prime minister refused to resign after a formal vote of no-confidence has been passed against him, the President may dismiss him.

Such fears are not empty fears and unfortunately the country's politics is heading towards a time when the President may eventually take this step. The possibility of such a step being taken will be greatest when the President and the Prime Minister belong to two parties which are known for their extreme views.

Duties of the Prime Minister

In his day to day functioning as Prime Minister, he has to perform certain duties in relation to the President which are as follows :

(i) It is a duty of the Prime Minister to communicate to the President all decisions relating to the administration of the country and proposals for legislation. The Prime Minister is thus the chief spokesman of the council of ministers and the sole channel of communication between the President and the council of ministers.

(ii) Another duty of the Prime Minister is to furnish any other information relating to the administration of the Union or proposals for legislation, which the President may demand.¹⁰

(iii) A third duty of the Prime Minister is to submit for reconsideration of the Council of Ministers, if asked by the President, any matter on which a decision has been taken by an individual minister but which has not been considered by the Council.¹¹ This clause is primarily meant to ensure collective respon-

sibility but it does not give the President any power to get a question reopened if the same has been considered and decided by the council. Since, normally it is the business of the Prime Minister to ensure collective responsibility, it would have been better if the President were not brought in the picture on this point, because the President may make use of this power in a way that might prove very embarrassing to the Prime Minister.

In spite of the fact that the President possesses vast powers under the constitution and the Prime Minister may be appointed and dismissed by the President at his discretion; in actual practice it has been the Prime Minister who has dominated the whole political field. It was not President Rajendra Prasad who 'selected' the Prime Minister but rather Prime Minister Nehru along with his colleagues who 'selected' the President. The personality of Pt. Nehru was so dominating that President was reduced to a rubber-stamp. The impact has been so great that it was believed that the personality of the Prime Minister, and not the constitutional provision, would determine the actual powers of the President.

In spite of the vast powers that the President possessed under the constitution, he had been almost reduced to a nominal figure head. The responsibility for this rested on Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru who held that the President had a place of great respect but not of power and authority. The Prime Minister became the real head of the executive; the President always acted upon the advice of the Prime Minister¹². The President had been reduced to a shadow; the substance being the Prime Minister¹³.

But Prime Minister Nehru showed utmost respect and regard to the President and tried to make his office one of dignity. He used to see him frequently and discuss current state

matters and developments. He often wrote to the President.¹⁴ He consulted the President on almost all important affairs of the state. Their relations were very friendly and cordial. This, however, does not give a clear picture of the pattern of relationship between the Prime Minister and the President, because, apart from occupying these high offices, they were old friends, bound by ties of mutual regard and affection. It is difficult to assess the impact of constitutional provisions on their relationship because Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru said that he consulted the President more as an old colleague than as the President.¹⁵

In spite of the very cordial relations that existed between Nehru and Prasad, the latter did not hesitate to express his views to Nehru on matters on which he differed from him.¹⁶ It is a thing of common knowledge that he held different views from those of Prime Minister Nehru on the Hindu Code Bill and he made it known to him. Similarly he wrote a letter to Nehru, reviewing with a critical eye the Government's policy in regard to Land Reforms, Co-operative Farming, State Trading in Food Grains, Industrial Development, Educated Unemployment and the country's educational programme.¹⁷ Similarly, Dr. Prasad did not like Pandit Nehru's hurry and speed in social matters. He did not like the Chief Justices of States to officiate for Governors during the latter's absence; he also did not like the Defence Minister doing too much touring in foreign countries.¹⁸

These views of the President which were different from those of the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru are known to have little or no effect on Nehru. Dr. Prasad did not go beyond expressing opinion because he did not want to create any constitutional crisis. Whether this was constitutionally proper or not, this at least saved the country from a

high level clash relating to constitutional rights. Yet there was a common feeling that Dr. Prasad's views deserved greater and more careful consideration at the hands of the Prime Minister than they were given. For instance, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, as President had given timely warnings to the Prime Minister Nehru against the designs of China ; but they went unheeded. Since the views of Dr. Prasad about Chinese designs proved to be correct, as later events showed, the people have naturally been led to think that had the views of the President been given sufficient weight at the proper time, the country would have been saved from the aggression of 1962. This has naturally raised doubts about the pattern of relationship between the President and the Prime Minister, established during the regime of Nehru as Prime Minister. There is a feeling in the country that this particular pattern was established because Dr. Prasad was not strong enough to exercise his powers and that had he been strong, an entirely different pattern of relationship would have emerged.

It is, therefore, difficult to say whether other Presidents placed differently would stop just where Dr. Prasad stopped. Many sincerely feel that a strong President would not stop there and would assert himself on the strength of his powers. It is felt that "there is still a danger of reversion of roles if a strong minded President and a weak Prime Minister happened to occupy the two top offices.¹⁹" We have had the experience of the Prime Minister's dominating the whole political scene including the President, therefore, it is a little difficult for us to imagine a situation in which the President may dominate the whole scene including the Prime Minister.

It is just possible that a President may rely on the letters of the Constitution and try to act as the sole repository of all powers.

Similarly a Prime Minister, basing his case solely on the support of the parliamentary majority and the constitutional conventions may regard himself to be the master of the situation and start making basic changes in the Constitution or the country's social and political life. The one is as the other. This may not, however, create any real difficulty so long as the combination of a weak President and a strong Prime Minister, or vice-versa, is available. Our executive containing the traits of both the Presidential and Parliamentary executives, would lean towards the former when there is a strong President, and towards the latter when there is a strong Prime Minister. It is contended in this context, rather seriously, that had Jawahar Lal Nehru been President of India, the character of our executive would not have remained Parliamentary as it had been with him as Prime Minister.

In case Parliament became a multiparty legislature, absolute majority would be a rare thing. Such a state of affairs would lead to coalition Governments. The Presidency and Prime Ministership would then in all probability be distributed between the main parties of the coalition. Its stronger constituent, bargaining from a position of strength, may prefer Presidency, as it is a securer office. "Moreover, it will try to make it really strong in order to be in a commanding position.²⁰" This division of power between different political parties will put the working of the Constitution in jeopardy because when both top men do not belong to the same political party, the Prime Minister may hesitate to give many a secret information to the President.

The real difficulty may crop up when the President and the Prime Minister are both strong, having balanced support in Parliament and about equal prestige and popularity in

the country. In a situation in which the majority of the Council of State is with the President, and that of the House of the People naturally with the Prime Minister, it would start a test of strength between the President and the Prime Minister. It is to be seen how things get shaped in such circumstances, whether it is the President or the Prime Minister who emerges as dominant. It is therefore, argued that the chance of a conflict between the President and the Prime Minister is not completely ruled out.

"Sometimes a President, by his democratic appeal, may command greater respect and support from the people than a Prime Minister and his colleagues. Conversely a Prime Minister and his colleagues may very often reflect public opinion more accurately than a President..... In such circumstances conflicts may arise, and reliance on the British Constitution in this setting may not prove helpful in resolving these conflicts.²¹" This confused relationship may be a potential source of trouble.²²

The fact is that both the President and the Prime Minister have their own different sources of strength. The source of the President's powers is the Constitution, whereas the strength of the Prime Minister depends upon political factors. If a Prime Minister has the confidence of his party (which is in majority in the Lok Sabha) the President normally should not interfere in the work of the Prime Minister. On the other hand, the Prime Minister must also realise that the President is under oath to protect the Constitution and serve the country and the Constitution gives him sufficient powers to perform his duty and therefore he should not do any thing which may be against the spirit of the Constitution or the interest of the country. A President, who tries to interfere with such a Prime Minister, would be misusing his

powers thereby compelling the Prime Minister to resign or proceed to impeach the President. If the Prime Minister has sufficient backing in the country, either of the above two courses adopted by the Prime Minister will be embarrassing to the President. Similarly, a Prime Minister who acts against the interests of the nation or the principles of the Constitution, would be, in a way, inviting the President to do his duty of protecting the Constitution and serving the interests of the people by dismissing the Prime Minister and even dissolving the House of the People. The President if he chooses to be strong can use other methods also, e. g. warning, sending messages, calling a joint sitting of the two Houses or addressing any House to influence its decision. Viewed thus, both offices have been linked in a system of checks and balance within the framework of the Constitution. Each has sufficient power to check the other from abusing his power and authority.

On the other hand, both have been made inter-dependent. Neither can do without having the support of the other. The President, of course, behaving within the Constitutional framework, cannot do without a House of the People for a long time, and without a Council of Ministers at all, both of which will normally be behind the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister cannot function unless he has the co-operation of the President because of his legal powers. But the source of trouble is elsewhere. Hard realities of politics may not always allow this balanced view to prevail. The President and the Prime Minister both will try to assert their respective powers and each will try to dominate the other according to the political situations prevailing at any particular time. It may be said that this problem escaped the notice of the Constituent Assembly. Even after the

commencement of the Constitution the dangers involved in the un-clear relations of the two offices have not been realised. We have seen how in our neighbouring countries of Burma, Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia and Sudan, the Presidents eliminated the Prime Ministers with the help of the army. This situation is, therefore, fraught with grave dangers and the sooner we take steps to clarify their relations in unambiguous terms, the better.²³ Not to see the dangers inherent in the provisions of our Constitution is to shut our eyes to the realities of politics.

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Current Affairs

Political Situation Elsewhere

The Polish food riots have been front line news for many days. No one could believe that a highly developed and industrially advanced country like Poland would suddenly have to face a food shortage of such dimensions as would start off riots in more than one city of that country. Moreover, Russia, Poland's neighbour and friend in need was there too. But apparently Russia had more guns than bread or butter and she was also not quite so mobile with her food carrying vehicles as she was with tanks and rocket carriers. It also proved that people of authoritarian countries are no longer as docile as they had been in Russia towards the beginning of the communist era when millions died of starvation in that land of nationalised farms. In 1943 when more than a million people died of starvation in Bengal, the communists of India advised people to avoid mass movements as that would affect the British War Effort against Hitler who was an enemy of communism.

In Egypt the Russians are assisting the U. A. R. people to resist the Israelis by mounting guided missiles along a certain line of defence. The Israelis are not trying to invade any new territories of the U. A. R. The reason for this is quite obvious. The Israelis do not wish to be drawn into any conflict with Russia, as the guided missiles are operated by the soldiers of USSR. The USSR too do not desire a show down, as that might involve them in a war with the U. S. A. So things are at a standstill for the time being and a state of armed peace prevails in the area. How

long that will remain so is a matter of conjecture.

In Britain Mr. Heath is finding it difficult to fulfil his promises of tax reduction and so forth. Rather, economic conditions are becoming worse and Mr. Heath may have to face the necessity for devaluation of the Pound. His decision to sell arms to South Africa also does not meet with the approval of the British public. Mr. Heath shows signs of floundering and if he tries to "muddle through" in the traditional British manner he may run into a defeat in Parliament sooner than he normally should.

Property Rights Under the Constitution

K. Subba Rao, former Chief Justice of India discusses property rights under our constitution in *Triveni*. After analysing the constitutional provisions relating to the fundamental right to property he comes to certain conclusions which we quote below :—

The Constitution conferred individual right to property and to do business on citizens subject to justiciable laws of social control. The said constitutional ideology was sought to be substituted by totalitarian philosophy in that the said amendments enabled the State in the exercise of its arbitrary power to confiscate property directly or indirectly or nationalise any business carried on by a citizen. What was more, they supported the release of arbitrary power from judicial checks in that regard.

No doubt the Supreme Court, by construction imposed certain limitations on that power, but they may not prove effective

against determined exercise of arbitrary power. What the Constituent Assembly apprehended and provided against has actually happened. The makers of the Constitution and some of them were of the highest calibre and character the Nation could produce visualized the situation that arbitrary power even benevolent might destroy property rights among others honestly believing it was for the good of the country though in fact it was not.

They also knew that in modern democracies the executive controlled the majority of the Parliament, and it could push through any law it liked. They knew further that in India for a long time to come there would not be enlightened public opinion. They therefore provided for judicial check on both executive and legislative action. But it has proved unavailing against the strong majority of a single party continuously in power for two decades.

Man Creates Life

Dr. G. F. Danielli claims to have made a living cell out of chemical ingredients mixed by him in his own laboratory. He calls this creation of life. In fact what he has done is the making of a cell which displayed the presence of life in it. He has therefore been able to make something which attracts life to it. A receptacle, a habitation, a favourable setting for life forces to take shelter in. Creating a material body, by putting together chemical constituents, which will help life to come into it and display its existence, is a great achievement, even if it may not be the same thing as creation of life. If we study the origin and development of life on this Earth we find that millions of years have passed between the appearance of living cells and the evolution of reptiles, birds and mammals. Making a living cell artificially and making an animal may require millions of attempts, experiments,

rejections and modifications. Man may some day be able to make a human body artificially which will acquire nourishment and grow. Which will again propagate its own progeny. But that may take thousands or millions of years or by lucky developments the artificially made man may appear much sooner. This is the age of quick developments. From the discovery of the steam engine to the rocket that took man to the moon has been a matter of only about 200 years ! So man may make an artificial man sooner than one may think it possible.

General Charles de Gaulle

On the 9th of November 1970 General de Gaulle, the greatest Frenchman after Napoleon died in Colombey Les Deux Eglises, France at the age of 79. He had a sudden heart attack while arranging to see a Television broadcast at about 7-30 p.m. He was standing near a table and suddenly fell forward on the table. The General's wife immediately called a doctor and a priest ; but the General died within 15 minutes of the heart attack. Charles de Gaulle was born on the 22nd of November 1890 at Lille. He passed out of the Ecole Militaire de St. Cyr in 1911. He joined the 33rd Infantry Regiment under Colonel Philippe Petain. The war with Germany broke out in 1914. He was wounded and was promoted to a captain in 1915. He was wounded again and was made a prisoner of war by the Germans. He tried to escape but did not succeed. When he came back to France at the end of the war he rejoined his military teaching work at St. Cyr. In 1921 he married Yuoune Vendrou . After this he went to the Ecole superieure de Guerre, Paris. The head instructor here believed in fortifications for defence and de Gaulle believed in free movement. He proved his theories in practical demonstration and thus attracted the attention of the French General Staff. He

was opposed to the Maginot Line idea of border defence. Although the highest political personages agreed with him the French did not change their methods and arrangements for defence. When the second World War broke out de Gaulle was a Brigadier General. He fought brilliantly but the French were defeated. Many top ranking army and government personnel collaborated with the Germans. De Gaulle left France secretly and took up his fight against the army of occupation from London. The radio was his weapon. The Free Frenchmen accepted General de Gaulle as their leader. The Americans tried to oust him from this position but it did not work out as planned by the Americans. General de Gaulle always remained the real leader of the French Resistance.

His subsequent leadership of the French people had proved to be of great value to France. He revived the morale of the French, gave them back their self-respect and roused in their hearts a new faith which made them believe in a greater future for France and the French. He knew that no country could even achieve greatness in which there were too many political parties and in which the Trade Unions were politically motivated and went on strike or stopped work whenever the

political parties ordered them to do so. He also did not like students to make studies a secondary consideration in their program of work and to act as agents of political parties or secret societies which organised revolts or revolutions. General de Gaulle was rather unpopular with the Anglo-Americans. He did not like British or American interference in French affairs. They, the British and the Americans naturally wanted de Gaulle to give up his command over French politics. Various groups grew and developed in France towards the later period of the de Gaulle regime which tried to bring off great strikes and revolts. Attempts were also made to assassinate him which did not succeed. In 1968 the younger elements in France tried to oust de Gaulle from power. His authority was shaken for the first time since the early years of the forties. But de Gaulle took up the challenge and in the elections that were held in June 1968 de Gaulle achieved a spectacular victory. In 1969 he wanted to centralise the government still further and there was a referendum which rejected his proposal. Thereafter de Gaulle retired from politics and devoted himself to literary work. The first volume of his memoirs was published before his death.



IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

(20)

His meal was over soon and Kshitimohan Babu came in right then to see him. Rabindranath left the table while discussing school affairs with him. He went outside carrying a kind of metal broom-stick, made in Java, used for sweeping dry leaves.

We could see him all the time from our house. A continuous stream of visitors pouring in, either for consultations or for a brief 'darshan', to touch his feet. Already guests from Calcutta were trickling in for the new year celebrations. Mulu had gone to him in the afternoon, to collect his usual supply of old newspapers for his night-school. He used to sell these and buy books and papers for his students. When he returned with the load, we found some old letters thrown in with the pile. A few of them were quite interesting. A Parsee young man had written an effusive letter, ending it thus—"I am a Parsee, and ashamed of it too." What was shameful in being a Parsee, remained a puzzle to me.

Just as we were going out for our evening walk, two boys from Sishu Bibhag came to us, with an invitation to their annual literary meeting. They needed a few candles and we gave them some from our stock. We went out again; there would be special evening prayers for the last day of the year—we did not wish to be late for that. But Rabindranath was still sitting on the terrace. Kshitimohan babu lived next door, so we dropped in there. Thandi got ready and we all went together to the Mandir. We soon saw Rabindranath coming behind us with a cluster of boys

following him in an orderly line. The poet came in right after we reached the temple and the Japanese gong started ringing. It seemed to come alive in his hands—calling all to prayer. No one else could ring it in that way.

Dinu babu had not yet returned from Calcutta—so there were no songs before the prayer. Nevertheless, Nature was festive outside and within the Mandir our hearts were filled with the Festival spirit of a coming new year.

The boys gathered around the poet to touch his feet after the service. We could not even go near him. Afterwards we saw him walk away towards the guest-house. We stood near the Sal grove and chatted with each other. Rabindranath returned soon after with the organisers of the literary meeting. They had planned the meeting to be held in the top floor of the guesthouse, but the poet refused to go there. They soon realised that a decorated venue was not as necessary for a meeting as the person to preside over it, and so, sadly, they went back to make the required changes. Now we went near him to bow down and touch his feet. He spoke a few words and then went up the stairs to his first-floor room.

The boys held their meeting on Dinubabu's terrace. Rabindranath came down to preside over the session. There were recitations and story readings, while one schoolboy, (most probably Dharendra Krishna Dev Varma), exhibited a painting and the cast of a head he had sculpted. The poet commented on the two stories—the writers were good when they

were describing familiar objects and experiences he said. But the forced comic effects in the first and the deliberate pathos of the second spoiled much of the impression. Later they had an election meeting when the president left and we returned home.

On new year's day we woke up when it was still dark, not wanting to be late. The morning service, however, did not start till sunrise. When we saw Rabindranath walking towards the Mandir we also hurried out. The poet called Panditji aside to speak to him, most probably about some songs. Panditji and a few other boys sang the opening song. The second song was sung by the poet himself. After prayers we touched his feet and then returned home.

Dinubabu was still in Calcutta, but the song-sessions continued to be held on his terrace. We did not take too long to join the others there. Most of the songs were from 'Falguni'. Some new songs were also heard, with the poet singing a few of them and also reciting three of his newest poems. These were later placed in his 'Palataka'. Later a discussion began about formal Bengali and spoken Bengali and their suitability as poetic mediums. We were then shown a beautiful Japanese umbrella, which he called 'my royal canopy'. The Japanese people had presented it to him. We returned home after this. There were only a few guests from Calcutta

this year—may be most of the others did not know that the poet would be in the Ashram then.

Mulu's night-school boys were to have an evening feast—the whole afternoon we were busy with preparations. A little later we noticed a group of people gathered in the poet's bedroom. As there were no women present, we hesitated to go but were quite curious. Later we heard from Nepalbabu that the poet's correspondence with Mr. Montagu was being read out.

The night-school boys came marching into our backyard in the evening. They sat on the grass, in two separate lines—one Hindu, the other Muslim. The Muslim boys did not seem to mind eating a meal cooked by Hindu women. Then religious fanaticism had not taken the extreme turn. We arranged the dishes while Mulu and some of his boys served it to the others. Kalimohan babu joined us and soon we had a line of observers. Kalidas babu from Calcutta, Santosh babu and his wife, Nepal babu, Boroma and others started coming in. Mother asked us to invite the poet as he would enjoy the scene. Vijay Vasu of Madras, a class mate of mulu, ran out to call him in. Rabindranath watched the feasting from his terrace and then came down. We brought out our chairs but he was the only one to sit down.

SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

8

Ameer of Bukhara

This was the rumour. They say "do not lend your ears to rumours"—('Gujabe Kan Diona') but they also say that there is often some truth in what is rumoured ('Ja rate ta kotokta bote). The Ameer of Bukhara had fled from Bukhara and come to Kabul and was given asylum there only a few months before we left Kabul. The stories of luxurious living of the Ameer of Bukhara naturally lent colour and credence to the rumours. I did not know that very soon I would be going to Bokhara on our way to Moscow, otherwise, I would have surely contacted the people of the Ameer of Bokhara and got some news of Bokhara from the colleagues of the Ameer of Bokhara. The thought pressed on my mind that if communist expansion continued, the fate of the Ameer of Afghanistan might sooner or later be as that of the Ameer of Bokhara. But fortunately Afghanistan was a buffer state between the British Lion and the Russian Bear and was thus safe at least for the time being.

It was autumn—October 1922 and the roads were thick with yellow autumn leaves and with every breeze, the yellow leaves were falling like the proverbial autumn leaves and again the thought crossed my mind that the fate of the Ameer of Bokhara was like those of autumn leaves. The fall of the Czar, the big feudal lord was followed by the little Czars like the Ameer of Bokhara—would such things follow in India? It did follow but only 25 years later and not in the same way as in Russia but in

the Sardar Patel way, when over 650 of such little Czars or Ameers or Rajas and Maharajas or Nawaba were deprived of their powers in a peaceful and democratic manner.

Charikar 10 Miles

Our first stop was at Charikar, about ten miles from Kabul. It is a small village, where we stayed in an Inspection Bungalow. Maulana's servants went ahead of us and prepared food for us and we ate our meals and slept in our beds as in a camp. Three of the party Viz, Md. Ali, alias Ahmed Hossain, Jaffar Hossain and Dr. Noor Md. spent the last evening in Kabul and came late at night after dinner in Kabul with their friends and slept with us in the Inspection Bungalow. We gathered that Charikar was the place where the Army of Alexander (*the Great*) had made their camp outside this small township (village) by the Kabul river. The similarity in sound between the Posthu Charikar and 'Chharkhar' in Bengali, meaning devastation was remarkable. It raised waves of thought in my mind, right from Alexander in 300 B. C. to 1922, A. D. There was no State of Afghanistan then. There were Pathan tribes only. It was almost an easy walk through, for the well trained and heavily armed Greek army of Alexandar to march from Charikar to Kabul and beyond to Peshawar through the historic Khyber Pass, where the Greeks faced real resistance by the forces of the Hindu (?) King Pururaj. The resistance was overcome by Alexandar by the weight of Arms of the Greeks, who in their long March from Greece had never met with any defeat any where.

One feels pride, how the defeated, and captured Pururaj behaved spiritedly before Alexander. When asked what treatment he expected, he had asserted, that it was—"A King to another King". It is both legend and history.

Jabal Siraj 20 Miles

Next morning we had our bath in the Kabul river near the township, where the Greek Soldiers of Alexander must have taken bath. We had early breakfast and proceeded through to Jabal Siraja a small hill town, where there was the hydro-electric power station and where Colonel Azimulla, a Bengali Muslim was in charge now. He had become quite famous and a hot favourite of the Ameer Amanulla for organising a telephone system in the war field at the time of the Third Afghan War of 1919, when Afghanistan became Independent. When we had proceeded a few miles, an Afghan military man on horse back galloped up to me and stopped me and peremptorily called me back, for a talk with the Moulana. I suggested, I would rather wait there and talk to Moulana when he would reach that place. But the Officer did not agree and I had to go back reluctantly to the Moulana who was sitting about a mile behind on the wayside grass with a very stern look. Moulana said to me, we were forbidden from proceeding by the usual Bamian Road where there were statues of Buddha about 150 feet high carved out of high and huge rock. Moulana also informed that the Ameer had ordered us to proceed by a different route through the Jungles. The plea was that the Ameer had gone for hunting in the Bamian direction. To me it appeared that it was quite arbitrary and autocratic, but not unusual for Feudal Lords. But Moulana said some thing most serious. He apprehended that it was a conspiracy to trap him and his party either to intern them in a very

out of the way place, so that they could have no contact with the outside world or to liquidate them altogether.

Ameer Amanulla, under pressure of the British, had told the Moulana that he would not allow Moulana to take help from the Russians and work against the British sitting in Kabul. Moulana was assured by Amanulla that Moulana was, however, welcome to stay in Kabul as guest of the Afghan Government but not to take financial help from Russia. Moulana did not agree. As staying in Kabul without doing anything effective to drive away the British from India, had no charm or meaning for him and he wanted permission to leave Afghanistan and go to Moscow. Such permission was readily granted. Now the Moulana thought that it was a trick to trap him and to liquidate him as the Ameer would not like the world to know of this weakness of the so called Independent Ameer of Afghanistan to submit to the pressure of British Imperialism. Moulana tried to persuade me to leave the party and go back to Kabul and then to India as I did not really belong to their party, and the Ameer had nothing personally against me. Moreover he argued that one was safe in India. I could agitate in India for their release, if they were interned in the interior of Afghanistan or for retribution if they were liquidated. I took my decision in a split second and finally and firmly told him that I would never leave them voluntarily, but if they abandoned me I would try to do what I thought best. I implored the Moulana not to ask me to leave them in the face of danger, real or imaginary. I stressed that in case it was necessary to send some one of the party to India, he should choose another and not me. The talks continued for one whole hour, but I did not yield and ultimately the Moulana agreed and embraced me warmly

and I become a member of Moulana's party in body and spirit and not merely an Associate, as I had been so long.

Council of War.

When the Moulana was talking to me others of the group, all the other eight came there one by one and were told to wait and they waited at a distance, while we two Moulana and myself talked. Then, we all together had a council of war to decide what to do. Some took the situation lightly specially the younger ones, but the senior members took it seriously. But the decision was taken unanimously to proceed as directed by the Ameer and face the situation as it developed. We had two Mausers and two Webley revolvers and we trusted on our courage and the powerful revolvers. I had no revolver of my own with me and one Webley was given to me. Not one of the ten could be induced to leave the group and go back to Kabul or elsewhere, and we all proceeded on the journey, led by the Moulana.

Back to Jabal Siraj.

We all went back to Jabal Siraj together and had a grand reception by colonel Azimulla, the Bengali muslim, who was in-charge of the Hydro-electric Station there. The wayside consultations took nearly three hours and we reached back to Jabal Siraj at about 2 P. M. We had our hastily prepared meals as the guests of the Ameer and were housed in the spacious Guest House beautifully and gorgeously decorated with Persian Carpets and big and numerous lanterns and candles. Some of us went out to see the town and the Hydro-electric Station after the sumptuous meal. When we came back we found that others were preparing for evening Namaj-prayer. I had learnt Namaj and Uju (ablution or wash before Namaj)

from the Moulana before. I had I had my UJU and then had collective prayer. I thought I had acquitted myself well with all the processes of Uju, Sajida etc. I had taken the name of Abdul, so that I would not be easily distinguishable from the rest, the nine Muslims of the group. But later on the Moulana told me in joke that I was found out to be a 'Kafir' (Infidel?). In astonishment I asked him how. He said that while making Uju or ablution before Nawaj I had washed the left foot first, as a Hindu usually does, but a Muslim starts with the right foot. I replied in joke also, that the fault was not mine, but that of my teacher, i. e., the Moulana himself. Luckily nobody else noticed the mistake.

Grand Feast

Colonel Azimulla was the most lavish and solicitous host, but the feast was on behalf of the Ameer. Moulana's first apprehensive thought was that we would be interned at Jabal Siraj, which was about thirty miles from Kabul and we could be much more easily cut out from outside contact than at Kabul. He thought, after a few days or weeks or months we would be liquidated. But nothing like this happened. Next morning after a delicious and heavy breakfast we started on our journey through the jungle road. We were given a horse-man as a guide, who was one of the most expert riders I have ever seen. He was riding up and down the hills, forwards and backwards through the jungles, over the rivers with ease, as if riding on a race course, smooth and even as the race course of the Calcutta Maidan.

Jungle Road

We went a few miles along the Bamian Road, the main Road from Kabul to Mazar-e-Sharif, the most important and sacred religious place in Afghanistan, where a relic of the Prophet or Khalifa was enshrined. The road from there goes straight to the

Russian frontier town and port of Termaz, on river Oxus or Amu Dariya. This is the usual road, quite smooth and broad. But after proceeding for some miles along this usual caravan road our guide led us into the jungle road or village road, which was still in the making. After a few miles, it was only a bridle path, meant for travellers on foot or expert riders. The path was hardly one foot wide and that also full of rocks, with rounded stones often in a state of unstable equilibrium. Any false step and you would be rolling down fifty or a hundred feet. It was indeed a short cut to Mazar-e-Sharif from Kabul; i. e., when the road in the making would be completed. As the existing path was, it was most difficult and dangerous to negotiate, when we had or were forced to travel.

Marble Stones in Galore

In the jungle road the fear of internment or liquidation reappeared. But quite undaunted, we proceeded onwards, braving all the risks. And we were rewarded by the most magnificent sight of multi-coloured marble hills, not in one place alone but along a route of about 50 or 60 miles. The marble hill at Jabalpur is only white and even then it is so beautiful that tourists and sightseers are drawn there from all over the world. If there were good roads, people would flock to Afghanistan also to see the miles and miles of beautiful multi-coloured marbles on both sides of the Kabul river. In some places only, the crust of the rock had been broken by the current of the flowing river and marbles of multiple colour of different designs, designed by Nature herself, were visible.

In Afghanistan, all these rich marble was lying unused and even the tomb of Babar, which lies in Bag-e-Babar (Garden of Babar) in Kabul, only a few white marble slabs decorated the place round the tomb.

Pathan Villages

We also came across villages, after villages where the Pathans were living in mud houses, exactly as they had done for the last two or three thousand years. They were absolutely unsophisticated. The more we entered the jungles along the banks of the Kabul river, towards the source, the more primitive type of Pathans, we could see. All these would have escaped us, if we had been allowed to proceed along the beaten track of the Bamian Road. In my heart I felt happy for these highly interesting sights and experiences. It was a good compensation for avoiding the smooth, broad Bamian Road.

First Halt in the Jungle

Our first halt was at noon in the house of a Pathan Chief. His house was on the top of a small hill, at a little distance from the other huts of the Pathans. Moulana said, on seeing the geography of the place, that it would be an ideal place for internment, from where, absolutely no news could reach the outside world. It was a worse place for internment than the island Elba for Napoleon. For liquidation also it would be an ideal place. Preparing ourselves for the worst, i. e. liquidation, we entered into the Chief's 'Baitak-Khana' (drawing room). Moulana was kept in the middle and two with revolvers were in front of him and two behind him, with our fingers on the triggers of the loaded revolvers and pistols, under cover of our coat pockets. We apprehended an ambush and were mentally prepared for the same. I was placed just behind the Moulana, with one Webley, both for defence and offence.

No Ambush in Khan's House

No attack came as apprehended and we were given a warm and cordial reception and had a real Pathan feast. All food was kept in wooden receptacles or utensils

on the rough wooden blanket, made by pressing wool in the Pathan way. One huge wooden bowl one foot high and one foot diametre with mutton soup was kept in the centre and all took the soup with big wooden spoons or ladles, all taking the soup together. Similarly, all the mutton ('Dumba') roast or Kabab curry, Tandur-ki-roti, etc., were kept on big wooden plates or Thalas two or three feet in diameter and all taking them with their own hands and eating all together, along with the host, the Chief (Khan) and about half a dozen other Pathan guests of the village. All did full justice but we lagged behind the Pathans. It was followed by fruits, grapes, etc. of all kinds and last of all 3 or 4 cups of green tea, by rotation. While eating, there was no fear of poisoning as we all ate together and we hardly remembered our apprehension, with which we had entered the Khan's house. We rested there for the night also. We started on our way next morning, led by the expert horseman guide after profuse Pathan style salutations. We rested at night at another Chief's house. Each morning, our caravan started after breakfast and halted at night in the house of another Khan. But we had sometimes to make our own arrangements for food etc. Food was cheap, a good chicken for about three to four annas and a dozen eggs for 4 annas. Mutton of Dumba was as cheap as vegetables. Tanduri bread about a foot long and half as broad only for 2/3 pices. We went along the road, following the Kabul river towards the source. We went deeper and deeper through the jungles and small valleys full of horses and mules and asses and hardly any bull or cow. We had to ford the Kabul river at least one hundred times on horse back or on mules or on foot. Water was not deep; but some times water reached up to our knees. The river was full of boulders

rounded by rolling down in strong currents in the summer. It being autumn, there was little water. It reminded me of the deep and swift flowing rivers of West Bengal, what a contrast! In summer, *when the snow in the upper reaches of the river melts and causes deep flow in the river*, fording the river and the journey by the road was difficult. No human hand made that road. It was made by the rubbing of feet of human beings and also of domestic animals like sheep, horses, mules and camels. We were following the river bank, till a big rock was reached and then we forded the river and started walking or riding on the other bank along the river. The horses and mules were extremely well trained and accustomed to this road.

This was the routine for the next 8 or 10 days. Rising early and taking a rather heavy breakfast, taking with us some boiled mutton or chicken. Tanduri bread and dried "tut" or raisins, eating the same when hungry, while riding on the back of a horse or a mule or halting at a place. Drinking water where available from river or spring, and halting at night in some caravan-sarai or in the house of a Pathan Chief. Our servants cooked our meals—rice-pilao, kabab, curry of Dumba or chicken, tandur bread or chapathi and fruits. Simple food and no special dishes, not much of a variety. Breakfast was usually egg omlette and tandur bread and green tea.

Wherever a village shop was available—these were very few and far between—we would stop and drink tea or buy snacks, biscuits and fruits.

We twenty, ten of us and four servants and six mule-owners were not travelling together all the way. We generally started together but got separated due to difference in pace of horse and mules and some were even on foot for some distances. The servants usually went

ahead and kept the food ready or half-ready-
awaiting our arrival.

Maulana Obeidulla

Maulana Obeidullah ²Deobandhi-leader of the group. He was in his mid forties when I met him in Kabul. Robust in health, dark complexioned, of medium height, with long beard which had started to turn grey with bright eyes which seemed to penetrate and see through the men he interviewed and talked with. He was a habitual wearer of khaddar-coat, shelwar, pajama, underwear and his beddings were also of khaddar. He was a devout Muslim, saying his prayers five times a day. His grand father was a devoted Hindu in Sindh and his father embraced Sikh religion and was a devout Sikh. He embraced Islam, while he was a student in School and was a devout Muslim. He left his family and went to Deoband, U. P. the great centre of Islamic studies, where he lived for long twelve years. He was a student there for about 8 years and then taught there for about 4 years, and continued his deeper studies of Eastern and Western Philosophy. He knew Persian and Arabic very well, not to speak of Sindhi, Urdu and Punjabi. But he did not know English well enough to read books though he could understand simple conversation in English. His studied the Koran, Hadij etc. in Arabic in which he had vast knowledge and could converse freely. Arabic was the Lingua-franca of the Islamic world.

He was a strong Nationalist and intensely anti-British and had intimate connections with the Wahabis, mainly the Frontier Pathans who had never accepted British Rule and had been fighting the British with guns and rifles since 1857. They were carrying on guerrilla war from their mountain and jungle shelters in the no-man's land in the N. W. Frontier. They had recruits from all over India and Afghani-

stan. To my surprise I learnt that Bengali Muslims also contributed numerous recruits to the Wahabi movement. It was a religious cum political movement against British Rule in India.

During the first World War of 1914-18, their movement gathered strength and Maulana, finding it difficult to operate his Anti-British activities in India went to Afghanistan in 1915 with the help of the Wahabis. While in India, he had intimate connections with Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Ali Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad, Badsha Khan, Pandit M. Malvia, Tilak, Bipin Pal, Lajpat Ray and other Khelafat and Congress leaders, and was intimately connected with both. He had accepted non-violent movement of the Indian National Congress led by Mahatma Gandhi, *as policy not as creed* just as most of the Revolutionaries of Bengal and other parts of India did. I myself had done the same.

He had a very active brain and his plans had wide sweep, over the whole International field. He believed passionately in Hindu-Muslim unity. It was his deep conviction also, that without this, the British could not be driven out of India.

Some of his ardent young associates and colleagues also managed to join him in Kabul with his advice and help. And thus a small group was formed in Kabul around him. Many more had joined after the Mahajarin movement, in which about 100,000 muslims sold or disposed of their properties, for a song and left India—a Kafir country under the British Rule for Islamic countries, like Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey etc. The link with Afghanistan being more close and specially as Afghanistan had recently forced Britain to concede Independence to them the over-whelming majority hoped for sympaetthic and hospitable treatment in Afghanistan,

immediately they crossed the border. They therefore went there with their whole families and also all movable bag and baggage, the immovables and cattle were also disposed of, as they planned never to return to India.

They were no doubt most hospitably received; but Afghanistan's resources being poor, they could not meet the problems of the sudden and huge exodus, properly and adequately. Mismanagement also, partly due to very high expectations from Afghanistan, caused great hardship and misery for shortage of food, drinking water, transport, and medical help. Cholera and Dysentery spread in epidemic form and many died due to want of proper medical aid, for paucity of doctors and nurses and also medicine. Many returned to India from Jalalabad itself where the first big camp was established. They were much sadder and wiser after the return, finding themselves destitute and penniless not to speak of the loss of their near and dear ones in Afghanistan and on the way back. The worst part was that those who had bought their land and houses, would not return them, even on payment of double the amount they had paid for the same. Those who returned to India, were rehabilitated anyhow, but the sufferings of those left behind in Afghanistan knew no bounds. Some stayed on, others proceeded to Russia or Turkey and a few went to Persia also.

The Maulana and his colleagues rendered all possible help with the assistance of the Afghan Government with whom they were on very good terms, for giving active help to Ameer Amanulla in occupying the throne and in fighting the British for winning independence.

But in the first two years of the War during the regime of Ameer Habibulla who was very pro-British, Maulana Obeidullah and his colleagues lived a life of semi-internment.

In this condition also, he kept contact with Indian revolutionaries in India.

Silk Letter Conspiracy

He was the author and the leader of the conspiracy, famous as the Silk Letter Conspiracy. A letter was written on a silk handkerchief addressed to the German Govt. of the Kaiser and the Turkish Govt. of the Sultan to help the Indian Revolutionaries with arms and ammunitions, so that they could fight the British. Two emissaries were sent, but before they could reach their destinations, they were captured and the Silk letter Conspiracy was unearthed and scotched by the efficient British secret service.

A provisional Govt. of India, was formed with Raja Mahendra Pratap as President the Maulana Barkatulla as the Prime Minister and Maulana Obeidulla as the Home Minister etc. Its temporary office was the residence of Maulana Obeidulla. Ameer Amamulla gave his enthusiastic support to Moulana Obeidullah in the beginning, but later on it became rather lukewarm. His wide outlook and his personal sweet behaviour, made me accept him as my political mentor.

People of various shades of opinion used to come to him from India and abroad for consultation and advice. Sitting in Kabul he kept himself well-informed, not only through newspapers, which he read voraciously and scrutinisingly but also through smuggled letters and often through personal emissaries. I had great respect, even admiration for him.

He used to say that Indians are so good that if some good and true muslims had come to India, most Indians would have embraced Islam, but most unfortunately, the Muslims who came, were merely for loot and ravage and worse still, were ravishers of women. This has made Islam an object of hate rather than of appreciation. May be he was correct.

A significant joke of his was that I should be careful, when I mix with him for people complain that he always exploited others. I replied that the intelligent and the brave always lead the others. I do not call it exploitation and I would like to be used or exploited in this sense and I would not blame anybody else, if he was more intelligent, than myself.

The less intelligent is used or exploited usually by the more intelligent. Some men have to be cannon fodder in a great cause, violent or non-violent. For instance Gandhiji used (or exploited) me when I left college but instead of blaming him, I thank him and feel proud that I could respond, however partially it might have been. Maulana used to appreciate my view and self confidence.

2). Mohammad Ali or Ahmed Hossain—an under graduate, Communist colleague of Late M. N. Roy, clean shaven, bachelor of

medium size, stout and strong. He had been earlier sent along with another Sikh to the Czar of Russia by Maulana Obeidullah to seek Russian help for the Indian Independence during the First World War. Both were arrested by the Russian Government but Ahmed Hossain somehow managed to escape. The Sikh was handed over to the British by the Russian Government and executed. After the October Revolution, again Ahmad Hossain was sent to Lenin who directed him to M. N. Roy for help and guidance. Ahmad Hossain came back to Kabul, as a Communist. With the help of Russian money sent by M. N. Roy and Maulana's organisation, he started to work for Indian Revolution, by sending to India Communist literature and emissaries. He also bought all relevant newspapers and political books etc., from India, mostly, from, Lahore and Delhi, and sent the same to Moscow for careful study by the Communist International (Comintern).



EROTIC SCULPTURES OF ORISSA

ADRIIS BANERJI

Mediaevalism, before it was reduced to rubble and shambles, by the Turki converts to Islam, had left a rich legacy of magnificent monuments, in Orissa. Uttara Pradesa, Bihar and Bengal—none can claim this distinction. yet the fact requires to be underlined, that none of them escaped the hands of the vandals, due to the comparative immunity enjoyed by the area till a late date in its history, and to the virile nature of its inhabitants, which had sunk to such a low ebb on the eve of the British annexation. When one stands before these monuments one has a feeling of awe, inspite of the commercialism that is carried on within its four walls, by the Pandas, aided by officious Commissioners of Religious Endowments, ignorant about the fundamentals of art and architecture. This is particularly the case with the Lingaraja temple. One realises our failure to evaluate what its builders felt, what were the ideas that gave birth to the concepts, their approach and methods of representations. The subtle mind of the masters who were responsible for these unrivalled temples and their sculptures at Bhuvaneshvara Konaraka, Gandharadi etc. The high watermark that they reached, can easily be appreciated from the fact, that Rajendra Chola, carried away images to be installed in the numerous shrines of the metropolitan area of the Chola empire.

In these sculptures the principal question that confront us is the occurrence of erotic scenes. In the abode of the gods, where devotees congregated to purify their overburdened souls, even the most catholic modern mind fails to appreciate this evident lack of moral basis in admittedly religious structures, around the

sanctum sanctorum of the 'One Ultimate Universal Being ; who is the basic source of all moral and ethical living. Were they the creation of perverted minds, glorying in presenting the baser aspects of divine love to human spectators ? Because, love ennobles members of either sex in this impermanent world. Love which does not consist of grasping and mauling in desecration and pain, but in supreme sacrifice on the altar of surrender. Just as Devdasa told Parvati, that, because he really loved her and since love does imply selfish possession, he had renounced her. Take for example Sita's attitude to Rama. Alternatively were they products of versatile geniuses, men of immense knowledge and masters of psychology, who rose above the common, place above the dust of this mortal world, to express in terms of stone, the most refined and profound philosophical truths ?

The average man's estimation reminds me of Aldous Huxley. Even this individual of unrivalled subtlety and profound humanism has slandered Indian art in his *jesting Pilate*: "A visit to India makes one realise, how fortunate, so far at any rate the arts are concerned, our Europe has been in its religions. The Olympian religion of antiquity and, except occasionally, the Christianity that took its place, were both favourable to the productions of works of art. Neither Paganism nor Christianity imposed restrictions on what artists might represent, nor did either demand of him that he should try to represent the unrepresentable.....How different is the state of things in India. Here two of the predominant religions forbid absolutely the representation of human forms..... The Hindus are too much interested in Meta-

physics and ultimate reality to make good artists. Art is not the discovery of reality—whatever reality may be and no human being can know. They created many limited monsters.....symbolical of their cosmos.” One wonders why eroticism in Indian art escaped the attention of this purist critic of Indian art, or what his opinion is of *Lady Chatterlys Lover*? Fortunately, there are others. Thus Stella Kramrisch, a familiar face for many decades in Calcutta has stated: “Moral man, limited in action, has only two arms and hands; but an Indian image of divinity may have many times that number to show the divine acts in all directions of space throughout the cosmos. The pliable plastic form in which the arms proliferate sculpturally is consistent in itself, yet may appear paradoxical when thought of outside the creative mould in which the multiple arms and hands are cast as ‘symbols.’” (Kramrisch—*Indian Sculpture*. Philadelphia. 1960, pp.24-25). Like Kramrisch, there are other original minds in the West, in the field of international culture and understanding such as Prof. Tucci, the doyen of European Orientalists, who feels “But those images are laden with philosophical and liturgical implications. In them are gathered the mystical experience of India; a passion that consumes the world of things and dissolves the personalities in indefinable beginnings and end all creations. These couplings are not erotic insanities, but are intended to recall to the initiate the primeval androgyne; the one who was *il tempore* when the universe yet did not exist; is the indivisible union of two opposed yet complementary principles; from whose united labour life springs eternally.....” (G.Tucci—Nepal. New York. 1962, p.23).

Indian art rose over the metabolism of man, to represent the natural and supernatural in perfect harmony. Pure devotion and the obscene together complete the repertory to show the plastic forms. Indian art therefore is creative

but its spiritual basis is often misunderstood by the uninitiated. To the one ultimate universal Being, there was nothing unknown about frail humanity, because he was omniscient. Gods were men and behaved like men. In Indian Olympia, there was no dirt, no filth and no taboos. Take for example Indra and Ahalya. There was no separate heaven for the twice born godly Bramhins or the lowly Harijans. Late J.L.Nehru while referring to the charm of Indian art stated: “In India we find during every period, when her civilization bloomed, an intense joy of life and nature, a pleasure in the art of living, the development of art, music and literature, song dancing and painting, theatres and highly sophisticated enquiry into sex relations.” (*Discovery of India*). The placid equilibrium of sane balanced life, which the materialism of Marx after foreign colonialism is destroying.

First we have to differentiate between Eroticism and Romanticism. The former was the liberation of the creative impulse in the organization of the plastic symbols with its own discipline and basic rhythm, intimating the existence of strange currents in the subterranean passages of the sub-conscious. They are remarkable for their utter devotion to form as was their devotion to religion. History of this eroticism goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era, I mean the so-called Bacchanalian groups, which are possibly derived from goshtha life recommended by Vatsayayna. Their earliest appearance is in the Saka-Kushana art of Mathura. They seem to go down the empty corridors of time, since the internal evidence indicates evolution. The alleged early pieces are in Romano-Hellenistic style, while that at National Museum at New Delhi, originally found at Maholi and allied places from Pali-Khera, are typically Indian, in dress as well as physical types. How their association in structures, affiliated with the gentle creed of Buddha is

to be explained? The answer is that notwithstanding the fact of these being products of an abstract school, dedicated to religion, individual architects had liberty to create diversions. They were aided by the humanism of the art and the social milieu.

While eroticism differs from Romanticism a second distinction has to be made between it and Nudism. Antiquity of Nudism in India goes back to c.2800—1500 B.C., the palmy days of Harappa culture. This is the bronze "Beggar girls" from Mohenjodaro. The same is the case with the male figure in red sandstone. A female with an exaggerated vulva is found on stone and clay discs excavated at various historical sites like Taxila, and Sarnath. One such figure was found by late Dr. Th. Bloch in a stupa at Nandangarh, whose dating was uncharitably criticised by N. G. Majumdar, with his subjective method of excavations initiated by late Sir J. H. Marshall, without answering the question whether the mud envelopes on the stupas had not disturbed the contents. If he confused the sequence at Chanhudaro what guarantee there is for Nandangarh. At Mathura that vast crucible of cultures from 2nd century B.C. to 4th century A.D., naked female *yakshis* occur on the railings of Bhutesvara. On each of these a thin diaphanous drapery is indicated; nevertheless the female *membra genre* is visible below it. Many of the Bacchanalian pieces are half naked, showing amorous poses. They disappear with the Guptas.

Then for centuries they remain in abeyance. They make a fresh appearance. Allowances no doubt have to be made for disappearance of monuments, nonetheless love scenes have seldom been found from Gupta to Pratihara art. They recur again with Chandella, Paramara, Chaulukya, and Gajapati foundations. If you feel that one bath in the Ganga cleans away a

life time's impurities. Few ringing of bells for seeking peace of mind absolves a man and woman of all hypocrisy, chicanery, perjury and forgery. If one sight of his *murti*—he who is *anadi*, *ananta* and *avinasin* purifies the worst black marketeer, liar, criminal and social anarchist, then, why wonder about images on temples engaged in sexual *yoga*? Can there be anything *kalusha* in the abode of *kalushanāsana*? Civilization has made the mystery of creation a venial sin. But why should the creative artists be deterred from proliferation of forms for the formless; in depicting lovely and passionate embraces between *purusha* and *prakriti*, symbolised by the conjugal relation between man and woman. They are mere plastic symbols.

The creative mind seeks basic ideas and forms. The eternal message of this art goes directly to the heart of the unsophisticated millions. The vagueness of phantasy that takes its birth in the glory of creation, is properly controlled, by accepted iconographic clichés; which while offering endless scope for variations, never permitted the betrayal of fundamental ethics. Since the creed insists that God resides everywhere; is there any place between an untouchable hut and a Marble palace, where he is not present? Most sordid and unclean actions of humanity, we are informed, are due to divine urge. (Tini karan! Amra kari) Do not the *Upanishads* contain the message that all our conceptions, notions, ideas and ideals are related with some aspects of the Divine Being. God created the Brahmin, but, God also created the unclean pig. Vishnu-Narayana took the form of the boar to save the earth from a primordial watery grave. Do not *Yoni* and *Lingam* symbolise creation and this union represent *Karma*. Does not the *Bhagavata Gita* (X. 22) define the Lord as "I am the best that procreates?" The

Chhandyogya Upanishad defines OM as union of sexes.

Leaving aside these spiritual and philosophical speculation let us examine the question whether they were not inspired by any particular cult. It is undeniable that the numerous Lakulisa images prove that ancient and mediaeval Orissa was a stronghold of the Kapalikas or the Kaulas. They were one of the sects of Lakulisa-Pasupatas. These Kapalikas used to be associated with *Yoginis* in whose temples they performed their orgiastic rites. The existence of two Chaushant-yogini and hypatheral temples in Orissa lend colour to this theory. Lakulisa doctrine in the very beginnings like Neo-Vaishnavism might have been very pure, but in course of time degenerated into objectionable practices. They were referred to by Somadeva, Kshemendra and Yamunacharya, who mercilessly attacked their debased ritual and practices (*Desopadsa Narmamala* 1923, pp. 24-25.). It was the Kapalikas who practised human sacrifice which took place in Orissa. Pramod Chandra has garnered a mass of data, which pointed out that they always carried a CLUB. (Lalit Kala, Nos. 1 & 2 1956, pp. 103,1)

Late Dr. P. C. Bagchi has shown that

centuries after the appearance of Lakulisa, the cult practices and its esoteric rituals were reformed by Matsyendranatha and Krishnapada (*Kaula-jnana-nirnaya and some other Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranatha*. Calcutta Sanskrit Series. 1934. pp. 27, 35, 38-39, and 127). But all their efforts were futile. Not even Sankaracharya's measured logic and reviling could dissuade the masses from following their absurd practices. The origins of these esoterism is probably deep rooted in Pre-Aryan traditions of India; germs of whose adoption are traceable in the *Upanishads* and *Bhagavate Gita*. When Vedic religion and social organizations lost vitality, when the middle path of Gautama the Buddha and extreme austerities propounded by Mahavira declined, lacking social leaders to lead a better, moral and ethical life, these elements lying dormant in substratums of the folk mind, enveloped the psychology of the population, particularly the Sudras with the aid of rich and poor, Kings and subjects alike. Rankini, a sylvan divinity of the aboriginals transformed herself as a Bhairavi. Neri-bhut found a temple in Suri. This is probably one of the reasons of erotic sculptures on the temples of Orissa.



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Presence of Russian Fleet in Indian Ocean

From the point of view of domination by warships the Indian Ocean has never been Indian. It had been a British Ocean and latterly an American Ocean ; but never Indian. The reason is that India has no strength of Warships. The most recent aspirant in the field of naval power is Russia. Russian Warships abound in the Indian Ocean ; but the Indian Government are officially unaware of their presence. This ridiculous attitude has been commented upon by certain newspapers. The *Swarajya* of December 5, 1970 said :

The presence of an expanded Soviet fleet in the Indian Ocean region is being discussed in other countries, but the Government of India continues to profess ignorance about it. The Foreign Minister, noted increased naval activity by the other powers but not the Soviet Union. The question related to naval bases in the Indian Ocean, and Sardar Swaran Singh expressed concern that the USA and UK had concluded agreements for staging facilities. He added : "According to our information, the Soviet Government has no military bases in the Indian Ocean area." India's strong opposition to the establishment of bases in the Indian Ocean had been conveyed to all the powers, including the Soviet Union.

But developments in regard to big power presence in the Indian Ocean show that no reversal is possible. The non-aligned countries

are in no position to influence developments, for the powers concerned are too big. Moreover, the Lusaka Declaration has come too late: the rival fleets have been here for two years and have recently augmented their capacity, which they could not have done but for bases and facilities already available. The presence of both US and Soviet Fleets is, therefore, a reality. India as a big country in the region must be heard. But her views to command attention must take into account the full picture. She cannot harp on the old statements that the only countries which have stationed warships in the Indian Ocean area are the US, France and the UK, and exclude the Soviet Union. What has really given edge to the rivalry is the presence of the Soviet Fleet.

The Swatantra and other democratic opposition members have sent a communication to the Prime Minister giving details which had so far not been available. "We are surprised how the Government of India had no information of the formation, recently by the Soviet Union, of an Indian Ocean Fleet, with a general total presence of 20 ships. These ships, according to our information, include : four to eight cruisers and destroyers, both missile-equipped ; one to five regular destroyers ; some six to ten support ships ; four to ten "scientific research ships" (spy ships) ; and an unknown number of submarines including missile equipped nuclear submarines. Of more importance has been the recent addition

to the Soviet Indian Ocean fleet of a new type tank-landing ship. In August last, Soviet marines were offloaded from this new type ship on the island of Socotra near the entrance to the Red Sea. This was the first permanent basing of Soviet forces to defend a communication base being built for the control of the Soviet fleet in the region. The Soviets are in active negotiation with countries like Ceylon, Mauritius and Somalia in an attempt to seek further bases. The Soviet use of Pakistani ports for Soviet "spy ships" designated as fishing boats is well known.

"Since 1968 when the Soviet Union began maintaining a continuous presence in the Indian Ocean, they have made over 50 goodwill or flag-showing visits to over 25 ports in some 20 countries in the area. They have also engaged in training exercises and space support activities. In 1970, there has been an estimated increase of about 75 per cent in the number of their visits to the Indian Ocean. According to our information, when these visits first started in 1968, the squadron included ships from the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets and was made up of F-class submarines, guided missile light cruisers, guided missile destroyers and conventional destroyers. These initiatives have finally led to the Soviet Union forming an Indian Ocean Fleet".

The communication concludes by saying that since the Soviet Union is a friend of India it should be possible either to persuade them to refrain from such activities or to publicly pronounce in regard to Soviet initiatives and not to exclude them from the list of Big Powers' presence.

Four Wives for Muslims

Mr. Justice S. A. Masud of the Calcutta High Court writes in the *Law Journal* (quoted in November 1970 *Janata*) about Muslim Personal Law Reform: About the Muslim

law permitting a man to marry four wives at a time Justice Masud says :

A Muslim is allowed in law to have four wives at a time. This law had a history of its own. On account of war many soldiers lost their lives and the widows and unmarried girls in the country were larger in number than the male population. It was to meet such a contingency Islam permitted a Muslim to marry four times. The idea was to avoid promiscuous sexual relation and sufferings of the parents of the unmarried girls and young widows. Further from the historical point of view, many in those days were used to marry many times. It was thought that a restriction to four wives was a healthy golden limit.

In modern days, those situations no longer prevail and for economic reasons, if not for other grounds, the common man can rarely afford to have more than one wife. Yet some unscrupulous men take advantage of this law and cause sufferings to their wives on account of their wealth or in the hope of getting inheritance from the side of the wives. They forget that one of the fundamental tenets of Islam is that a Muslim is allowed to marry four times only if he can treat all the four wives equally. In modern age, women being female and also psychologically conscious of their rights such a treatment is difficult, if not impossible. It is, therefore, necessary that a law should be passed whereby a Muslim is allowed to marry again during the lifetime of his wife only after he gets the necessary sanction from the court. The court might grant the sanction if it is satisfied that the man has no child through his first wife or on some other reasonable ground.

Losses Incurred by Hindustan Steel

S. V. Raju gives the following figures in the December 1970 *Labour Bulletin* relating to losses suffered by the Steel factories of the Hindustan Steel.

Year	Total losses of HSL including Coal Washeries and Fertiliser Plant	Rourkela Steel Plant	Bhilai Steel Plant	Durgapur Steel Plant	Alloy Steel Plant
1966-67	229.39	26.59	27.86	133.61	22.65
1967-68	401.19	72.05	91.21	180.84	47.82
1968-69	399.17	39.72	113.53	173.70	68.26
	1029.75	138.36	232.60	488.15	138.73

Many Public Undertakings are Profitable

Janata publishes the following table of figures relating to dividend performance of public sector undertakings :

Year	No. of running concerns	No. of con- cerns mak- ing profits	Total pro- fits made Rs. crores	No. of con- cerns declar- ing dividends	Amount of dividends Rs. crores	Div. as % of paid-up capital
1959-60	24	22	4.97	4	1.04	3.0
1960-61	26	23	7.83	9	1.40	4.2
1961-62	28	25	8.66	8	1.21	6.7
1962-63	30	27	15.20	11	2.09	6.0
1963-64	34	29	18.54	12	2.70	6.0
1964-65	37	30	21.25	18	3.80	6.1
1965-66	40	31	17.51	19	2.75	4.5
1966-67	44	26	30.83	19	7.34	6.1
1967-68	55	31	48.43	22	10.14	6.5
1968-69	61	35	65.36	21	11.34	7.4

In making a proper assessment of the ability of the Public sector to run industries and commercial enterprises profitably, one should separate the figures relating to enterprises initially set up by the State from those showing the profit earning capacity of highly profitable enterprises like Life Insurance or Banks which the State nationalised. That may prove that though the State is incapable of organising industries and trade ; it can make profit by taking away profitable businesses from the private entrepreneurs,

Large Scale Poultry Farming

News from Bulgaria published an account of large scale poultry farming in that country. This shows that industrialisation has not made the people of Bulgaria blind to the prime necessity of nourishing food for the people. As Danton the leader of the French Revolution said, bread comes first and then education in a nation's plans for progress. In India we think industrialisation comes first. This is a mistake which we should correct- Bulgaria

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is industrialising but she has not forgotten the greater need of food.

The broiler factory farm built at Kostinbrod near Sofia a couple of years ago, is the largest in Bulgaria. Nearly six million broilers are reared here every year. The poultry factories in Rousse, Stara Zagora, Vratsa, Pleven, Lovech and Haskovo are also partly completed.

The plan for the development of poultry-breeding provides that in 1975 the country should provide 17 kg of poultry meat and 265 eggs per head of the population. In order to make this a fact, in 1975 the farms are expected to produce 153 million kg of poultry meat in live weight, as against 103 million kg this year, and the production of eggs is to increase from 1,600 million this year to 2,250 million in 1975. As much as 221 million leva are to be invested in poultry breeding in the next five years. Fourteen broiler factory farms are to be completed, in addition to one turkey factory farm and one duck factory farm, with a total capacity of 71 million broilers a year.

All the poultry factory farms, including those that will be set up in future, will achieve

full synchronisation of forage production, broiler production and meat packing. There will be automatic regulation of lighting and heating, ventilation, feeding, watering and cleaning. Only the small chickens will be put in and the fattened broilers will be taken out by hand. This is expected to raise labour productivity five times.

A large team of scientists from the Academy of Agriculture, experts of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, of the Central Co-operative Union and the other departments are working out long-term plans for the development of poultry-raising in the 1980-90 period.

The production of more and cheaper eggs is another important problem. Ten poultry factory farms with a total capacity of 2.4 million laying hens are expected to be built by 1975. This capacity will range from 100,000 to 600,000 laying hens. The first of them was recently put into operation in the town of Tolbukhin. The hens are bred in cages, in which all processes are completely mechanised and automatic.



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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Socialism by K. Santhanam, Dr. R. C. Cooper and Prof. C. L. Gheevala, published by the Forum of Free Enterprise, Sohrab House, 235 Dr. D. N. Road, Bombay-1. Mr. Santhanam is an ex-minister for State Railways and an eminent economist. Dr. R. C. Cooper is a Chartered Accountant and Prof. Gheevala is Secretary of the Indian Merchants Chamber. They have dealt with the subject chapterwise, naming the chapters (1) Socialism or State Capitalism, (2) Twentieth Century Socialism and (3) Socialist Dilemma.

Jawaharlal Neheru : a man of letters, by Dr. V. N. Chhibber with a foreword by V. K.

R. V. Rao, published by Vikas Publications Delhi, Bombay, Bangalore, Demy Oct. pp 210 +XVI, cloth. Art Jacket Price 22.50, The author has made an analytical study of Pandit Nehru's writings in order to place him in his proper position among the important writers of the world. Dr. V. N. Chhibber works in the Publications and Information Directorate, New Delhi and is therefore well acquainted with the subject chosen by him. He has a lucid style and the ability to make literary evaluation and assessment in a convincing manner. Mr. V. K. R. V. Rao has rightly said in his foreword that the book "fills a longstanding gap in the literature on

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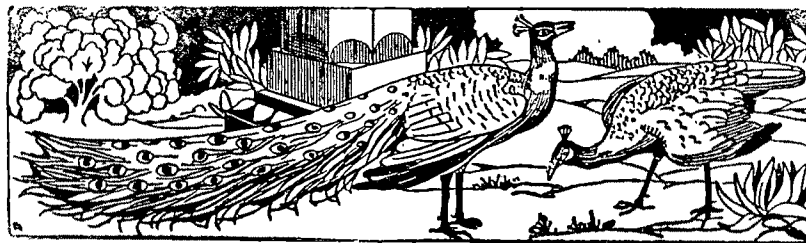
Nehru." It will help readers to appreciate Nehru as a literary figure.

Glorious History of Koh-i-Noor, By N. B. Sen published by New Book Society of India, P. B. No 250 New Delhi, Demy Oct. pp. 128, cloth Gilt, Art Jacket. Black and white illustrations and Art plates. Price Rs. 15.00-24 shilling.

The author gives in this book the romantic history of one of the famous jewels that mankind ever possessed. All famous gems have stories and anecdotes connected with them and much of these tales have superstition at their roots. True history cannot be mixed with romance and superstition without losing its historical value. The Koh-i-Noor of course has much authentic history attached to it and all that has been recorded in the book. The history of the Koh-i-Noor is by and large a part of the history of India. Indian readers will

find in this book many things which are familiar to them.

Urbanisation and Social Change, by prof. M. S. A. Rao, published by Orient Longman Ltd., 17 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta—13 Demy Oct. cloth bound Art Jacket pp 254 + XII, Maps and plans. The book presents an elaborate study of the economic, social, moral, political and cultural changes that take place in villages due to their nearness to urban centres. Prof. Rao lived in a village near Delhi in order to study, at first hand, the effects of such proximity to a great and growing urban centre. Certain types of changes affect rural people very soon and quite intensively, while other effects find villagers unresponsive and impervious. Prof. Rao has made a clear and precise study of all these which will enable the readers to appreciate the importance of his analytical study.





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NOTES

Dinabandhu Andrews

Charles Freer Andrews was a man with a spiritual, moral and intellectual outlook in which there was no place for religious, social or conventional prejudices and superstitions. He had no racial view point as an Englishman and he did not subscribe to the prejudices of the nation of his adoption, the Indian nation. For, just as he fought against the colour prejudice displayed by the imperialist British, he also condemned the untouchability and caste privileges that Indians observed and granted in their social life. His motto was service to humanity with particular reference to the poor, the helpless, to those who suffered from incurable diseases and all those who were burdened with ignorance, backwardness, exploitation by fellow humans and socio-political oppression. He therefore came to the forefront of the world wide struggle for establishing human rights in a fuller measure and his name was closely associated with removal of the colour bar, improvement of the conditions of work and existence of all who were economically enslaved and exploited

by factory and plantation owners, and the abolition of imperialism and all other social and political institutions which reduced humanity to a condition which God did not create them to shoulder and tolerate. His fight to abolish the 'system of indentured labour'; his advocacy of labour, demands on numerous occasions, his condemnation of the conditions of life of working class people in the African States and the British Colonies and his wide and general support of the nationalist movement give one a clear idea of what Charles Freer Andrews stood for and tried hard to achieve. His close association with Gokhale, Lajpat Rai, Rabindranath Tagore, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, is a part of India's political and cultural history. He collaborated with Ramananda Chatterjee in a whole hearted manner and was considered to be one of his closest friends. Some of his articles published in the Modern Review during his life time are reproduced in this number, which is being published in commemoration of Charles Freer Andrews, a great Humanist, who was called Christ's Faithful Apostle by reason of his total attachment to

the fundamental principles of Christianity. His personal life was like that of a Saint and he devoted it exclusively and fully to the service of Mankind.

Teaching Patience and Socialism

We all know what patience is. That is what one gets steeped into when one goes to meet a State Railway train, cash a cheque at a branch of a nationalised bank, deposit money at a governmental milk supply centre, get a telephone call through over an Indian Government managed telephone line, get one's income tax return accepted or get anything done by a government department or institution. The term "government" of course includes every type of institution set up by the state in order to enable the public to enjoy the benefits of self-government and human rights as understood by the top ranking managers of the Indian State and States. Whosoever can call himself a public servant takes full advantage of the dignity of his position and does no work worth the name and the public pays him his salary and other emoluments as they pay the Maharajas their privy purse. It is a privilege to be employed as a public servant and it is also a very great privilege to be a tax payer of a country in which all men live by taxing each others patience, generosity and staying power.

We donot know what socialism is. We feel that it is a system in which all institutions are run for the greatest advantage of the least efficient and willing workers among those who are employed by the organisations which hang round the neck of the people like mill stones. Nobody can expect any public servant to work expeditiously in a "Socialist Pattern" office or establishment of which there is an abundance in India. Originally these were packed with political sufferers and now they are run in order to let the public suffer for socialism. SUFFER FOR SOCIA-

LISM is a new ideological concept which has found the greatest number of protagonists among Indian government's bureaucratic lords and political tin-gods who manage all public affairs on the basis of government of the people by the anti-nationals for the anti-nationals. For politicians, bureaucrats and "public" servants make a perfect team of anti-national elements who extort a very large slice of the people's annual income for their own purpose without actually rendering the services that political leaders, top ranking officials and men employed at State cost should render to the public. There are rules and regulations galore and endless forms for "duly filling"; but nothing much happens anywhere for which the public of India should patiently carry the burden of the heaviest and most extortionate system of taxation in the world.

Swaran Singh and South Vietnam

Shri Swaran Singh made a very good suggestion at the Commonwealth gathering at Singapur for the solution of the South Vietnam problem. He said all foreign troops should withdraw from South Vietnam so that there can be peace in that country. Now, the point is who are foreigners in South Vietnam? Are the North Vietnamese or their fifth Columns "foreigners" in that country? They are very similar in appearance and many of them call themselves Viet-Cong and South Vietnamese. So that if only American troops, who are distinctly foreign, are made to leave South Vietnam, then that country will be easily overrun by the Chinese aided (also Russian) North Vietnamese in the garb of Viet-Cong. That is what the North Vietnamese have always wanted. But if the idea is to establish peace then all foreign aided and foreign supported "rebels" must be forced to cut off their foreign connections. The Chinese, the Russians, the North Viet-

name must guarantee South Vietnamese independence and an international force must be posted in South Vietnam to see that the flow of military aid to the so-called Viet-Cong stops, as well as the infiltration of guerrillas trained in North Vietnam or China.

The real trouble is that communists have great faith in insidious methods. They will always take shelter in subterfuge and make use of underhand tactics. The Americans are openly anti-communist and aggressively opinionated. But if there is to be peace in South East Asia or anywhere the communists must learn to live and let live. Their panacea of revolutions is a fundamental psychological disease and not a cure.

Equality or Privilege

What attracts mankind more, the lure of privilege or the promise of equality with all fellow humans? No doubt very few people who enjoy privilege want to vacate their position of advantage and wish to occupy a less gainful and satisfactory seat of honourable equality with all fellow beings. For once we get used to having more than others, we cannot think of having less, no matter how unjust our prosperity may prove to be. Those who have the greatest privilege want to maintain that position. Those who have less privilege than others always wish to have more so that they could have an easier and more enjoyable life. Those who possess less of the worldly goods than others whom they do not consider to be their superiors; think that equality is a basic moral necessity. For by attaining equality they should be getting more of consumption goods and other rights. But there are many who have little and yet do not advocate equality. They feel that life is a gamble and they would prefer to have a chance of winning a fortune rather than be satisfied with a sure and certain average life.

So that even among the have-nots there are many who would not vote for equality but would prefer to be in the gamble. In America the belief in the efficacy of personal effort and the hope of achieving great success is so strong that most ordinary people would vote for possibilities of gaining privilege rather than for social justice, equality and a virtuous and penurious co-existence with other persons of their own sort. They would suffer from want patiently in the hope that some day their luck would turn and they would leave their log cabins to walk into palaces. There are of course others who are told by idealistic people to struggle for equality rather than for personal privilege and gain; and these are the soldiers who fight to establish liberty, equality and universal brotherhood; that being the only sure way to improve their material set up in life.

Even then there are many persons in communist countries who try to go round rules and regulations and obtain a larger slice of the economic cake compared to their fellow men; and they face harsh punitive consequences if they are found out. Many communists have died and suffered prison sentences for silk, sugar or secret caches of foreign coins. This idea to excel others in wealth is ingrained in human beings. It is a part of their biological make up, a facet of the struggle for existence that all creatures naturally join in to prove that they are the fittest to survive as against others who cannot grab or snatch so cunningly. Of course all people know that following the elemental animal instincts and urges can never lead to total human well being. What we call social virtue and a civilised existence always point to self-control, self-sacrifice and observance of rules of conduct that assure general public welfare—the greatest good of the greatest number—rather than glorify the rule of

animal existence—everyone for himself and the Devil for the hindmost—. Greater reward for extraordinary merit or higher than average productive power and skill may be fitted into a scheme which is basically egalitarian. But cunning exploitation of fellow humans by use of sheer craftiness, cannot be permitted in an ethically well regulated community life. Luck, chance or gambling cannot be permitted to replace man's active endeavour to build his fortune and to acquire by honest effort what he can possess without injuring and depriving others.

Edward Heath's Aggressive Attitude

Mr. Edward Heath, Prime Minister of Great Britain spent sometime in Delhi before continuing his journey to Singapur for the Commonwealth meeting. He had come out of his own country in order to establish better relations with the Commonwealth countries; but his methods were aggressive, intolerant and self-righteous. Attack is no doubt a very effective form of defence; but that is so when people are at war. Mr. Heath was going to a friendly gathering and not into battle. His offensiveness therefore was out of place at conferences called for peaceful communication. He had a guilty mind over the proposed sale of arms to South Africa. He did not approve of apartheid, he wanted to abolish it in every possible way short of armed intervention but he did not think supplying arms to South Africa would in any way affect his policy relating to apartheid. The South Africans will not use any of those arms against African who may challenge white supremacy and tyranny in a dark continent. This absurd attitude was merely a proof of Mr. Heath's secret approval of the South African racialism. Mr. Heath and many British leaders are also supporters of the colour bar in a more or less modified

form; but there are many British leaders and intellectuals who firmly believe in equality and in the fundamental human rights of mankind. The idea that South Africa can be supplied with arms without affecting the British policy relating to apartheid is Mr. Heath's own creation and has little to do with logic as understood by ordinary mortals. Mr. Heath apparently feels that imperialism and white supremacy can reform ranks and counter attack in order to hold up the advance of civilisation and progress. Mr. Heath certainly knows that ethics rest on rationality and that the most obnoxious follies of mankind have no moral basis. Uncivilised conduct or outlook can be criticised by anybody and no one can escape criticism by declaring "it is my business and does not concern you."

Immortalise Persons by Naming Streets after Them

Hero worship is an admirable characteristic in human beings. Those who cannot rise to the heights that they would like to, realise their ideals in a vicarious manner, so to speak, by announcing and showing their admiration for persons who have achieved greatness. This display of admiration is carried out in various manners. Those who are lavish in their love of greatness in human beings, build cities after the greatmen admired by them. Washington in the United States of America is an example of this sort of admiration. Rome was named after its founders, the two brothers Remus and Romulus who were brought up and mothered by a she wolf. Many cities have been named after great men since the naming of Rome. But not all were built for that purpose. Many were just renamed by admirers who wished to avoid unnecessary expenditure of money and effort. St. Petersburg was first changed to Petrograd only for Russianizing the name. Later the

name was changed to Leningrad by the communists who had more reliance on taking over ready-made cities than in building new ones. Giving names of persons to cities is not common in the West. Names derived from religion, geographical origin and location or races and tribes are more common. Paris was named after a tribe. Constantinople or Istambul comes from religious connections. Many places are named after Red Indian Tribes in America. Some countries, of course are named after great men. Rhodesia after Cecil Rhodes, Bolivia after Simon Bolivar or Columbia after Columbus are examples. In Britain no cities have been named after Shakespeare, Queen Elizabeth, the Duke of Wellington or Victoria. There is a railway station in London named Victoria. Oxford and Cambridge produced many great persons but Isis, remains the Isis the Cam remains the Cam and High Street, Kings Parade, the Broad and New Market Road have not been renamed after any great scientists or historians. In India we have many names of towns of religious origin. There are also areas of big cities similarly named. Shyambazar or Bhowanipur in Calcutta, or Sibpur, Jadabpur and Kalighat in the suburbs are commonly known places. Names of mythological origin can also be found in India. Nasik, Kamakshya, Rameswaram, Krishnanagar and many others may be mentioned. Names like Hyderabad, Aligarh, Moghul Serai, Fatehpur etc. have an imperialistic significance. Islamabad in Pakistan is an attempt at glorification of Islam. But the conduct of the people of Pakistan may or may not be a credit to the religion they profess. There are many names which are changed for political reasons. Tamil Nadu is of linguistic-political inspiration.

The present tendency among so-called

leftists is to change street names. These leftists are no more intensely idealistic than the British or the French. In London or Paris no matter what political groups rule, Charing Cross, the Strand, Parliament Street, Boulevard St. Germain, L'Etoile, Rue de Rivoli donot change to Churchill Cross, Montgomery Road, Fabian Street, Boulevard des Gaulle, Sartre Square or Rue Foché. In India the socalled leftists and rightists like to display their political and economic preferences by confusing the postal department and the residents of particular localities by changing Dharamtala Street to Lenin Sarani or Chowringhee to Jawaharlal Nehru Road. The fact that Lenin did nothing to improve the city of Calcutta or that his admirers are not in a majority among the residents and shop owners of Dharamtala Street did not deter the name changers from glorifying Lenin in that inexpensive manner. Had all the councillors who voted for the change of name had to pay something or make some personal sacrifice for the spread of Leninism, there would have been no change of name. India has many idealists who give up nothing to spread the ideals they believe in. Communists enjoy their own property in India while other fellow believers in communism starve or suffer from all kinds of want- If all the great men whose memory these people wished to perpetuate, required that they would have to establish new schools in their name, at the cost of those who wanted the commemoration, there would have been a falling off in the forces of the fighters for new thought and new ways of organizing political life. Those who admire our great writers, film producers, musicians and political martyrs, also give nothing personally but try to get things done by impositions on third parties. There should be some arrangements for making these creators of unnecessary confusion spend even a small sum of money before they

were allowed to change names of streets. The money could then be utilised for setting up statues of the great persons at the street corners concerned. We have a very good idea as to the lavishness that people display when called upon to pay donations for even the best of causes.

Another thing that one should remember is that all these changed street names can be and probably will be changed all over again with changes in the ideology of the political majorities. There are signs that there would be frequent changes of leadership in all states of India. One should therefore be prepared to have street names altered at least every four years. There being 5000/6000 towns and cities in India we would require tens of thousands of great men to fill all the street name plates. Of course so long as we can also use Chinese, Vietnamese and Russian names ; things should be easier.

Mr. Heath's Own Business

M. Edward Heath Prime Minister of Great Britain, considers supplying arms to South Africa, developing a naval base in the Indian Ocean in collaboration with the U. S. A., following a racist policy in Great Britain and modifying Britain's international economic relations in a manner which may inconvenience other members of the commonwealth; as Britain's private affairs which concern no other nations than Britain and Britain's associates in these above matters. That Mr. Heath is illogical and even intentionally untruthful is obvious to all who credit Mr. Heath with normal intelligence and understanding of the effects of the kind of things that Mr. Heath proposes to do. If he supplies arms to South Africa the risk of war in that continent and the chances of the African states seeking the support of the communist bloc will greatly increase. He

cannot therefore say that it is nobody else's business but his own if he supplied arms to South Africa. His scheme of creating a naval communications centre in the Indian Ocean certainly concern other nations, particularly India. This will make other navies active in the Indian Ocean. The Russians, for instance, who are already operating in strength here by using Pakistani ports. Racism in Great Britain is something which can be criticised by all countries. The British can be asked to keep out of other lands if the British choose to segregate non-whites in Great Britain. Britain no doubt can come to what settlements of an economic nature she wishes to make but if such settlements affect the international trade of other nations adversely those nations will doubtless complain. It seems Britain's desire to enter the European Common Market will affect India's exports to Britain.

Dr. Kalidas Nag Memorial Award

The daughters of Dr. Kalidas Nag have instituted the award of a gold medal named after the late Dr. Nag, every year to a person who has achieved distinction through literary work. The first year's award was made to Mr. Nirod Chaudhury. The award this year goes to Mr. Pulin Behari Sen. Mrs. Shyamasree Lal, second daughter of the late Dr. Kalidas Nag arranged for a gathering of Dr. Nag's friends, relations and admirers in her house at the time of giving away the medal to the recipient. Sri Prasun Das Gupta of the "Indira" society of singers sang a solo "Jagate Ananda Yagna" to inaugurate the function. The song was much appreciated by the people attending the gathering. Suparna Devi, grand-daughter of the late Indira Devi sang two songs ; "Kichhuta Bujhine Pravu" "Tomar Sonar Thalaya". After that the two singers sang a duet "Tomaya Amaya Milan

Habe". The concluding song was a chorus by the grand children of Dr. Kalidas Nag "Tumi Amader Pita" which is the Bengali version of the Vedic "Om Pita Nohsi, Pita No Bodhi". We are giving below a free english rendering of what Mr. Pulin Bihari Sen said after receiving the Kalidas Nag Memorial Medal. "The person who received the medal before me is famous in two continents for his razor sharp intellect; I am only a searcher after facts and I have no claims to intellectual achievement. The distinction that you have endowed me with by this award proves that you admit the value of hard work in the field of literature. My work has been exclusively one of research for the discovery of all relevant but forgotten facts connected with the life and work of a super man, in order to save for posterity such valuable documents and evidence as I can still unearth. Your appreciation of the value of such research work is a great encouragement to me and to all who devote themselves to such work.

"I have spent long years in this work of collecting facts connected with the history of literature; not in the hope of winning awards; but out of love—and it has been my good fortune that I have recieved the affection of those whom I revered, as well as the friendly support and love of many who have worked with me and are my juniors in point of age. The persons whom I remember particularly at a time like this are many and I can mention the names of only a few. I should record first of all my deep veneration for the late Ramananda Chatterjee under whom I had the privilege to work for several years and whose words and actions made it very clear to me that for sheer depth of love and admiration for Rabindranath Tagore he had only Dinabandhu Andrews as his compeer. It was his great admiration for the poet that

inspired men like me to take up the study of Rabindranath's life and literature with intensity and devotion.

"This award which commemorates Dr. Kalidas Nag is particularly welcome and stimulating to me for the reason that Dr. Nag always encouraged me and my co-workers to carry on our nationally important work of fact finding that we did; and he showed great appreciation for the smallest service rendered by anyone in this field of work. He mentioned the names of very ordinary persons like us to the great *savants* of the West in a manner which roused our gratitude to him. This medal which you have given to me to-day represents Dr. Nag's unforgettable affection for me and is invaluable as such."

Death of a Great Magician

Very few Indians reach a "world's best" standard in any field of achievement now a days. P. C. Sorcar, the great magician who died in Japan suddenly of a heart attack early in January 1971, was considered to be the world's cleverest magician by many people in many lands. His death at an early age is therefore a great loss to India. He was called the man with the X-ray eye on account of his daring feat of cycling blindfolded through the crowded streets of big cities like Paris, New York and Calcutta. His acts of thought reading and other marvellous magical performance of the impossible brought him great popularity. He was frequently invited to foreign countries for demonstrating his superb ability to create illusions and he will be missed not only in this country but all over the world.

P. C. Sorcar was born in Bengal and was educated in Bengal too. He was a graduate and obtained honours in Mathematics in the B. A. examination. But he took up the career of a magician when he was quite young as he found the work creative and fascinating. He

was touring Japan with his troupe when he died. His body was brought back to Calcutta for cremation. He is survived by his wife, four sons and three daughters. We offer our sincerest condolences to the bereaved family.

Anglo-American Naval Centre in the Indian Ocean

The Russians definitely want to develop their naval power in the Indian Ocean. They make use of Pakistani ports either openly or by subterfuge to keep a fairly large number of warships in the Indian Ocean region. The reason for this cannot be anything but their competitive attitude towards Anglo-American naval forces. The Anglo-Americans on their part are trying to maintain ever increasing naval and aerial forces in this area for the reason that the Russians are doing the same. David Fairhall says in the *Guardian* weekly. "The British Government has agreed to join the Americans in setting up a naval communications centre on the British island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean—a first move to strengthen Britain's military presence east of Suez as opposed to halting the withdrawal.

"In both London and Washington the new centre is seen as a counter though only of an indirect kind to the Soviet Navy's steadily increasing activity in that part of the world.

"The Royal Navy already has a naval communications centre in Mauritius and an RAF staging post on the island of Gan. Nor would there seem to be any operational reason to use Diego Garcia as an additional terminal in the skynet satellite communications system with which commanders have been able to communicate directly with the assault ship HMS Intrepid from London or Singapore....."

British eagerness to be of help to Pakistan is well known. The Americans too are not averse to assisting Pakistanis. The Russians are obviously aiming to have Pakistan in their list of friends too. In the circumstances naval forces of Russia, America and Britain

in the Indian Ocean are being augmented with a view to take part in a possible showdown between these powers. That possibility, however is remote. But what is very certain is a clash between Pakistan and India. When such a clash takes place, what will the foreign naval forces in the Indian Ocean do? Will they strictly observe their neutrality or will they quietly slip in urgently needed military supplies to Pakistan while appearing to be neutral. The Americans and the British had, in the past, provided arms and munitions to Pakistan which that country used against India. Now Russia has joined the Anglo-Americans. This increases the war risk for India. And when war comes India will have a tougher job to beat Pakistan which will be receiving more military supplies on account of Russian assistance.

India, of course, fondly hopes that Russia will be her devoted friend and supporter. But India's fond hopes have always proved baseless. One recalls Nehru's Hindi Chini Bhai. Bhai and India's friendship with Burma, Ceylon and other lands from which India's had been booted out from time to time. India's ridiculous efforts at placating North Vietnam are also there to show up India's foolishness in the field of international relations. The presence of foreign naval units in the Indian Ocean, therefore, should stimulate India to prepare for a military emergency in which she would be called upon to use nuclear arms and much larger air and naval forces. With her long coast line India will be defenceless if she does not develop the naval arm to a much greater extent. What she now possesses may be all right for Pakistan; but surely, with China, Russia, America and Britain assisting Pakistan; India will not be able to defend her coastline effectively without greatly increasing her naval and air forces. India will have to look for new friends to achieve this. One naturally comes to think of Japan, Canada, West Germany—but will they help India? Can Indian Diplomacy reach those heights where new friendships are made and consolidated?

INDIAN SETTLERS IN AFRICA

By—C. F. ANDREWS

(Reproduced from
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I have in my possession a pencil-written manuscript, which was given to me by an Indian friend, who travelled many long journeys with me in East Africa. We had talks together which sometimes continued far into the night ; and I always found his nature the same,—simple, religious, free from the least touch of racial bias, perfectly frank and open and essentially truthful. He had a great wish to accompany me on all my journeys, and it would have been a delight to me to have had him as a companion ; but he had family cares and anxieties which bound him. Before we parted, I asked him to put down on paper some notes concerning his own experiences in Uganda and East Africa, and he left me his pencil-written manuscript, from which I quote the following passages :—

“My own experiences during the War were chiefly in what is now the Conquered Territory of German East Africa. I was there shortly before the War. Though Indians were not treated in the same way as Europeans by the Germans, they were treated in a civilised manner. There was no segregation of races of any kind whatsoever. I am speaking of my experiences at Muanza, the chief German port on Lake Victoria Nyanza. Germans, Greeks, Arabs, Indians, Somalis and others resided side by side in the same street on quite friendly

terms and without any segregation restrictions. The women of one nation often passed their afternoons with their sisters of another nation in friendly talks. Children of all races played together in the streets and open spaces, their medium of talk being Swahili. The bare-footed German children of my neighbour would enter my house and take food with my children, enjoying our Indian *roti*. Indians had always full and free access to German Government officers without any ceremony. They could talk frankly with them, even on controversial subjects. Officers would take heed to any reasonable talk of Arabs, Indians, or natives.

I will give some definite examples to prove the nature of the treatment given to Indians by the German Government.

(1) I was out of employment during the war time. I had my wife and two children with me and a relative, who also was out of employment. I had no current means, of what little I had in store would be consumed in a very short time, if I earned nothing. This was in war time, as I have related, and so I went to the German officer commanding and asked for permission to open a class to teach students English and Mathematics ; for I had been a teacher. The German Government being at war with the English, the commanding officer at first took objection to

my application ; but when I explained to him, that I had no other means to maintain my wife and children, together with my relative and myself, he gave me permission and I continued to teach all the while the Germans were in possession of the town.

(2) Towards the end of the campaign on the borders of Lake Victoria Nyanza, silver coins were getting very scarce. The German Government needed silver very badly, and all payments to the Government were required to be strictly in silver. I had to pay three rupees poll-tax to Government, but I had no silver. I explained my position to the officer who saw my distress. He told me I should be forced to pay ; but when I was just going away, he called me back and put three rupees, in silver, into my hand and told me to use it to pay the tax. He took it from his own pocket.

(3) Indians, who kept Oil Mills, used sometimes to burn their oil cakes at night. There being no means of export they had no use for these cakes. This happened one night ; and it was reported that an Indian was signalling to the enemy, and he was arrested. We went to the Magistrate and explained the whole matter to his satisfaction. He promised to release the man arrested on the next day,—that day being Sunday. We pleaded that the guilty could be kept in prison on Sundays, but the innocent should not be allowed to stay in prison for a single moment. The man was released.

(4) An Indian was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for a political offence. On appeal, the Governor reduced the sentence to six months and passed a general rule that no political prisoner should be sentenced to more than six months by any Local official. In case of a serious offence, the matter should be referred to the Government.

(5) A German officer caused the death of his native servant by beating him. He was arrested and put under trial. He was in prison, when Muanza came into the hands of the British.

(6) Indian prisoners, even in criminal cases, were treated quite respectfully. They were never required to wear prison uniform. Food if sent by their families, was allowed them. They were not required to labour in public, outside the prison compounds, but were taught tailoring, shoe-making, etc., indoors.

(7) During the War, there was, of course, control over food ; but there was no distinction made between Europeans and Indians in this matter. Law-abiding people were not harrassed in any way, whatever might be their nationality.

(8) When the British forces bombarded Bukoba, where there were many British Indian subjects with their wives and children, the Germans gave protection to Indians in a camp eleven miles off, built specially for them. Again, when the Germans left Muanza they kept fifty native soldiers in the town up to the last moment to protect the Indians.

I shall now write down, as they come into my mind, some general considerations about the treatment of Indians in German East Africa, and then proceed to speak of Uganda and the East Africa Protectorate.

Before the War, the question of Indian immigration into German East Africa came up for settlement. A Royal Commission from Berlin was appointed, and after making full enquiries they decided that Indians were desirable, and that the country could not be developed without them. After that, the Indians had no restrictions about entering German East Africa.

The natives in German East Africa were not subject to any segregation measures. They were able to reside within the towns, if they so wished, in the Muanza district. Since there was very little colour prejudice, the German took the Indian to be his fellow citizen, and the Indian in his turn took the native to be his fellow-citizen. But I must say they did not desire the presence of any mischievous and wild people, like the Masais. They drove them away from their territory, back to British East Africa. They did not like 'reserves', such as the 'Masai Reserve', in British East Africa. They did not govern on that principle at all, as far as I could see. Of course, I am only speaking of the district which I know, near lake Victoria Nyanza.

The Government had an Educational Department for native children. They engaged a German Headmaster, on Rs. 375 per month, and they had some six or seven teachers at the Muanza School. German, Swahili, and Mathematics, were the chief subjects taught. Each boy received five cents for food every day and free clothing every six months, and also free lodging in a boarding house attached to the school if he were a boarder. I myself attended that School for about six months, in 1916.

I can say this, that the natives were far better treated in German East Africa than those on the Congo. Concerning morality, I am quite sorry to say that the lower strata, both of Indians and Europeans, kept native women in their houses.

In Uganda, the colour prejudice is at once evident. Indians are considered decidedly inferior to Europeans, and even to natives; and the natives are taught to look down upon Indians. This is one of the roots of all the trouble.

Under 'segregation' principles, the Indians are forced to live in restricted areas. This restriction is often at the caprice of the Chief Government officer for the time being for instance, a certain area at Entebbe was allotted to Indians. They erected buildings at great cost and trouble. Then a new area was assigned to them and they were induced to build houses. But now this new area, owing to certain natural reasons, has been neglected and at last abandoned. It has gone worse than the "Deserted Village" of Goldsmith. However the officers still seem bent on following the same mistake. A new area at Jinja has been surveyed, and Indians of the old township are being induced, persuaded, or compelled, one way or another, to abandon the old place for the new. Though there is ample room everywhere for the European residents, they are to be allowed to occupy the old Indian area. This continual harrassing of the Indians is very objectionable.

In contrast with German East Africa there is no Educational Department in Uganda for native children's education; and I must add, for the sake of justice, there is none for European children also. I think this carelessness about education very harmful.

A very troubling and increasing vexation is the separation of races on the railways and steamers. We find now introduced everywhere the distinction written up,—'For Europeans',—'For non-Europeans.' This is regarded by Indians as intended to make all Europeans into one superior class.

I candidly believe that colour prejudice against natives on the part of Indians is as I should feel no distinction whatever between them and myself. At the same time, the weaker sex, among Indians, is very helpless and timid and has to be protected. Many

of the natives are still wild and savage and frighten Indian women. I once saw a Somali forcibly enter a compartment reserved by an Indian family, and occupied by 3 males,—one of them eccentric—his wife and five children. The Indian station-master and the Goanese guard tried their best to get him down, but it was of no avail.

In land policy, as far as I have studied, there is no distinction in Uganda, I should like to see all people on an equal footing and allowed to obtain land freehold on equal terms. There should also be educational facilities given, as soon as possible, both to European and to Indian children, as well as to the native children. There should be Government education for all. In the Mission Schools, I have heard that sometimes the Christian natives are taught to look down on the Indians as 'heathen'. This should not be done, for we are all of us brothers and sisters.

Concerning morality, human weakness prevails in Uganda, as in German East Africa, and Indians show a tendency that way. I know also of one Arab supplying native women to Europeans, and really things are bad. The people of Uganda themselves are very immoral and this was the case long before Europeans or Indians entered the country. Venereal diseases prevail much among the people of Uganda. Other native races are not so notorious for that.

The treatment of natives by Europeans that I have seen, while residing in Uganda, is neither worse nor better than that which I have seen in German East Africa. I know of two cases of Europeans being punished in the law courts for ill treatment of natives.

There is no segregation of natives, and no reserves such as those in British East Africa. But it is wrong for Government to spend no money at all on educating the natives.

I have heard that the British East Africa Government once asked for natives from Uganda to do some menial work. But Uganda replied that their natives were not meant to do the menial work of British East Africa. They would rather keep to themselves. I think this is a good thing, because it is not good for people of Uganda to go to British East Africa as menials.

About British East Africa I do not know so much, because most of my time has been spent in Uganda and German East Africa.

One thing is at once to be noticed. After the coming of the South Africans the colour prejudice has gone very high.

There is a marked difference between British East Africa and what I found in German East Africa and Uganda. In British East Africa all sorts of restrictions abound and things are going every day from bad to worse. In large areas of the country, land cannot be purchased by Indians at all; and no lands from Europeans are allowed to be transferred by purchase to Indians. In the townships, segregation is being carried out more and more definitely and Indians are being harassed. The colour prejudice is strongest in British East Africa than anywhere else, much worse than Uganda.

Major Grogan has been very active in advocating a policy against Indians. He insulted Sir Edward Northey at a dinner, and asked him if he had come into the country with any powers of his own, or merely as a 'telephone girl' to give out messages from London. That was very insulting. I have heard that the anti-Indian policy, which is now being so strongly advocated, is due to Major Grogan, the same Major Grogan who was once imprisoned for flogging a native before the court house in Nairobi.

As to treatment, I have seen on the railways that Indians are frequently insulted,

They have often to endure insults from native porters, who push them on purpose and are encouraged to do so by Europeans. In order to get on to the platform, Indians, are obliged to purchase platform tickets which are not needed by Europeans; and the oldest carriages are kept for the use of Indians. Everywhere, the South African anti-Indian influence is being felt, and things are each day going from bad to worse as I have said.

I travelled yesterday, by the third class, on the Thika Railway, in order to see for myself what happened to Indian third class passengers. I found that the African native did not wish of his own accord, to get into the carriage where Indians were seated; but he would be told to go in, and pushed in, by the native railway porters. I suspect some one must have told the porters to do this.

I see that the Economic Commission Report recommends a purely industrial education for the native. But why not intellectual also? Are they not human creatures, just the same as ourselves, and therefore capable of intellectual knowledge? Again the Economic Report says, on page 33.—'In every direction the sphere of the Indian is not complementary, but competitive with those of the European and the African.'

This idea, I have found, is the root of all the evil. It is the main reason of the colour prejudice in all the colonies. Neither Europeans, nor, I must say, Indians, go to foreign countries as mere philanthropists, but rather as exploiters. Europeans have never cared one straw for American Indians, aboriginal Australians, Tasmanians, and other weak races. And though outwardly they profess to protect the Africans from the ravages of the Indians, it is not really the case. They seek to remove the Indian not because they wish to protect the natives, but because they want to remove competition.

For this very same reason, as far as I am able to judge, they do not wish to allow Germans in the Colonies. I know very well that the German Government in East Africa is worse than the British but they make it out to be injurious to the natives, because they want to destroy competition. They say they must protect the native against the bad treatment of the Germans.

Even if they would admit the Germans back after a little while, they would not like to allow the Indian to remain; because the Indian, with his very plain manner of life, can save at far less expense; and so the Indian creates very keen competition.

There is one great difference between South Africa and East Africa. In South Africa both Europeans and Indians are closely in touch with the natives; whereas, in East Africa, with the exception of some European settlers, it is only the Indian traders who are in close touch with the natives. Hence, in East Africa, there is all this talk of the evil results of Indian contact with the natives, which is not heard in South Africa. Otherwise, I cannot believe that the European is superior in the matters of morals to the Indian. I have seen things happening with my own eyes which show that the European is not morally superior. I said that both races are victims to immorality and exploitation, and that is the truth of the whole matter. In chastity neither race can teach anything to the naked Kavirondo; while the Buganda were very immoral long before any foreigners entered Uganda. This talk of the Commission about Indian immorality,—as though the Indian alone was weak in these matters,—is altogether one-sided, and it should not have been brought forward.

European settlers, I have often noticed, are supplied with native labour by the Government officials, while Indians have to

arrange for their own labour. Yet everywhere the European settlers complain that their native labourers run away; but I have seldom heard of such complaints from Indians. The deep reason is the different treatment given to the natives. Europeans know that they can still go on applying to the officials for more labour, and so they do not take care to treat the labourers well. But Indians not being able to rely on Government help, have to treat their labourers well and pay higher wages; and thus the natives prefer to come and work for Indians.

I admit fully that Indians are backward in sanitation and that this is one of their worst faults. But I have to find fault also with Government in this matter, to some extent. For since there are separate quarters for Europeans and Indians, the Government takes full care of the sanitary drainage and cleaning and watering of the European area, almost totally neglecting the Indian quarter. In consequence, the Indians are the first victims of epidemic diseases. In German East Africa, where I lived, there were no separate quarters; and in consequence the whole township was cleaned and watered each day and epidemics very rarely occurred.

We may be told that the poverty of Indians sent over to Africa the bubonic plague. This may very likely be true. But is it not equally true that the European war sent over to Africa and to India the Influenza epidemic? And did not the Influenza epidemic, which the war brought with it, kill as many as six millions of people in India alone, and more than a crore of people in the whole world?

Nature is a great judge, and we cannot defy her judgments, Nature says to us, that we are all brothers and sisters together in this

world; and if we break any least of her laws we shall have to undergo punishment to that extent. It is the same everywhere. We, Hindus, have ill treated the low-caste Shudras; and we are undergoing punishment for this; and until we undo the wrongs done to them, we shall not be able to call ourselves sons of God. This last War (I wish it would prove the 'last', but I fear it cannot be so,) teaches us the same lesson. If the Europeans here, in East Africa, learn the lesson and treat Indians and natives and every one with equal treatment, then we Indians will learn in turn to treat all as our brothers and forget our differences.

I agree with you, after our long talk last night, when you say that Indians should not consent, to be separated racially, having a franchise of their own, cutting out, as it were, little colonies for themselves in these foreign countries, and dividing themselves off from their brothers by high walls which they can hardly look over, I agree with you that this is not humane but narrow and selfish and against true religion. I have always held that the ideals of patriotism and nationalism, are not humane, and so Indians should not help in creating race distinctions, at least in a foreign country. I believe in common, not separate, elections; in common, not racial parliaments or councils. I believe in this, because I believe in one God, who is our Father, and we are all His children. Thus far I agree.

But, with all deference to your views of humanity, which coincide with mine, I differ from your views as to who should receive the vote. You stated that the test, not only of the candidate for the Council, but for the electorate itself, should be the knowledge of the language of the Government. Now, as far as I can see, the test for the candidate

should be the ability to understand the great questions which face the Government so as to come to solutions and to express them. And so it is necessary for the candidate to know the State language. But I differ from you, when we come to the test of the voter. There the test should not be ability to express views in the State language, but simply commonsense. The most intelligent voters are often those, who do not read books and newspapers, but think a great deal, while they go about their business, and when they sit quietly by themselves. So, it is not necessary for the voter to learn the State language, if it is foreign. It is only necessary for the voter to be a man of commonsense.

If any candidate wants to win election and does not understand the language of the voters, then he should learn the language of the voters. This is better than that the voters should be compelled to learn the State language.

You, explained, in your argument last night, that the people of Uganda, if they wished to have votes in the British part of the Administration, might have to learn English, before getting the vote. But is that a good position? We shall soon be asking for votes for our sisters, as well as for ourselves. Can we force *them* to learn English? Should the people of Uganda and other nations be forced to learn English? I think it very troublesome and unnatural.

Now, concerning a State language in East Africa, is English a natural State language? For the sake of inconveniences caused to a certain number of Englishmen and Indians and other foreigners, which make them dislike the trouble of learning thoroughly the native language, can we force, as time goes on, the numberless natives, who wish to qualify themselves for a vote, to learn a most troublesome

language like English? Is it not more reasonable, that we few foreigners, in order to live among them and exploit their country should learn the native language and govern them through the native language? Even for exploiting,—to look at the most selfish side,—is it not safer? I think, therefore, that in Uganda the State language should be Luganda and not English; that not only at Mengo (the native capital) but also at Entebbe (the European capital) everything should be carried on in Luganda, and not in English. I see that Mahatma Gandhi is advocating that Hindi should be the State language for India, and not English. In German East Africa, Swahili was the language of the German Government and also the language of the people.

I leave here about 7 a. m. for Nairobi, and reach Mombasa about December 28th and sail for India. I hope to go to the Shantiniketan Ashrama, which you love so much; for I wish to spend some quiet days there. I am finishing this very early in the morning, because I am afraid I shall not see you again, as you are now in the Hospital. I wished very much to discuss the matter once more with you; but these are my views."

This was the end of the MSS. which my friend left with me at Kampala, in Uganda, before starting back across the Great lake. I have read over his words many times since, and I value them for the fairness of their admissions and for their obvious sincerity and simplicity.

The picture which I retain most vividly of him in my mind is the characteristic one, where he was seated in a retired corner on the deck of the steamer "Clement Hill" during our journey across the Lake. A large illustrated volume of Luther's version of the Bible, in German, was on his lap, and his English New Testament by

his side, open at his favourite chapters, the Sermon on the Mount. He is a Hindu, rejoicing in what is to him the supreme teaching of his religion, namely, Ahimsa,—that harmlessness to all God's creatures, whose positive side is Love. He had gone, so he told me to school under the German head master, at Muanza, and had been seated day after day with the children, in order to learn German, because a copy of Luther's version had been given to him and he had been told

that its rendering of the Sermon on the Mount threw a new light on its inner meaning.

I wish indeed he could have been spared from his family duties to accompany me to South Africa ; for I felt again and again, when we talked over many things together, that his simple, direct, religious outlook upon life might have helped me more towards the solution of the problems which were awaiting me, on my arrival in Johannesburg, than any conventional political discussions.



RACE PREJUDICE— AN ANALYSIS

By—C. F. ANDREWS

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When we make a study of race prejudice in history in modern times some very interesting factors become apparent. One thing is certain. Little children 'naturally' make no race distinction. Furthermore, it can be proved, that there is no such thing as racial instinct 'in the blood.' For instance, New Zealand has been colonized almost entirely from Great Britain and yet there is very little prejudice against the Maoris. To take another instance, the prejudice in England against the Jews, which was at one time very strong there, has now almost entirely vanished.

If we consider the rise of race prejudice, it has almost always some form of conflict behind it. Sometimes the conflict is for money and therefore purely economic, at other times it is a struggle for position, status and social prominence. The origin of the caste system in India is somewhat obscure. Yet there is no doubt that in its historical development 'Caste' has been apt to run along lines parallel to those of 'race'. The fact that one person cannot eat with another, or inter-marry with another, leads almost inevitably to the growth of exclusiveness and aloofness. If we attempt to analyse the situation which has been produced in the modern world by race-prejudice, the following factors seem to come out clear from the analysis.

(a) The prejudice against persons of another race, may appear suddenly anywhere in any land and people who are themselves the victims of race prejudice not seldom dis-

criminate against others in their own country. To take one example the Japanese are themselves discriminating in Japan, while at the same time in California, they are discriminated against.

(b) One racial prejudice will sometimes lead to another. For instance; in California, the race prejudice already existing, which excluded Negroes from white society, has now been applied to Indians, Chinese and Japanese. In the Southern States of America a new prejudice against the Mexican immigrants seems growing up, is a counterpart of the prejudice against the Chinese.

(c) There are many different forms of racial exclusiveness, but one barrier which always seems most difficult to overcome is that of intermarriage. Relations that are otherwise friendly between different races or castes may still preserve the barrier against intermarriage.

(d) Where for any reason, economic conflict, or social conflict becomes diminished and reduced, it is not unlikely that race prejudice which had become involved in these things will become diminished and reduced also. Sometimes, however, the race prejudice will survive, even when economic and social barriers are broken down.

(e) Whenever religion enters in and accompanies racial prejudice the evil that ensues becomes worst of all. There is no prejudice stronger than that in which difference of race, colour, economic and social

status are combined with difference of religion.

(f) It is of profound interest to notice that even a deep, race prejudice can in the end entirely disappear. The hostility, for instance between the Saxons and the Normans in medieval English History has no counterpart whatever to-day. There is a second example of obliteration which followed the Act of Union between England and Scotland. Jokes may be passed on both sides between the Scotch and the English, but it would be absurd to call this to-day, race prejudice. Indeed, wherever racial differences have become matters of humour and laughter they are obviously under way of disappearance.

(g) The most rapid methods of overcoming racial prejudices are those that of common education and common franchise. Wherever both these exist and a common religious background is also in evidence, race prejudices find it very hard indeed to get a permanent footing.

(h) The most rapid methods of overcoming racial prejudice is usually slow in growth and development and linked up with social conditions. The removal of race prejudice must not only be institutional, but also psychological. If both psychology and social

structure are modified together the removal of race prejudice may come about rapidly without any reaction. But if merely institutional changes are made without any psychological change, a reaction is almost certain to occur, which may drive the race prejudice deeper.

From this analysis it may be gathered that when racial prejudices are very wide spread they are not in any sense an essential part in human nature. They are accidents dependent on varied circumstances. They are not birth inheritances, which nothing can obliterate. In all public teaching it is necessary to emphasize this fact and to regard race prejudice wherever it appears as an individual weakness which culture and refinement should do away with rather than increase. People who possess strong race prejudices should be pitied rather than praised. Their prejudice should be seen in its proper light as a hindrance to the harmony and unity of the human race, which is the only final race of mankind. Tagore's noble words 'I belong to one Race, the Race of Man ; I belong to one Nation, the Nation of Humanity,' need to be taught in all schools and from all religious pulpits.



STATUS OF INDIANS ABROAD

By—C. F. ANDREWS

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Indians in South Africa

IN SPITE of fears, there has been a welcome lull in the South African Parliament, with regard to anti-Asiatic legislation. A challenge was made to the Governor-General's veto against the Natal Provincial Ordinance, disenfranchising Indians in that Province, but it was successfully met by the Government who justified the Governor-General's action. Yet this must not be thought to imply that the danger is over. It is only postponed for a time, in view of the far greater crisis of an industrial syndicalist revolt on the Rand, which had to be put down with bloodshed.

We have the full account before us of the Natal Provincial Congress of the South African Party (commonly called the S. A. P. Congress) on the Asiatic Question. The S. A. P. it should be remembered, is the Government party in power under General Smuts, opposed to the Nationalist party in opposition under General Hertzog. It is the party which represents imperial interests and as such is likely to be more moderate in its Anti-Asiatic demands than the Nationalist Party. Yet the speeches delivered, and the resolutions discussed, reveal an ever-widening breach between General Smuts and his party on the one hand and the Indian community on the other.

In the Official Report of the Congress, it is stated that the 'Asiatic Question' was 'one of the most important' discussed at Durban

by the S. A. P. Congress. General Smuts after warning the Congress, that India had 320 millions, and that anything they did or said had a far-reaching influence, which might even shake the foundations of the Empire, immediately went on to make the alarming statement, which was telegraphed to India by Reuter, that 'best thing they could do was to induce the Indians in ever-increasing numbers to go back to their own country and to leave South Africa. Let them encourage the white' population, while watching the Asiatics dwindle.'

Sir Thomas Watt followed General Smuts, representing the Cabinet, and said that he hoped the Congress would impress upon the government the need for dealing with the *Asiatic Question. Action was long overdue and it must be directed to strengthening the hand of the 'white' man.* Natal must educate public opinion throughout South Africa. Mr. Patrick Duncan, the Minister of the Interior, another Cabinet representative, stated that South Africa was faced with a population problem that was acute—the problem of white versus coloured. The Europeans were the trustees of the coloured, and they must discharge their responsibilities in such a way as *to ensure the destinies of the country as a European civilisation.* (The italics are mine).

It must be understood, that these three-speakers, representing the Government, were speaking with the utmost caution and circumspection. It is ominous indeed, when sober

and cautious men such as these, men of liberal tendencies on the whole,—feel themselves pressed by their party to make utterances of such an obviously anti-Asiatic character.

South African Anti-Asiatic Proposals

When the actual resolutions were arrived at on the 'Asiatic Question' by the S. A. P. Congress, it was decided, on the motion of the Chairman, that a secret session should be held. The press was not admitted, but was given an official report of the proceedings. Fourteen resolutions were discussed in private. Votes were not taken, but it was decided, instead, to leave the whole question in the hands of Parliament itself.

In the Official Report are given to the public the exact terms of the 'Fourteen Resolutions' on the Asiatic Question which were thoroughly discussed at the Congress. They may be taken as representing in a general manner the mind of the S. A. P. These 'Fourteen Resolutions'; Therefore, may be regarded as document of first rate importance, and should be studied very carefully indeed. They run as follows :—

1. That the S. A. P. should make known, as speedily as possible, the policy it proposes in order to deal fairly, but effectively, with the problem caused by the presence of large numbers of Asiatics, especially in the Transvaal and in Natal.
2. That the Natal S. A. P. Congress respectfully requests Government to give an early opportunity for the discussion of the Asiatic problems in Parliament.
3. That it is essential that legislation be brought to bear to prevent Asiatics from acquiring further land in Natal.
4. That without disturbing existing rights, legislation should be passed to prohibit further sales, leases, or rental of land or buildings, to Asiatics, except in reserved areas.
5. That the issue and renewal of general dealers' licenses outside municipal areas be regulated in the manner contemplated by Natal Draft Ordinance 4 of 1921.
6. That no new trading licenses or transfers shall be granted to Asiatics, except in reserved areas.
7. That no Asiatic or native shall trade under, or assume, a European name. That no Asiatic may hold financial interest in any business, land, or property, registered in the name of Europeans.
8. That where Asiatics have acquired property and trading rights, *not* within reserved areas, they shall be strictly required to conform to the same laws as to sanitation, good order, and housing conditions, as apply to Europeans.
9. That the encroachment and unfair competition of Indians, in land, industries, commerce, labour and spheres of employment, generally suitable to Europeans, has injuriously affected the white races and increasingly menaces the economic standards, the social welfare, and political status of the South African Union.
10. That in all skilled trades, commerce, industries, and every sphere of employment, suitable for Europeans, payment and working conditions shall be fixed by Trade Boards in accordance with 'white' standards,
11. That no differentiation in favour of Asiatics over indigenous natives, of equal grade, be allowed in any legislation affecting either.
12. That the Ordinance relative to Indian franchise in Natal, which was vetoed be re-introduced.
13. That Government be asked to introduce a Bill to apply to Municipal voters, such as those contained in Section 12 of Charter of July 8, 1856 and Section 2 of October 8, 1806. (Natal).

14. That the Government draw up a definite statement of their policy, showing what they have done and what they are doing on the Indian question, especially regarding the Indian trader, and that Government should make its policy known as widely as possible.

The Evils of the 'Ghetto'

I am afraid that we, in India, can only regard these resolutions (which were thus officially made public after the secret sessions were over,) as a forboding an almost unanimous attack on the last existing rights of Indians in Natal and the Transvaal with a view to making them in every sense of the word "on a level with the Kaffir." This, in itself, might not be objected to, if the Kaffir himself, had rights of citizenship in these two provinces such as he has in the Cape Province, (though even there his rights of holding land have, I believe, been recently curtailed), but the actual situation is that the Kaffir himself, in these two provinces, and in the province of the Orange Free State is bound down under conditions that border on serfdom. The Indian is fighting at all points for the rights of the Kaffir as well as his own.

Secondly, it needs to be remembered, that the whole trend of policy, with regard to the coloured races in South Africa, is in the direction of 'segregation', that is to say the old 'ghetto' system of Europe in the Middle Ages. The intention is to keep them strictly within 'reserved areas' as far as any rights and privileges are concerned, while at the same time keeping back practically all the best land for the aristocratic 'whites': Thus an African native may come into the white man's area as a hired labourer; but he can only hold political *rights* in the native 'reserves'. If any one will glance down the list of these 'Fourteen Resolutions,' he will be able to see at a glance how the policy of 'reserved areas' is every-

where at the back of 'the Europeans' minds. What they wish to do is either to get the Indians out of the country, or else to isolate them in 'reserves'. It is really, as I have said, the old 'Ghetto' policy of medieval Europe, over again. It is also exactly the same as the 'untouchable' policy of India. What we in India must do, in order effectively to resist this policy, is to break down the barriers of our own 'reserved areas', here in India. I have seen with my own eyes still existing today in Malabar a worse state of 'untouchability' than anything which is now being politically contemplated in South Africa. I have been also told by those who have seen them, that in Eastern Europe there are 'ghettos' still remaining. Let us away with them, everywhere!

Indian And African in Kenya.

A very great effort is being made by the Europeans in Kenya Colony to throw upon the Indians the blame for the recent violent outbreak of native African indignation on the arrest of Harry Thuku. It is stated in the public newspapers that Indian leaders secretly fomented native rising. The truth is, the Indians in Kenya today are between two fires. If they keep aloof from native affairs, the European settlers ask the question,—“What have Indians done for the natives?” If, on the other hand, Indians are friendly and familiar with the African natives, then they are charged with conspiracy and with encouraging native rebellion. Almost every day at Nairobi, I saw Harry Thuku, the young educated Kikuyu native, who has been deported. He was a very bright young lad with a pleasant, open face. Harry was a great friend of all our Indian leaders, who treated him with kindness and a courtesy, which he would not usually receive from Europeans. He appeared to me to be really in earnest in his desire to help his countrymen, who were

suffering under almost overwhelming disabilities. Their land has been taken from them, except certain tracts which are called 'reserves' and every effort has been made, either by compulsion or by semicompulsion, to get them out of these reserves themselves for labour on the great European estates. There has been in Kenya, in the past, not only what practically amounted to 'forced labour', but also excessive flogging with a very cruel whip, made of rhinoceros-hide, called *kiboko*.

The idea of the average European settler, at present, is to keep the African native in an inferior position. The European allows no liberties of any kind. As a consequence, the African native has a deep inveterate fear of him, but not of the Indian. With those Indians, who are village store-keepers, the African will sit for hours and hours,—and talk. The language is often a curious mixture of dialects, but somehow an understanding is reached, and both parties enjoy the conversation.

Every day, as far as my experience goes, Europeans are seeking to make the African native *despise* the Indian. The Indian is bullied by the European in front of the African native. And what is the most cowardly thing of all, the African native is at times encouraged by the European himself to insult the Indian. I have seen one such sight with my own eyes, and the meanness of it made my blood boil. The best way in which this can be counteracted is for the Indian to be truly kind and considerate, at all times, to the African native, and thus win his respect by sympathy and kindness. Such respect is far greater and nobler than the respect that is due to fear.

There is one thing that is happening in Kenya every day. The Indian and African are feeling more and more the *common* wrongs

from which they suffer at the hands of the European. The African native understands that, whatever rights the Indian acquires, the same will inevitably come to himself also. Therefore, he is looking upon the Indian as both his fellow sufferer and also his protagonist in the struggle for human rights.

What appears to me to be needed more than anything else, however, at the present time, is that Indians whose hearts are filled with the love of God, should go forth, as the Buddha went forth, as Chaitanya went forth, as Christ went forth,—to help and to bless the African natives serving them with the purest service of love. Until this is accomplished in God's name, the relation between Indian and African will not be made perfect,

India and an East African Federation.

Mr. Winston Churchill has announced that he already had Sir Robert Coryndon's cordial approval of an East African Federation. Sir Robert Coryndon is the Governor. This was startling news to me, because every single European official I had met in Uganda, including two acting Governors and two Chief Secretaries to Government, and told me in most emphatic terms, that they were strongly against any such Federation. There would obviously, also, be the practical difficulty of Tanganyika joining such a Union, because a mandated territory differs from a colony in important particulars.

The reason why Europeans in Uganda dislike any federation or union with Kenya is interesting. In Kenya (as in Rhodesia) the European settler has appropriated the land. To use Major Grogan's more accurate expression, they have 'stolen the land', from the native. Major Grogan goes on to say, that having stolen his lands they afterwards 'stole his limbs.' This again is accurately true concerning a great deal of what

has happened. For the whole idea of European occupation in Kenya Colony is that the African native should *not* own land himself, but should be the serf, or hired labourer of the European. But in Uganda, just as in Nigeria, in West Africa,—the idea is entirely different. The principle at work in Uganda and Nigeria is to leave the native himself in possession of the soil, *as producer*, and to buy his produce. Thus in Uganda and Nigeria the African native is encouraged to develop his own self-government and his own initiative and to consider the soil as inalienably his own.

The Europeans in Uganda and Nigeria are rightly proud of what they have accomplished by this method in so short a time. They have done much better than the Europeans in Kenya. The Baganda native is much happier than the Kikuyu native. Thus, the Europeans of Uganda are rightly afraid, that if an East African Federation, or Union, is organised similar to the South African Union, then they themselves will be flooded with European expropriators, who will want to run big estates with hired native labour. This would destroy the present initiative which is such an encouraging feature in Uganda. The Indians in Uganda are entirely one with the Europeans in their idea of treatment of the African native as a *producer* from whom they can purchase raw material, such as cotton. This conception not only suits their principles, but also their trade and business. There is nothing that the Indians in Uganda desire less than a great East African Union, or Federation, in which they themselves would be submerged and treated with contempt.

The C. S. R. CO. Profits Out of Indian Labour in Fiji

Again it is necessary to call attention in India to the fabulous profits which the C. S.

R. Co. of Australia have made recently out of sweated Indian labour in Fiji. It will perhaps be remembered how the 'Sydney Bulletin' revealed, without any contradiction, the scandalous war profits in sugar made by this Company. It may also be remembered how the C. S. R. Co. resisted to the very last any increase in the wretched wage of the indentured Indian labourer during the time of the war, although food prices had more than doubled. All that is past history,

But a still more amazing story is told with regard to profits, *after* the War, especially for the year ending March 1921. I shall try to show this very briefly, using again the published facts of the Financial Editor of the 'Sydney Bulletin': they run as follows:

"Never since the original C. S. R. Co., was split in two, by the formation of the Fiji and Maoriland Company in addition to the parent Company in Australia, have such fat results been shown up, as in the year, March 1920 to March 1921. Nor at any time have shareholders participated in such a gorgeous dividend banquet. From the parent Company (and the parent Company's interest in the subsidiary Company) shareholders get £162,500 for the past half year. In addition they get £97,500,—altogether £260,000. Nor does that give the full measure of their prosperity; for while the parent concern admitted to have done well (and there may be a good deal behind the scene which it does not admit) the subsidiary Company, i. e., the Fiji and Maoriland Co., has had the time of its life! Here is its record to date:—

March	Profits	Reserves (accumulated)
1916	328,830	126,330
1917	340,201	256,531
1918	338,147	384,678
1919	308,403	483,081
1920	297,784	570,865
1921	461,979	789,719

The figures above are those disclosed. But how much has been going on up the sleeve? Only those within can have the slightest idea. But it can be taken for granted that the big concern, which only half a dozen years ago shook out $3\frac{1}{4}$ million pounds sterling of 'inner reserves', has been storing away profits beyond the gaze of the curious.....

It was remarked by the Chairman, that the directors had placed at suspense account a sum that can be used for writing down the cost of the two factories in Fiji. This displays the glitter of the Fiji end of the business in another way :—

Assets apart from	1920	1921
fixed assets	£ 2,428,241	£ 3,788,469
Liabilities	45,155	143,485
Liquid Surplus	£ 2,383,086	£ 3,644,984

Including the interim dividends, *the year's operations show an increase of liquid surplus of more than one and a third million pounds sterling. It is an almost incredible performance.*" (The italics are mine.)

I believe that it is a fact that a depression is now inevitable in the world price of sugar and these phenomenal profits must cease. But what is almost certain to happen is that some attempt will be made to reduce the labourer's wages in order to keep up the profits.

The same problem will probably arise in Fiji that the Tea Planters had to face last year

in Assam when a depression came. I saw with my own eyes the miserable condition of the labourers, who came down from the Chargola Valley estates, and who told me that their wages had been reduced to two pence a day! Surely in all these cases, where great prosperity is followed by depression, the first person to suffer in the lean years should *not* be the labourer! For he hardly ever gets his share of the prosperity.

Yet what almost invariably happens is this. As soon as the lean years come, 'Big Business' absorbs first all the profits of prosperity and then seeks to 'cut' the labourer's wage. This causes a strike. But in a time of depression, with thousands out of employment, a strike is the worst thing possible for the labourers. For it is an axiom of labour, that a strike can hardly ever succeed on a falling market. So the labourer suffers.

It will be remembered how the C. S. R. Co., fought to the very last against giving any rise in Indian wages during the prosperous years, 1920-1921. It will be remembered how the Indian labourers continued the strike for five months without violence of any kind, but were beaten in the end. Now, for the first time, we know for certain, from the 'Sydney Bulletin' financial statement, that at the very time the C. S. R. Co., were fighting the Indian labourers to their knees, right down to sheer starvation, their own coffers were bulging with gold.

THE STRANDED EMIGRANTS AT MATIABRUZ

By—C. F. ANDREWS

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I have written letters continually to the papers on this very painful subject and have also spoken on public platforms, but the evil has gone on unremedied for nearly twenty years. It has appeared to me therefore that more support may be given to the programme that I have proposed, if I can set it out at greater length than can be afforded to it when it has been briefly presented in the correspondence columns of the newspapers. Those who have already grasped the subject in outline may be glad to see it stated more fully with its difficulties disclosed.

The evil goes back to the system of indentured labour itself whereby many hundreds of thousands of villagers were recruited from the Indian villages (chiefly by fraud) to go out to the sugar plantations in the distant British colonies. One of the few inducements which caused the more intelligent of these villagers to go out was the promise of a "free passage" at the expiry of their indenture. The value of this free passage, when the journey was taken from the West Indies, might be put down as equivalent to about £ 20. In the past, many thousands have taken this free passage and returned with their families to India. But of these, a rough estimate may be given, that about 60 per cent have been welcomed back into their own villages, as far as North India is concerned. In South India,

owing to the constant nearer emigration to Malaya and Ceylon, which has made these villages more "migration conscious," the proportion received back on their return appears to be higher.

In the United Provinces and Bihar, a rough estimate shows that out of the ship-loads of returned emigrants as many as 40 per cent have been rejected by the upcountry villagers and have slowly drifted down to the docks of Calcutta, where their only desire is to get on board a ship that will take them back to the colony from whence they have come to India. Thus for a very large number of these indentured emigrants, the free passage has proved, not a benefit at all, but a snare and a delusion; and they have most bitterly regretted the day when they took it and returned to India. Most pitiable of all is the fate of the children, whom they brought back with them. These had no idea of India, and cannot bear the Indian climate and the Indian conditions, especially where they are thus left derelict in the slums of Matiabruz and Akra Bagan. They die of dysentery and malignant malaria and not seldom of cholera. Thus the terribly high death-rate, so close to the rest of the population of Calcutta, makes their presence there a very alarming source of infection and leads to the spread of disease.

Added to this, their extreme misery and want, with no steady employment and no means of getting work, had led them inevitably on the downgrade path to beggary and mendicancy. It is estimated that some two hundred beggars have been added to the streets of Calcutta from this source alone. Beggary itself spreads like a disease, and one of the gravest of all difficulties, which we have had to meet in dealing with this subject, is the danger of merely encouraging mendicancy, instead of clearing away the great danger of further infection. In seeking for remedies, it is absolutely necessary to get at the root of the evil and not to deal merely with symptoms.

There are three things that stand out quite clearly as necessary :

(1) These "free passages" must be compensated for in the colonies themselves by offers of land or money—preferably land. This will immediately reduce the number of those who still wish to return, to such a small amount, that it will mean practically the end of the whole matter. The Dutch Guiana Government have already done this; and as a consequence, when the last emigrant boat left the West Indies for Calcutta, it contained only 13 from Dutch Guiana, while 867 came from British Guiana. It is true that the number of Indians in Dutch Guiana is under 40,000, as compared with 140,000 in British Guiana, but even then the figures are significant. From my own experience in British Guiana, I can assert confidently that with Indian opinion itself in that Colony strongly against this repatriation, and with the natural eagerness of those who are settled in the country to get freehold land for rice cultivation, the numbers that wish to come back if compensation was offered would be almost nil.

(2) The greatest tragedy has been that of the young people, who have been brought

over by their parents. We call these the "Colonialborn" and it has been made abundantly clear that their condition when they drift back to Calcutta is the most pitiable of all. The deathrate among them is very high indeed; and it is impossible for us to acquiesce in their present state, without lifting a finger to help them. Most of them had no choice about coming to India, because their parents brought them when they were young. They knew nothing about Indian conditions. They do not like India. They say, "We do not belong here : send us back to our own motherland,"

It is obvious, of course, that Colonial Governments are not philanthropic societies : but it may be pointed out to a colony like British Guiana, which is altogether under 'populated, that at least the able-bodied among these people, who were born in British Guiana, would be an asset to the colony, where thousands of acres of very fertile land is left uncultivated for lack of population. British Guiana, in the past, has sent over very expensive delegations to India in order to persuade the Indian people to send more emigrants over, and the Indian Government has rightly refused. But here are able-bodied young people, who were *born* in British Guiana, and are only too eager to get back to their own birthplace. They are doing no good, but only harm in India ; and they do not belong to India. Surely the able-bodied, at least, ought to be sent back to their own country, and the Government of India ought to see to it that they return as speedily as possible. If it were necessary for the Government of India to bear part of the cost, it should be borne, in order to put an end to this evil as far as possible.

(3) The last question is one of pure charity and humanity. Cannot something be done to make the lot of those who are lying ill diseased, infirm, and decrepit, less pitiable

than it is? Again and again, I have gone down with Mr. H. K. Mukerjee of the Y. M. C.A., and in earlier days with Pandit Banarsi das Chaturvedi, when he was editing *Vishal-bharat*, and our hearts have been pained beyond measure by what we have seen. Only a few days ago, on two separate days, I had to go journeys with the Garden Reach Ambulance to the Hospital in Elgin Road, bringing altogether on different journeys, four of these returned emigrants who were terribly ill, one of whom died on the same evening on which I took him into the Hospital. Cannot

something at least be done for those who are in such utter misery as this?

The All-India Women's Conference has decided to take up the matter. The Society for the Protection of Children has also been helping in every way possible. My own efforts, with so much work elsewhere to be done, must of necessity be only occasional; for I do not live in Calcutta, But I am sure of one thing, that God's blessing will richly descend on any one who will undertake this service of mercy and compassion.



INDIAN LABOUR RECRUITING FOR FIJI— AN IMMINENT DANGER

By—C. F. ANDREWS

(Reproduced from
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One thing the War has taught us in this country with a bitter fullness of realisation. It is that no trust whatever can be placed in the pledges of modern governments if self interest or commercial advantage stand in the way.

We have had two pledges from the government of India repeated again and again with regard to Indians abroad. One of them has been, that the government of India is prepared to uphold the equal status of Indians in the Colonies and Protectorates. We shall see, in the course of the next few weeks, how much or how little that pledge is worth, with regard to East Africa and in relation to Lord Milner's recent pronouncement. The second pledge was this, that it would be left entirely to the Indian people to decide whether Indian labour recruiting for the Crown Colonies of Fiji, British-Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica should be renewed or not. This was the final word of that prolonged struggle, which stirred India from one end to the other, called the struggle for the abolition of indentured labour. How is the Government of India intending to keep this second pledge? We must remember this Indian recruited labour is immensely lucrative to the capitalist. It exactly suits the needs of the great exploiting sugar companies. Even a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand pounds, spent in London and elsewhere in bringing about a renewal of this labour would very

easily be recouped in a single year out of the profits. There are ways of spending money in propaganda without actual bribery and corruption; and I know of a fact that large sums were spent in London in the years that are now past in endeavouring to bring about a continuance of indenture. We have still to fear these hidden forces: for the Lloyd George Government is a Capitalist Government.

There have been very alarming signs indeed of an attempt to minimise the pledge that has been given to the Indian people and we must be strictly on our guard.

(i) The Government of India has refused to take any steps to enquire further into the labour troubles in Fiji. It has even refused to ask the new Labour Commission, which is about to go out, to make enquiries. Yet the only Report, which has hitherto been published, was, on the very face of it *an ex parte* statement by the Governor. Even an Imperialist Quarterly such as *The Round Table* writes as follows about the Fiji Government's action :—

“The Fiji Government took the easy course of ascribing the trouble to ‘agitators’ and ordered a Hindu Barrister to leave the affected area. But the matter cannot be cured thus, The Nemesis of an economic policy of cheap oriental labour and a large profit is upon us, and like the Negro problem in America

it will tax the resources of statesmanship to counter the results of reckless immorality.”

It is strange indeed to see our Imperialist British Quarterly taking this view of the situation and the Government of India remaining absolutely passive and indifferent.

But worse is to follow. The Bishop of Polynesia and Mr. Rankine,—the official delegates from Fiji who came to India to demand a renewal of Indian labour recruiting,—have declared in the Fiji newspapers *that they have brought back from India a written statement, given them by the Government of India*, that, if the new Labour Commission, with Mr. Marjoribanks as its Chairman, reports favourably concerning labour conditions in Fiji, then recruiting will be immediately reopened in India.

This, then, seems all that the pledge of the Government of India amounts to, when they promised that it would be left entirely to the people of India to decide whether recruiting for the colonies should be renewed or not. The Government first appoints an official Chairman, Mr. Marjoribanks, whom the people of India thoroughly distrust, because of his whitewashing Ceylon and Malaya Labour Report. They then choose two Indian members, whose names are not yet known. Then, if this Commission reports favourably, the Indian people (so it appears)

are to have no voice at all. The matter is to be settled over their heads.

I wish to be quite fair to the Government of India and to state that I have little doubt they are trying to get good and trustworthy Indian members to join the Commission. But we cannot forget the record of Mr. Marjoribanks and Mr. Macarias : nor can we forget the record of Mr. Mc Neill and Mr. Chimman Lal. However estimable they may be, we may well doubt if these new Commissioners will be any more a match for the tactics of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company than the earlier Commissioners were who went to Fiji and reported unanimously that the advantages of the indenture system greatly outweighed its disadvantages.

What then is to be done ? The Government of India needs clearly to be warned, that it will be kept strictly to its own pledge. It must not be allowed to act in this high-handed manner over the heads of the people, and make secret treaties with the delegates from Fiji. The Government of India can have no doubt whatever as to what the feelings of the masses of the people are today about the professional recruiter. Let them do, as they have promised, and refer the matter to the people and all will be well. The answer of the Indian *people* will be unanimous against recruiting for Fiji.

GOVERNOR'S PLEASURE VS COALITION MINISTRIES

ASHOKE KUMAR MITRA

After the Fourth general Election, the Congress was defeated in many states and as a result many coalition Ministries came into the Political field. The office of the governor has come into limelight just after the said election.

The Members of the Constituent Assembly vested a vast power in the governor. But the word "Pleasure" is really a peculiar one. That very word has hit hard the very foundation of our Parliamentary democracy. The other defect of the discretionary power is that, it is not explained in any place in the constitution. So, it becomes a privilege for the State Governors to do something which are said to be contrary to democracy.

Now, I shall examine the constitutional provisions relating to the discretionary power of the governor.

In Art 154 (I), "the executive Power of the State shall be vested in the governor and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with the constitution."

That means, governor is the executive head of the State (Please mind that he is not the head of the Legislature).

Art 163 (I) says, "There shall be a council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advice the governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under this constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his "discretion".

Now we get three points (1) that the governor is not the only person to manage every thing (2) that the governor is bound to accept the advice of the Chief Minister in normal time and (3) that the governor is given a prerogative i.e., a special power.

Now the question of appointment & dismissal of the Ministry arise.

In Art 164 (I) "The Chief Minister shall be appointed by the governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the governor on the advice of the Chief Minister, and the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the governor."

This article is very important. Here also, we get some points—(1) the governor appoints the Chief Minister & the Chief Minister requests the governor to appoint other selected persons as Ministers (2) governor can dismiss the Ministers (3) governor can not dismiss the Ministry i.e., the council of Ministers—because the word "Ministers" connotes individual Ministers only.

In Art 164 (2), "The council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State."

That is, article 164 (2) says that the governor or any person is unfit for dismissing a ministry. And dismissal is only possible by the elected Members of the Legislature in the Legislative Assembly.

Now my question is, are not the Arts (164 (1)) and 164 (2) conflicting? Can the governor dismiss the council of Ministers himself without testifying the strength of the Ministry in the Legislative Assembly?

Mr. Justice B. C. Mitter of the Calcutta High Court said that the governor has the right to dismiss the council of Ministers. Governor Mr. Dharam Vira dismissed the Ajoy Mukherjee Ministry in 1967 only on the basis of such "Pleasure" or "Satisfaction". In 1970, Dr. B. Gopal Reddy dismissed the Charan Singh Ministry on the same ground,

The Governors took the privilege of the said "Pleasure" without giving the Chief Ministers chances to show their Party strength in the House.

So it appears that Art 164 (2) is practically invalid to-day.

The Governor can use his discretion on the following matters :—

- 1) Selection of a Chief Minister
- 2) Dissolution of the Ministry
- 3) Dissolution of the Legislative Assembly
- 4) Asking information from the Chief Minister relating to Legislative & Administrative matters.

5) Refusing to give assent to the bills passed in the State Legislature and sending it to the President for his assent.

6) Advising the President for the proclamation of an Emergency (Art 356)

7) In the State of Assam—Certain extra powers.

8) Seeking President's advice before the promulgation of an ordinance.

9) He can ask the Chief Minister to submit for the consideration of the council of Ministers on any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister, which has not been considered by the Ministry.

The list is a very big one no doubt but that does not mean that he is a dictator. In the coalition Ministries, it is seen that floor-crossing, defection and the formation of new Parties with a very small number of members are also important problems. And under such a condition it is the constitutional duty of the governor to step in to solve such a constitutional crisis which may even lead to the dismissal of a Government or replacement of a government by another."¹

On the other hand Mr. N. C. Chatterjee M. P. said, "We should look to the British precedent for guidance regarding circumstances of evidentiary materials on which a governor can dismiss a council of Ministers."²

According to me, the governor has constitutional power to dismiss the Ministry but conventionally he should not use the power

because he is not the elected representative of the people.

Both Dr. A. Appadurai & Dr. K. V. Roa are in favour of a review.

Dr. K. V. Roa said, "the governorship is a useful institution and there is a greater role to play in the social and humanitarian fields and, as chancellor in (Politics-infested) State Universities. The working of this institution requires careful review."³

Dr. A. Appadurai said, "(a) to give the governor the benefit of a sort of confirmation of the practices which have obtained in the various States, as for instance in the governor's duty to accept the advice of the chief Minister in regard to the date for the summoning of the Assembly referred to earlier. (b) to assure him that he should, in normal terms, exercise his independent judgement and exercise his influence and persuasion, with the right to be consulted, the right to encroach and the right to warn. The spectacle of the governor, hurrying to New Delhi to consult the central leaders (the Prime Minister, the Home Minister) as to what he should do in a situation—so often noted during the past two years—is not only undignified but politically undesirable, for the people of the state think that the Governor is an agent of the centre even in those matters which the constitution vests in the Chief Minister and the State Assembly."⁴

The office of the governor is very important in a Federal State like India. Now the time has come to define & redefine the powers of the governor.

Help taken from :—

- 1) The Role of the governor under the Constitution And the working of Coalition Governments—by

Prof. Dalip Singh.

Indian Journal of Political Science P-59, Vol-XXIX January—March '68.

- 2) Statesman dated 5th December, 1967.
- 3) Dr. K. V. Roa—Parliamentary Democracy of India P-436.

- 4) Dr. A. Appadurai—Amrita Bazar Patrika—Sunday dated 28-7-70.

CHESTERTON AND WILDE AS EPIGRAMMATISTS

B. DHAR

The prose writings of both Oscar Wilde and G. K. Chesterton have an epigrammatic quality which explains why they are, down to the present day, quarries for striking and brilliant quotations. They, however, had diametrically opposed aims as thinkers and men of letters. This divergence of opinion is fully reflected in their epigrams.

The great epigrammatists of the *fin de siècle* in whose halcyon days Chesterton grew to manhood were Oscar Wilde and Whistler who did not appeal to him because of their abominable ethics. His own epigrams stand on the bedrock of sound morality and have spontaneity and freshness about them. Wilde's epigrams, on the other hand, are marked by their antagonism to the canons of accepted morality and bear the stamp of much preparation and refinement. Chesterton's epigrams however, combine Newman's concern for morality with Wilde's brilliance. They have a seriousness of purpose, but not a few of Wilde have a touch of levity; though both of them are equally brilliant because of the incomparable agility of their authors' intellect. It will not be out of place to compare the views of Wilde and Chesterton on literature and journalism to which they had a life-long attachment. Chesterton says, "The only excuse of literature is to make things new; and the chief misfortune of journalism is that it has to make them old". Chesterton's view is realistic whereas Wilde's is somewhat priggish and cynical when he says, "Journalism is unreadable, and literature is not read".

Truth and error between which humanity has gravitated since times immemorial engaged the attention of both the writers.

Chesterton was the upholder of traditional morality whereas Wilde, in the words of Alvin Redman "was always ready to sacrifice truth for the sake of epigram." Chesterton compresses the whole antithesis between truth and error in a memorable sentence in *Orthodoxy*. "Truth can understand error; but error cannot understand truth." Wilde sees the antagonism between these in an altogether different perspective. He sings of the romance of error whereas Chesterton sings of the glory of truth. Wilde is opposed to "a morbid and unhealthy faculty of truth-telling" which is proper to the old rather than the young. Truth to him is as reprehensible as falsehood to Chesterton. "It is a terrible thing for a man to find out suddenly that all the life he has been speaking but the truth", says Wilde. Chesterton, unconcerned as he is with these frivolities, makes a very profound observation about the real nature of truth which has little interest for Wilde. "The difference between the concrete and the abstract", says Chesterton, "is the difference between the country and the town. God made the concrete, but man made the abstract. A truthful man is a miracle, but the truth is a commonplace." Having stated his view of truth that it is concrete and natural (like the country), with his characteristic compactness he sums up in a sentence man's predicament, his deviation from the path of truth. It is vain to look for such pregnant and percipient epigrams in Wilde because he never tries to reach the heart of the matter; since he is little concerned with man's ultimate lot, his highest destiny.

Wilde who "was intrigued with the idea

of sin as a form of art", says, "Nothing makes one so vain as being told that one is a sinner." Chesterton thought of deeper things—of the nature of evil and good, of human frailty: "For the whole advantage of evil is in its being so often imperceptible and silent; evil comes at leisure like the disease; good comes in a hurry like the doctor." Again, "Virtue has the heavy burden of knowledge; sin has often something of the levity of sinlessness." The whole point of these epigrams is that they are not half-truths; they try to come as near as possible to truth by conjoining the opposing strands of reality. Wilde's epigram, However is a half-truth: "Sin is the only real colour-element left in modern life". It is significant that Chesterton to some extent, concedes the opposite point of view in his epigram while setting forth his own, whereas Wilde's view is generally onesided.

The attitudes of Wilde and Chesterton towards mankind were basically different. Chesterton was a lover of the common man; Wilde was in his element only in "high society." The former thought of mankind as a whole, the latter thought of its different segments—the upper classes, the middle classes and the poor. "Mankind is not a tribe of animals to which we owe compassion. Man-

kind is a club to which we owe our subscription", says Chesterton. He could crave for the honour of sitting at tea with the whole humanity, but Wilde with his class-consciousness would not have condescended to it. By the same token, Chesterton saw the two sexes cooperating in a healthy partnership; though he was by no means slow to see their points of divergence. "Men represent the deliberative and democratic element in life. Woman represent the despotic". But Chesterton would have never written Wilde's epigram in praise of the leud woman; "an immoral woman is the sort of woman a man never gets tired of."

'The amiable, irresponsible, esurient Oscar' (so described by Whistler) was really a pagan who was never tired of asserting the independence of art and artist of all ethical considerations. Chesterton, a devoutly religious man, regarded art as a department of religion. Consequently, the epigrams of these writers project ideas which are mutually opposed. A student of literature, untrammelled by the religious and hedonistic prepossessions of their authors, can derive genuine pleasure from them full as they are of verbal felicity and intellectual brilliance.



ROMANTICISM : SOME EXTRA-LITERARY SOURCES

D. D. AGRAWAL

The Romantic poetry of nineteenth century was influenced and strengthened by the European political and philosophical thinking of the time. Historians of literature refer to them as the sources of Romanticism. It should here be remembered that although these sources went deep into the shaping of the Substance of Romanticism—the Romantic poetry must have taken shape and grown even without them. In that case it must have emerged as the offspring of instinct.

The extra-literary sources are philosophical and political. The philosophical sources are mainly the naturalism of Rousseau, the transcendentalism of the German thinkers Kant and Hegel and the empiricism of Locke and Hume. The poetry of the period was deeply influenced by them. Let us examine how.

Rousseau gave to Romantic poetry his sentimental subjectivism. He emphasised the importance and dignity of man as man and believed in the elemental simplicities of life achieved through reduction of the complexity of civilized experiences and ideas. He glorified the childhood and advocated education of nature. We need not say that the poetry of Wordsworth exemplifies these points. It does so in a mighty way and it is only at the end of his career that he starts deviating from the influence of Rousseau which he had once received so gratefully. The shepherds and the farmers and the dalesmen who figure in his poetry prominently are the creations of his consciousness that man is a dignified being only because he is man and for no other reason than that he is man. That Wordsworth glorified the childhood is obvious from his

poems of childhood. To him the child is the loveliest flower ever sown on earth (Three Years She Grew). The child has a divine spark in him and his exterior semblance belies the immensity of his soul (Intimation of Immortality). Wordsworth believes also in the education of nature. He condemns books (Expostulation and Reply) and advocates education through nature :

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can.

(Tables Turned)

The German transcendentalists, Kant and Hegel maintain that knowledge is not an isolated totality of sensations. It is life's signature on the receptive mind which is independent of the senses. This philosophy led to an emphasis on the role of mind from which emerged Wordsworth's concept of the gradual cultivation of the human mind from infancy to old age.

The empiricists: Locke and Hume, maintain that sense-perception, and not mental cognition, is the source of knowledge. Ideas are suggested to mind through the senses, our experiences record themselves through them and what we perceive empirically through visual, auditory or tactile awareness is reality par excellence. The entire Romantic emphasis on the senses—the sensuousness of Keats, Byron's force and physical passion and Wordsworth's "sensations sweet" "felt in the blood and felt along the heart" goes back to empiricism.

So much about the philosophical sources of Romanticism. Let us now examine the political sources. The French Revolution and the English War with France were the biggest political events of the time. The War with France could not influence the Romanticists deeply. It remained confined to the outer fringes of their poetic sensibility. Feeble patriotic feeling resulting in feeble partriotic songs and a hazy love of the country and her people were the only visible results of the French War. As soon as the wars were over and the contexts shifted, the literature of patriotism ended. That Wordsworth should be in love with a French girl, and should continue to cherish her memory always, indicates that the patriotic impulse was short-lived.

But the French Revolution impressed the Romantic poets really deeply. To them it was not only an event of great historical and political importance but also a source of great revolutionary ideas. The concept of liberty, fraternity and equality, which played an important part in the poetry and thought of the period, came from it. The poets of the age conceived of mankind as brothers akin, bound to one another with an active awareness of universal brotherhood. Divisions on the basis of rank and wealth came to be considered irrational, oppression inhuman, and hence, when the old fortress of Bastille was mobbed on July

14, 1789, it was believed that there was going to be a reincarnation of liberty. The forced tumbling of the towers of Bastille was to Wordsworth and Coleridge a welcome event. The vilest order, promulgated by the vicious circle of the rich and the mighty was over and the poets began to see visions of regeneration of mankind. The fourth Act of "Prometheus Unbound" became the choral song of the universal regeneration of all mankind in love and peace and joy.

The Revolution influenced Shelly intellectually, Wordsworth emotionally, Byron politically, but Keats not at all. It was perhaps because the Revolution which created an ugly grimace in the fair face of Europe, was not consistent with his idea of beauty. Wordsworth was nineteen when the Revolution took place. He reacted emotionally and lyrically:

Bliss was in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very heaven.

Byron was a more active, a more dynamic child of the Revolution. The liberal cosmopolitan view emerging in the wake of the Revolution found a more powerful expression in Byron's poetry. Weimar, London, Venice, Florence, Rome and Paris jostled together in his poetry. That he hated oppression and worshipped liberty is obvious from the sizzling sentiment with which he wrote the 'Isles of Grece' and 'Sonnet on Children'.

G H E R A O

TARUN KUMAR CHATTOPADHYAY

Gherao is too well known a thing to need an introduction. Now a days Gherao is so important a word that it has even got a place in the dictionary. The Post election scene has a few disquieting things to show and Gherao is one of them. Leftists have acclaimed it as a legitimate weapon in the armoury of organised labour. Responsible ministers have encouraged it and publicly repudiated any intention of stopping it.

The term is a journalistic monstrosity. Gherao is said to have taken place when workmen bar ingress or agress of officials from their places of work or residence to force the latter to redress some real or imaginary grievance. 'Gherao' is defined as "wrongful confinement". Gheraos are new tactics of coercion and intimidation adopted by a section of labour in resolving industrial disputes. Irrespective of the undesirability of Gheraos the movement has entered a new phase, particularly in West Bengal, where people in charge of establishments in which labour trouble is taking place, are being susrrounded by their employees as they go out on business or for other purposes. Gherao is an act of incarceration by a group of individuals, usually employees, of their employer or his executives for registering protest against some of his actions or to seek redress of some grievances, to extort some concessions or to seek re-employment. It has

two sets of human elements, a large collection of men and a lone or a few defenders.

The nature of Gheraos may best be seen from the way it has been practised in a few cases. Officers of companies belonging to the management cadre have been locked up in their office cabins and prevented from going home at the close of office. Their attempts to do so have been prevented by physical force. Their communication with the outside world has been cut-off and so also the access of friends.

In some cases, food and even the facility of visiting the toilet has been denied for some days. Apart from the implicit threat of violence, actual violence has been used in some cases. All this has been accomplished by large groups of workers acting in concert and after deliberation and under the guidance and instruction of their beloved leaders.

An eminent philosopher has defined a happy man as one who has got the work that he loved. In an industrial age, the progress of the country depends upon the wealth produced by our factories. If raw materials, capital and machinery are important for production, the efficiency of labour is the most vital element in raising the industrial output of the country. Because without well guided and disciplined human relations an industry is like a crowd without a purpose.

Ever since the advent of the industrial revolution, Capitalists have been trying to squeeze the maximum energy out of the labourers in exchange of the minimum of money. The capitalist was concerned only with his profit. He did not care for the health of the worker. He did not bother about his housing and education, safety and security. As a result the atmosphere in an industrial area used to be exceedingly unhealthy and depressing.

The old capitalism however has undergone change. Though the conditions of labour have shown marked improvement since independence, we find an increasing incidence of industrial unrest, in the country and labour pressing for more wages, bonus, provident fund and similar legitimate or exorbitant demands and also demands for various amenities.

The reasons for this are partly the difficulties experienced by labour as a result of the rising cost of living and also the general practice of the leaders of the trade union movement to pitch their demands at unreasonably high levels, often ignoring the larger interests of the country.

Employers also try to take undue advantage of the labourer's weak and unorganised position and the prevailing acuteness of the unemployment situation.

In ascertaining the causes of conflicts which may culminate in a Gherao, several factors have to be taken into account:—

The economic factor is a compelling one in the perspective of present day increasingly rising cost of living. Rise in wages, upgradation and revision of pay scales, we know from experience, can offer no effective remedy. This therefore remains a potential field for conflict and may lead to a situation which may lead to a Gherao.

Social factors work in a subtle manner and their workings have hardly anything to do with

what is called industrial disputes. The clamour for employment of local boys in an industry has often given rise to serious troubles in industry and in many cases the local elements resorted to Gheraos on the executives for enforcement of their demand for employment.

The impact of political considerations, the political complexion of the unions, interests of the political parties and changes of government are of considerable importance. Very often the political mask covers deep-seated causes. Gheraos in an industry have a political overtone whatever may be the basic cause of a conflict.

In spite of having so many lawful weapons in the armoury of labour, it is the psychological factor that is at work when workmen resort to Gheraos. In many cases the workers seem to persuade themselves that they can go to any length in pressing their demands, real or imaginary, and that a big political party and the government will condone whatever they take upon themselves to do.

Last but not the least is the trade union factor, i. e. interunion rivalries and the political affiliations of the unions. The inevitable association of politics with trade union activities poses grave problems of which Gherao is an off-shoot.

Gherao has become a household word in industrial life. But it is doubtful what blessings it has so far brought to its devotees. It has been claimed that it is a weapon in the hands of labour. If that be so it is a destructive weapon and may prove to be a boomerang in that employment potential is bound to shrink in a shaken and scared industrial field.

Industry is run both by the employers and the workers, not only for the benefit of the employer or the worker, but in the interest of the society as a whole.

Gherao and illegal occupation of premises ultimately lead to stoppage of production, to shortages, rise in prices, and suffering for the people at large. The workers have to realise that a single days' shortages mean suffering to society as a whole. Gheraos and illegal occupation of premises and other methods are causing hardship not only to the community due to dislocation of production in industries, but they also damage the trade unions themselves because, industrial relations based on mutuality has for the time being, almost disappeared, leaving in its place only bitterness and mistrust between union and management and a lot of bickering and sharp rivalries between the union themselves.

It therefore, becomes the duty of the workers and the management to see that they produce goods and services at reasonably cheap and economic cost, so that the consumer does not suffer. According to Taylor, father of scientific management, "Both worker and management should remember that every producer is a consumer. So there should not be rise in price by stoppage of production which will have its relative repercussion on other commodities".

Because the whole machinery of production belongs to society, not to an individual—One may have money, the other may have man-power—both have to be used for the benefit of society. Gandhiji's Economic conception of society was that all productive machinery, whether agricultural or industrial, ultimately belonged to the community as a whole. So any violation against society is a crime and danger to democracy.

The cult of violence and coercion due to gheraos in West Bengal has done much damage to the economic, industrial and social life of the state. West Bengal at present (both under the U. F. and President's rule) presents a

picture of all round stagnation. Its declining industrial importance, loss of millions of man hours in production, closure of hundreds of factories, fast growing unemployment and complete disruption of education are eroding its economic and social structure. The people are caught in a web of frustration and discontent. People seem to have lost all faith in the ability of the guardians of law to come to their rescue when needed. Unless the sense of personal security is restored people cannot put their heart and energy in the pursuit of their avocations.

The 26th session of the tripartite standing labour committee held in New Delhi, after a heated debate between the representative of employers and unions adopted a resolution on May 10, 1967 expressing disapproval of coercive and intimidating tactics including Gheraos (wrongful confinement) in resolving industrial disputes. The AITUC representative did not agree and withdrew from the meeting. The UTUC representative objected to the word gherao, but not to the use of the words "wrongful confinement".

The resolution was adopted at the insistence of Mr. Naval Tata who, after a day's discussion announced angrily that "an injustice has been done to us".

While representative of the employers repeatedly urged that a formal denunciation of the "Gherao be made by the committee, a section of the union leaders, led by Mr. S. A. Dange (AITUC) determinedly resisted in vain that "murderous assaults" by management be also bracketed with the coercion tactics mentioned in the resolution. Mr. Dange maintained till the end that the "Gherao" was as legitimate a weapon as the strike.

In deference to the wishes of labour representatives, it was mentioned in the resolution that all tripartite agreements reached at labour conferences should be implemented. The labour representatives pointed out that

the present labour unrest was due to tardy implementation of awards on disputes and agreements between labour and management.

Mr. Naval Tata was of the opinion that a stage might come when employers too would take to gherao and lockup trade union leaders who did not fulfil their obligations. He did not agree with the view that non-implementation of awards was the cause of Gheraos and warned the government that it would have similar problems in its own undertakings if Gheraos were not checked in time.

Mr. Dange, on the otherhand, blamed employers and the government for the labour unrest. The policy of retrenchment, closure and dismissals, non-implementation of awards, denial of bonus to workers in both Public and Private Sectors and rising prices were responsible for the crisis in the economy. Gheraos, he held, were a minor problem compared with these, and the All India Trade Union Congress was in favour of Gheraos over unfulfilled demands of industrial workers. He declared that all attempts to declare Gheraos illegal would be resisted.

Mr. Subodh Banerjee, then the West Bengal Labour Minister, said it was the "moral right of workers" to agitate in support of their genuine demands. He said, out of 152 Gheraos in March, April of 1967, 44 were the "inevitable" outcome of the policy of retrenchment, lay offs and dismissals pursued by the managements. Another important factor was non-implementation of wage boards recommendations. In some cases workers had not been paid their wages for six months and labour disputes had been hanging fire in courts for 12 Years.

Mr. Banerjee agreed that he was a party to the resolutions disapproving of Gheraos, but he claimed that such a resolution was "Practically meaningless."

The Gheraos phenomena has since spread

in Public Sector undertakings in West Bengal. Formerly the West Bengal Industries and Commerce Minister Mr. Sushil Kumar Dhara had expressed his "Grave Concern" over growing incidence of 'Gheraos' in his state.

Mr. M. Chenna Reddy, formerly the Union Minister for Steel, Mines and Fuel, said that the situation arising out of Gheraos by workers posed "a threat not only to our economic well being but also to our continuance as a stable society."

Forecasting the results of Gheraos he warned : "These are invitation to lawlessness and anarchy and there is such a thin line between Gherao and violence that it is difficult to say where one begins and where the other ends. The sooner we realise this fact, the better for us. Otherwise not only our Industrial Production will go down but also the civilized methods of negotiation will give way to chaos."

At a meeting of the West Bengal Engineering Workers' on 14th May, 1967, the then West Bengal Labour Minister stated : "The present labour policy of the West Bengal Government was a new thing in a progressive direction because by removing Police intervention from labour management disputes, the government had given the worker the opportunity of confronting the capitalist in a forthright manner."

The Labour Minister, Government of West Bengal is reported to have stated that capitalism vouchsafed for the exploitation of workers and no real benefit could accrue to them if this social frame work continued. The change over to socialism was possible only through revolution by which he meant a rapid qualitative change. He, however, stated that he was not pleading for chaos. But any legitimate movement of the workers, free from excesses and adventurism, would be supported because

the government wanted to give proper direction to the trade union movement.

At the inaugural function of the 2 day annual general conference of the Bihar state UTUC at Patna on 25th June, 1967 the then West Bengal Labour Minister said : "we have to work under the twin limitations of a capitalistic society and that of the constitution, and working under these limitations we cannot bring about basic and fundamental changes in society. We have come to office through elections and election is not revolution." He added that a section of the people was allergic to the word "revolution". Revolution did not mean blood shed or chaos but it only meant fundamental changes and "one need not be so allergic about it."

The labour minister, Assam, stated at the standing labour committee meeting on 10th May, 1967, "Gherao is the most un-scientific and unlawful labour movement."

The chief minister, Kerala, told the Kerala legislative Assembly on 22nd June that in the view of his Government, obstructions of any kind arising out of labour disputes were unlawful and that instructions had been issued to those concerned to deal with such cases accordingly. He added that all sections of the people had the right to hold peaceful demonstrations and agitations to ventilate their grievances, but if such demonstrations turned out to be obstructive, such obstruction was against the law and steps should be taken to remove the obstructions.

The danger of Gheraos triggering off widespread lawlessness was highlighted in a resolution adopted by the congress working committee on 22nd June, 1967 in Delhi.

According to Mr. Chavan, Gherao is illegal". Mr. Chavan told the Lok Sabha on May 29, 1967 that his recent remarks in Calcutta on Gheraos and his appeal to employers, employees and the State Government

to maintain industrial production could not be regarded as an interference in the affairs of the West Bengal Government.

In fact, the Central Govt. would be failing in the duties and obligations imposed on it by the constitution, if it did not make such an appeal and offer such an advice in the face of the large number of Gheraos.

Describing Gherao as a cognizable offence, Mr. Chavan said there had been a very large number of Gheraos since the beginning of March 1967 mostly in West Bengal.

In certain other states also, there had been a few cases of Gheraos. These had aroused wide spread concern in the mind and caused misgivings and anxiety to the Central Government.

The Home Minister added that Gheraos involved wrongful confinement of supervisory, managerial or other personnel and in many cases also criminal trespass. Some of the Gheraos in West Bengal had occurred in Central Government establishments and undertakings, departmental or corporate.

Mr. Chavan said it had come to the Government's notice that certain political parties and trade unions had been instigating workers to take the law into their own hands instead of using the statutory machinery provided by labour laws for redress of grievances. It had also come to the government's notice that the Police were unable, for various reasons, to afford protections to citizens subjected to Gheraos even though it was their statutory duty to afford such protection.

The developments had aroused wide spread concern in the public mind and caused misgivings and anxiety to the Central Government; Mr. Chavan added.

In law, Gherao originates in a conspiracy to commit a number of offences and the actual commission of the offences **are** by unlawful assemblies. The offences involved are of

wrongful restraint and confinement, assault and use of criminal force in an attempt to wrongfully confine a person or persons and membership of an unlawful assembly. The code of criminal procedure declares that all these offences are cognizable offences, namely, offences which the Police not only may but is bound to investigate without any magisterial order or authority and they not only may but must arrest the offenders and send them up for trial before the courts of competent jurisdiction.

If there is a statutory obligation cast on the police, no person has the right or authority to advise or direct the police not to discharge this obligation without such person becoming an offender himself and rendering himself liable to prosecution and punishment. The fact that the person concerned happens to be a state minister neither makes a difference nor constitutes a defence.

According to a Press Report, Sri Subodh Banerjee, the one time labour minister of West Bengal, in an informal talk to newsmen said that if the workers did not get their just demands they themselves would decide what form of agitation they would resort to and this could well be a Gherao. He admitted that the government was not discouraging them but was not encouraging them either. Obviously, if the government publicly declares that it does not discourage unlawful activities, the declaration itself constitutes not only encouragement but abetment. The important point, however, is that the minister confessed that the police had been asked not to interfere in such situations. According to him, the interference would be illegal and immoral.

If this report was true, the ministers of the West Bengal Government collectively and individually were offenders in as much as they had directed a disobedience of the

mandatory directions contained in the law of this country.

The activities of organised labour are not exempt from the law of crimes and the law of torts except to the extent provided for in sections 17 and 18 of the Trade Union Act of 1926.

The first of these sections leaves nobody in doubt that labour can unite and use its collective bargaining power with capital for furthering its legitimate interests, but the means employed cannot under any circumstances, include an agreement to commit an offence. The law of criminal conspiracy will be applicable to such agreements.

The second of these sections legalises inducement of others to break contracts of employment and interference with trade, business or employment and the liberty of contract in contemplation or furtherance of trade disputes. The question, however, is : "Does it also sanction use of intimidation or violence or both ?"

The code for Discipline in Industry States "Management and union agree that neither party will have recourse to coercion, intimidation, victimisation or go-slow".

A special Bench of the Calcutta High Court with the Chief Justice as the Chairman, will decide 22 writ petitions under Article 226 of the constitution for declaring Gheraos illegal

An Important decision in the Jay Engineering "Gherao Case" was delivered on September 29, 1967 by a special bench of the Calcutta High Court. The case arose out of an application made by the company under Article 226 of the constitution complaining of wrongful confinement and restraint, trespass and other unlawful acts by its workmen and challenging the propriety of State Government's notorious circulars of March 27, 1967 and June 12 1967 which directed the adminis-

tration and the police not to interfere in "Gherao" cases without obtaining instructions from the labour minister,

The Chief Justice Mr. D. N. Sinha, presiding over the special bench said:

"All workmen guilty of wrongfully, restraining any person belonging to the Management or wrongfully confining him during a Gherao, are guilty under section 339 or 340 I. P. C. and have committed cognizable offences for which they are liable to be arrested without warrant and punishable with imprisonment and fine". He further said that the labour minister has no power or authority under the law to give directions to the police before taking action, whether such an offence has been committed or is said to have been committed. The action the police or magistrates shall take under such procedure cannot be altered or supplemented or varied. Striking down the two Government circulars of March 27 and June 12 as "inoperative" and calling on the executive authorities not to give effect to them, the Chief Justice said :

Once the laws are made, neither the Governor, not the Cabinet, not the Ministers, nor any subordinate executive authority has the power to add in or detract from its contents, to interfere with its working or to effect any discretionary Power given under it unless such power is clearly granted under the constitution or the laws"

Turning to the duty of the police, the Chief Justice said :—

"Inaction on the part of the police who are the guardians of law and orders is reprehensible when complaint of the commission of a criminal offence is made it is not open to the police to act or not to act according to their will and arbitrarily".

The above judgement of the special bench of the Calcutta High Court has struck a power-

ful blow for the Principle of "rule of law" which lies at the foundations of democratic Govts.

It is hoped that the menace of "Gheraos" which appeared to thrive in West Bengali on the belief that normal police protection will not be readily available to victims of "Gheraos", will now abate.

It is claimed, and I think Sri Dange claimed it as far back in 1967, that Gherao is the constitutional right of labour.

The Fundamental Rights chapter of the Constitution mentions no such right.

1) The right to picket in the sense of the right of labour to publicise the facts of a labour dispute may well be considered as a part of the freedom of speech and expression, but where picketing is attended by violence, it is both illegal and unconstitutional.

2) The right to strike may well be an element of personal liberty in the sense of liberty not to work, but where the exercise of the liberty involves breaches of contract, it is subject to regulation by the state in the interests of public order.

The provisions of the Industrial disputes Act, under which strikes can be declared illegal in certain circumstances, have been held to be valid and constitutional by the Supreme Court. In any event, the liberty not to work does not and cannot include the right to use force against others who wish to work.

To say that Gherao is either lawful or constitutional is to mislead the workers and the people. The West Bengal Labour Minister appeared to be little more well informed about the law and knowing that the Gherao was not lawful, he proceeded to draw a distinction between "legitimate" and "lawful". Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary uses the two words as synonymous but the communists have a vocabulary of their own.

To woo the capitalists on the one hand to

open up more industries and invest a little more in the state and on the other hand to insist that the more militant forms of workers' struggles like gherao will continue is a bit of tight rope walking which cannot last long.

All managers are not angels. Some of them can be pretty nasty. But they happen to be a necessary evil in production as it is organised now. Unless an alternative form to do away with their role is found and shown to be effective, they have to be tolerated at least so long as a unit is to run. Beyond a certain stage of uncertainty, however, they can lose their capacity to manage, caught as they are between the cross-fire of the owners who must have their profits at all costs and the workers who refuse to be cheated any longer of their rights. The results are a gradual loss of tone of the industrial units.

Gherao may rightly be called a workers' weapon in certain cases only. It can be such a weapon of limited offensive power and be used

against nasty managers who could not be made to behave in any other way.

If ministers not only condone, but direct an open defiance of legal and constitutional duties and sanction lawless activities of law enforcement officers, intelligent people must strive to end the dirty business.

Crime is contagious and if government becomes a law breaker it breeds contempt for the law ; it invites every man to become a law unto himself, it invites anarchy. According to the marxian dialectics force may be the midwife of progress, but force also breeds chaos. Chaos breeds dictators and dictators are a denial of human rights.

It is a challenge to the modus operandi of the existing administration. Gheraos are a caricature of revolutions, which if allowed to operate unchecked will degenerate into hooliganism. Old formulas no longer seem to work. Constructive and creative evolution, not revolution is needed to meet the many challenges of tomorrow.



TAGORE'S GITANJALI

P. M. GEORGE

Like Wordsworth's attitude to Nature, Rabiranath Tagore's muse has passed through three different phases. As can be expected of a Tagore, his religious experience and poetical life traversed the same identical path of development, although he did not realise this for a considerable time:

"My religious life has followed the same mysterious line of growth as has my poetical life. Somehow they are wedded to each other and though their betrothal had a long period of ceremony it was kept secret to me"¹.

As Tagore himself has admitted, "The first stage of my realization was through my feeling of intimacy with nature." He came into contact with separate aspects of nature and the different contacts became sources of inspiration for different poems, which apparently had no connecting link between them. In all movements of nature, Tagore however, saw the manifestation of a living principle, which works in and through nature. This principle soon became manifest to him as an all-pervading spirit. This awareness of the presence of an all pervading principle in nature gave rise to Tagore's concept of pantheism. But his pantheism has a characteristic of its own. The abiding principle which pervades nature and gives it unity is constantly changing its form. At a single point of time, it appears in a diversity of colours and forms. The diversity of this immanent principle working in nature is the theme of the poem given below:

"What a variety of shapes Thou assumest
in the world,

Oh, Thou of diverse forms.

Thou shinest in the blue sky in myriad lights,

In maddening thrills thou rejoicest in
flower-groves.

Thou traverses heaven and earth in fleeting
feet

Oh swift moving one."²

After realising the unity of nature and the diversity of the supreme principle, his heart yearned for a deeper contact with this reality. "The supreme principle, according to Tagore is capable of two functions simultaneously. It sustains the universe by making its different parts work in co-ordinated harmony and conform to laws. On a different plane it manifests itself as pure joy. Here it dons the garb of personality and is ready to reciprocate the love of individual human beings."³ In every movement and gesture of nature he reads the yearning of the personal God to shower love on him. We get the history of the second chapter of Tagore's poetic life, in which realization of God as the beloved is the dominant theme, in Gitanjali Gitimalya and Gitali.

Tagore, however, was not satisfied by establishing contact with his beloved. He sought a form of religious practice, which would offer equal satisfaction to all his fundamental urges—urge for work, for knowledge, and for love, Asceticism, which stifles all faculties, was unpalatable to Tagore :

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation.
I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand
bonds of delight.

.....
No, I will never shut the doors of my
senses. The delights of sight and hearing
and touch will bear thy delight.

Yes, all my illusions will burn into illumi-

nation of joy, and all my desires ripen into fruits of love."⁴

The Vaisnava religion, which places emphasis exclusively on the devotional aspect, did not satisfy him because it could not offer scope for the other faculties of man. More than that, the devotee misses his God in the proliferation of the rituals. So he said :

"Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads ! Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut ? Open thine eyes and see thy God is not before thee !"⁵

In his view, love of man, service to man, disinterested activities conducive to the general welfare of man kind thought that promotes the welfare of man are the best ways to serve God and love him :

"For this reason, worship of God in the world of man through all our daily activities, whether insignificant or not is the only true form of worship."³ When this realisation came to Tagore, he discarded the traditional form of worship previously adopted by him and felt a strong urge for disinterested service to man as the only rational form of worship acceptable to him. Such a conception of religion discards silent meditation and ritual worship in the temple :

"Where Thou art in union with the multitude
I shall seek union with Thee.
Neither in the forest, nor in solitude
Nor inside my own mind,
But where Thou art the beloved of every body
Thou art my beloved too."

"Come out of thy meditations and
leave aside thy flowers and incense !
What harm is there if thy clothes
become tattered and stained ? Meet
him and stand by him in toil and in
sweat of thy brow."⁶

Tagore avoided the Congress, but he took the lead in many of the characteristic develop-

ments of the Swadeshi Movement : and his songs set the students astir. In 1905, he joined the newly formed National Council of Education, for which he delivered a course of lectures. He helped to found national educational institutions and co-operative societies. He spread the use of weaving-looms and lost a good deal of money over them. He was in the Government list of 'suspects' and was watched. The poet told Edward Thompson, how one day, a friend of his, went to the Jorasanko police station, to give notice of a theft. While he was there, a constable came in, and reported that 'Rabindranath Tagore C class number 12' had come to Calcutta from Bolpur. The poet's political activities ceased suddenly. He became disillusioned with the national movement as it did not pay much attention to social reform. While bonfires of foreign cloth drew mobs of excited spectators and participators, no attempt was made to remove the stigma of untouchability. More than that, the narrow and aggressive lines on which the whole movement was worked out, making patriotism an end upto itself and efficiency the goal of all activities, did not harmonize with the poet's growing spiritual life. Very soon he resigned his membership of all public committees and bodies and retired to Shantiniketan. This retirement took place in 1907, and it was then that most of the longer Gitanjali poems were written. Those who were at Shantiniketan remembered the period, and the poet's wandering form in the moonlit mango groves. He slept very little, often only three or four hours ; he rose at about four O'clock, and usually retired at ten. Moonlight called him abroad always ; and when moonlight coincided with a phase of lyrical excitement, he would become 'beside himself', in veritable ecstasy, and spend his nights drifting among the trees.

I feel that disillusionment with the national

movement—with human activities—turned Tagore's attention more intensely towards God and brought about his entry into the second stage of the development of his poetic thought. His heart hankered for union with the pervasive principle of nature, through a more intimate form of contact, which is love. We can trace two distinct phases constituting this stage of his poetic life. As soon as he realises that the supreme principle which works in nature is also capable of reciprocating love on the emotional plane, his mind crosses the threshold and from a poet of nature revelling in its beauty, he becomes a poet of God, yearning for union with Him. After a good deal of suffering and sorrow, there ultimately comes a day when the poet finds to his utter delight that he has been able to establish contact with his beloved. The ecstasy of this union thrills his heart. This forms the second and last phase of this stage of his poetic life.

The poet, who is eager for union with God, realises his unworthiness and hesitates. How can there be a meeting on an equal footing between an insignificant person like him and the King of kings ?

"I know thee as my God and stand apart—
I do not know thee as my own and come closer. I know thee as my father and bow before thy feet—I do not grasp thy hand as my friend's."⁷

I stand not where thou comest down and ownest thyself as mine, there to clasp thee to my heart and take thee as my comrade."⁸

He declares his intention to drive away untruths and evils from his heart, in order to become worthy of union with God :

"Life of my life, I shall ever try to keep my body pure,.....
I shall ever try to keep all untruths out from my thoughts,.....

I shall ever try to drive all evils away from my heart and keep my love in flower....."⁹

He even gets rid of his ornaments :

"My song has put off her adornments. She has no pride of dress and decoration. Ornaments would mar our union ; they would come between thee and me ; their jingling would drown thy whispers."¹⁰

Fortunately God is also anxious for union with him and lends a helping hand :

"Day by day thou art making me worthy of thy full acceptance by refusing me ever and anon, saving me from perils of weak, uncertain desire."¹¹

Still, there is delay, and sorrow overwhelms his heart. He sees the pang of separation which afflicts him, reflected in nature around him. The whole of nature appears to share his sorrow."

"It is the pang of separation that spreads through the world and gives birth to shapes innumerable in the infinite sky.

It is this sorrow of separation that gazes in silence all night from star to star and becomes lyric among resulting leaves in rainy darkness of July."¹²

This agony of separation becomes unbearable on a rainy day :

"Clouds heap upon clouds and it darkens.
Ah, love, why dost thou let me wait outside at the door all alone ?

.....
If thou showest me not thy face, if thou leavest me wholly aside, I know not how I am to pass these long, rainy hours."¹³

However, the poet is certain "The morning will surely come, the darkness will vanish, and thy voice pour down in golden streams breaking through the sky."¹⁴

The happy union takes place and a long series of poems describe the ecstasy experienced by the poet :

"Light, my light, the world-filling light,
the eye-kissing light, heart-sweetening
light!

Ah, the light dances, my darling, at the centre of my life ; the light strikes, my darling, the chords of my love ; the sky opens, the wind runs wild, laughter passes over the earth.¹⁵

God was all the time enthroned in his heart, but he had failed to detect Him, because he had looked for Him outside :

"Thou didst remain hidden in my heart and I failed to see Thee.

I had looked for Thee outside

And not inside my heart."

But God was present outside as well. How did his eyes miss Him ?

"How couldst Thou be screened away from my eyes,

In this sky where light has free access ?

How couldst Thou hide thyself

In the grab of emptiness—

This game of thine rings out in pain,

In my heart."

The yearning for God the beloved, the pangs of separation from him and the joy of union find a very prominent place in Vaisnava literature as well. While in Vaisnava literature, God is the dominant partner and the devotee (Radha) is the favoured party, in Tagore the relationship between God and the devotee is conceived as a relationship of love between two persons on a footing of absolute equality. The King of kings humbles himself to capture the heart of the poet : "And for this, thou who art the King of kings, hast decked thyself in beauty to captivate my heart."

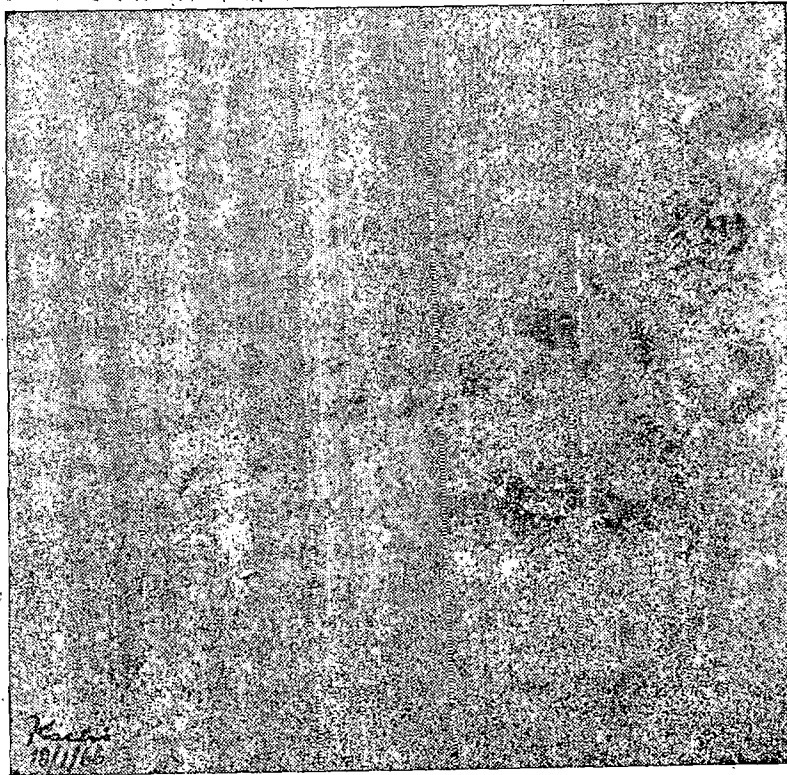
"It would be churlish to find the collection monotonous ; nevertheless, the eager delight with which one enters this gentle paradise flags at intervals, before one gets to the end of its hundred and fifty nine poems..... But the best fifty of these songs are outstanding in their beauty and appeal, and make a

far richer book than the whole."¹⁸ Probably the impression of monotony comes from the fact that the book gets its effect out of the merest handful of illustrations. Rarely was fine poetry made out of less variety ; rain and cloud, wind and rising river, boatmen, lamps, temples and gongs, flutes and vines, birds-flying, home at dusk, traveller tired or with provisions exhausted, flowers opening and falling. W. B. Yeats speak of these songs as being 'as much the growth of the common soil as the grass and rushes'. Though Tagore was not a close observer of nature, Gitanjali is a book whose every poem conveys the impression of having been composed in the open air, or before open windows. Above all, this book, born out of disillusionment, brings us very close to a religious experience which is universal yet intensely individual. This has spoken to countless hearts, has been a revelation of what they felt and experienced, and its future seems to be certain. As W. B. Yeats has remarked : "as the generations pass, travellers will hum them on the highway and men rowing upon rivers. Lovers, while they await one another, shall find, in murmuring them, this love of God a magic gulf wherein their own more bitter passion may bathe and renew its youth."

1. Preface to the Religion of Man.
2. Chitra.
3. How Thou Singest My Master. By Hiranmay Banerjee.
4. Gitanjali, No. 73.
5. Gitanjali, No. 11.
6. Dharma.
7. Gitanjali, No. 11.
8. Gitanjali, No. 77.
9. Gitanjali, No. 47.
10. Gitanjali, No. 7.
11. Gitanjali, No. 14.
12. Gitanjali, No. 84.
13. Gitanjali, No. 18.
14. Gitanjali, No. 19.
15. Gitanjali, No. 57.
16. Rabindranath Tagore Poet and Dramatist by Edward Thompson.

'END OF CULTURE'

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA



Artist—KACHI CHAKRABARTY

Political unrest and economic crisis for the last few years have inevitably come as a death-blow to our National Culture and tradition. Our younger generation on whom depends the future of our motherland have in many cases become instrumental in the hands of so-called careerist political leaders and great damage has been and is still being done to our educational institutions by their violent and indiscriminate atrocities. For want of farsightedness of our top-ranking leaders and their followers the very foundation

of our education and culture is going to be shattered.

The artist has visualised the imminent ruin of our culture and his conception and mode of expression is convincingly realistic. The two human faces respectively represent the original natural form and the present deformed conditions of our culture, the end of which is gradually drawing nigh. The face has now become ugly and looks horrible. It fills our mind with terror and uncanny feeling. This painting realistically presents before us the inevitability of a great national catastrophe.

DOES INDIAN PHILOSOPHY REST ON A MISTAKE ?

Dr. A. RAMAMURTY

This is in no way a rejoinder to an article Published in the September issue of the Modern Review by A. Lakshamana Rao. Taking a comprehensive view of the whole problem, it only presents a view point, fully based on facts that are there in Indian philosophical tradition. His paper, in its own way challenges the validity of the concept of Indian philosophy, and I am not impelled in any way to take a defensive view of Indian philosophy.

The main charge against Indian philosophy is its association with revelation. While Jaina and Bauddha philosophies are based on the revealed knowledge of their founders, the rest of the systems of Indian philosophy, with the sole exception of Carvaka philosophy, have invoked a common revelation that is, the Hindu scriptures. Because of their commitment to, or dependence on revelation, what they could achieve at best was an acceptable presentation, in a seemingly rational manner, of the revealed dogmas; but not an independent and rational understanding of the problems of philosophy. Consequently, the whole of Indian philosophy becomes intelligible and gains its significance, not in terms of natural reason, but in terms of revelation. The thought presented in the various systems of Indian philosophy is basically theological and mystical, but not philosophical; philosophy proper is strange to it. As systems of religious philosophy, their value lies in invoking religious consciousness in man, for their avowed purpose is spiritual liberation or 'Moksha'. Therefore, the true and sincere motive of philosophy to grapple with the problems of reality by pursuing an independent and rational inquiry, and also the full employment of

unfettered and self-conscious human reason are lacking in Indian thought, to a degree that is characteristic of true philosophy, if not completely absent.

The purpose of the present study is to understand, whether Indian philosophers, in following the lead of scriptures, have stumbled themselves in a predicament from whence there is no way out for a healthy growth of philosophy in India, or have made any substantial contribution to the advancement of it, despite their commitment to tradition. The problems that naturally arise in this connection are: whether knowing the conclusions in advance, which they have accepted from revelation on faith, they only struggled to justify or rather to fortify them with their peculiar ways of argumentation; whether they made any sincere attempt to construct philosophy creatively on the basis of reason. In other words, how far, realising the real dignity and sovereignty of human reason, they made full and unbiased use of it in their philosophical inquiries. Is Indian philosophy then only a futile exercise in proving; for the sake of proof, the sacred dogmas of revelation. Unless these problems are discussed with full attention they deserve, the main issue cannot be decided. To understand these, more than anything else, an historical perspective is needed,

Although there is not a single universally acceptable definition of philosophy, still those who are concerned with it agree that it is a systematic and independent inquiry, based on natural reason, into the real nature, and ultimate meaning of the things experienced. Following a method of free inquiry it may try, either to interpret the whole of human experi-

ence coherently to arrive at a comprehensive view of the things interpreted, or to analyse and evaluate critically the facts of experience with a purpose to know thereby the ultimate reality of things. The goal of philosophy is thus to attain objective and universal knowledge of Reality which it tries to present cogently in the form of ideas or in pure thought forms. Therefore; any and every rational activity of man is not philosophy, if such an activity is not directed towards an understanding of the problems of reality, and conversely, any search for truth is not philosophy if it does not prove to be rational and objective.

Religion also pursues the same ideal as philosophy, but in accordance with its purpose of God-realisation or salvation, it adopts different methods and expresses its conclusions in different forms. Although reason is to be found in the religious doctrines it is not explicit and self-conscious, rather it is clothed in myths and fables, as the primary function of religious knowledge is to invoke human feelings and to develop attitudes. In the earliest stages of religion, man has conceived of god or gods, in an anthropomorphic way, that may respond to his supplications and help solving his problems, both worldly and otherworldly. He also conceived an ideal of salvation which mainly meant for him the preservation of soul in its pure form in an unknown world of perfection. In such a religious search for truth, as man was guided by his personal feelings and aspirations, he consciously or unconsciously projected his own feelings and shortcomings into his conceptions of God, liberation etc. With the progressive unfolding of human reason, which struggles to become self-critical, man could realise the anthropomorphic nature of gods he conceived, and started discriminating between what was his creation or projection and what really exists in itself. In that search for objective

truth, many earlier notions of reality were rejected and more rational ones were conceived. In this evolutionary process of human thought, the consistent ambition of man has been to transcend his subjective limitations in understanding the problems of reality and to become aware of an objective and all comprehensive reality. As a result, he has become self-conscious and critical of his ways of understanding, and reality is viewed in all its dimensions. Such a self-critical and objective approach which is interested not in the immediate problems of man, but in the fundamental and more meaningful problems of reality marks the beginning of philosophy.

The development of every philosophical tradition can be traced back to its mythological and religious origins. Every philosophy is born into a tradition and derives much from it, whether the fact is acknowledged or not. No philosopher has ever constructed his system of philosophy without being inspired or influenced by the then available tradition. Tradition acts as a challenge and different philosophers have tried to respond to it creatively in their own way. How far this has hampered the growth of free thinking and philosophy? In accepting the challenges of tradition, if the philosophers have behaved dogmatically, in that what they attempted was only to transmit the tradition in terms acceptable to reason, or to make it more explicit, they can be described as unphilosophical and their thought as unprogressive. In that event there would have been no advancement in philosophy, except periodic re-presentation of tradition in more and more acceptable forms. But, as history of philosophy amply demonstrates, what every philosopher wanted was to create something new and perfect, which is an improvement over the past. Each philosopher, in his own way, tried to transcend the limitations of the existing tradition, by way of

rejecting what was found to be rationally wanting in it and assimilating what was found valid in it into his own thought, or by way of modifying or qualifying it and in many cases by way of perfecting it. Thus traditions are not superseded ; they are transcended. No living tradition has ever remained the same throughout its existence. They are changing and growing, while their continuity is maintained. They are running streams and those that could not assimilate new ideas and adapt themselves to change have dried up.

The continuous development of the various philosophical traditions is a clear testimony to this process. Much of Greek philosophy owes its inspiration to early Greek religion. Plato's writings were a development and perfection over his forerunners, while Aristotle's philosophy was an advance over his master. Thus every system of Greek philosophy acquires its full significance in terms of the preceeding one, in that what was creatively constructed by one cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding of the previous thought. Similarly, modern Western philosophy has inherited many of its problems and insight from the writings of early Church Fathers and medieaval scholastic philosophers, who in their turn have derived much from Greek philosophy. Auguste Compt's remark that the modern metaphysics is merely a shadow cast by medieaval theology, though not completely true, is relevant in this context. This process of development has two aspects : polemical and constructive. Each philosopher critically evaluating the earlier systems has rejected what was found rationally wanting in them and adopted what was valid into his own thought. What was thus constructed by deriving was never the same as that from which it was derived. This growth is more pronounced and significant in modern times, because the modern philosophers have the

advantage of availing a rich domain of advanced scientific knowledge.

Now, turning to the problem of growth in Indian philosophy, it should be said that due to their superficial understanding of it, some are prone to see in it a static continuity and fail to appreciate its dynamic aspect. As it is true with all living traditions, change amidst continuity is also characteristic of Indian thought, notwithstanding a few occasional gaps in that process, particularly during the pre-modern period. Such gaps are in no way caused by an unphilosophical and dogmatic attitude of the Indian philosophers, but indicate a general lack of creativity at such periods. To recognise progress in Indian philosophy, no sympathy is needed on our part, but requires a capacity to penetrate through the outer expressions into the inner workings of it. The symbols and terminology employed in it mainly stand in the way. If undesirable emphasis is placed on these aspects, one may fail to comprehend the real workings of Indian philosophy.

Rigveda, which is the starting point of recorded philosophical tradition in India, is predominantly mythological and religious ; and the primary concern of those people seems to maintain their racial and cultural integrity against their enemies. To achieve that objective they freely invoked various gods, crudely conceived as the presiding or controlling deities of the various forces of nature. Amidst such struggles they have soon realised that such deities have no objective reality except in the minds of those that conceived them. Becoming sceptical of the gods they conceived, they started asking questions which are truly philosophical. "I ask, unknowing, those who know, the sages, as one all ignorant for sake of knowledge, what was that one who in the Unborn's image hath established and fixed firm these

worlds' six regions" (R. V., I, 164.6) "Who verily knows and who can here declare it, whence it was born and whence comes this creation? The gods are later than this world's creation. Who knows then whence it first came into being?" (R. V. X, 129.6) With growing disenchantment in the plurality of naturalistic gods, who do not seem to respond to their prayers, they sought to know that one source of principle which is the essence of everything that is experienced. "What was the tree, what wood in sooth produced it, from which they fashioned out the earth and heaven? (R. V., X, 81.4)

In the Upanishads, the problem was conceived in all its magnitude and the various facets of it have come to be realised. At times the whole problem was re-stated in more radical terms. The Vedic phenomenon of warring gods has altogether disappeared or was relegated to the sphere of ignorance or relativity. We no longer find in the Upanishads, Indra and Varuna, dominating the mental horizon of those people. On the other hand, Vedicly less significant and philosophically more valuable concepts of Brahman and Atman have come to occupy their full attention. Many rituals that were once believed to be efficacious were ignored or with a completely changed significance were adopted. There was no longer a quest for gods who can be prayed to fulfil the personal needs of the worshipper. Thus, the progressive freedom of Indian thought from its mythological and religious beginnings to a mature awareness of philosophic problems was now completely achieved. The quest was now to know the ultimate reality in itself and the various subjective notions of it were recognised to be relative. Freedom from subjective limitations in knowing the truth and the goal of achieving complete objectivity of thought are no less important to an Indian philosopher than to

his counterpart anywhere. This is the true significance of the concepts of 'Adhyasa' (superimposition) and 'Avidya' (ignorance) and the goal of philosophy is to transcend the limitations imposed by them in attaining objective knowledge of reality. These are the Indian equivalents of the modern concepts of 'conditioning' and 'relativity'. From the Upanishads to now, which is a continuous process of development, though the problem has remained basically the same, it has been stated and re-stated more and more clearly, and hitherto unknown facets of it have been envisaged.

Let us now discuss the crux of the problem. Having conceived the riddles of philosophy correctly, how they tried to solve them. In philosophy, it is not sufficient to formulate the problems clearly, though it is not less important, but the methods adopted to solve them is more important. The charge against Indian philosophy is more relevant to this aspect of it. Instead of attempting to solve the problems independently on the basis of reason, they resorted to revelation for solutions. This charge is also unfounded on facts as the following discussion makes it clear. The methods adopted by Indian philosophers in general, in so far as they were dealing with the problems of speculative philosophy are independent and rational. They treated reason with the dignity it deserves and fully appreciated the value of free inquiry. But, in the end they were compelled, again on rational grounds, to reject the whole approach as they found it ultimately unsatisfactory and not valid, in solving the basic problems of philosophy. Instead of ending in scepticism and landing in contradictions and antinomies which different systems of philosophy based on pure reason present, they tried to transcend philosophy, conceived as a speculative activity and

attempted to construct a meaningful one on the basis of intuitive insights of revelation. In that their values differ from the values of speculative philosophy. For them, nothing less than a direct awareness of reality in its complete objectivity is the goal of philosophy, while for many others it may be an intellectual understanding of reality, whether it is possible or not. This is the real significance of 'perfect knowledge.' The important point to be noted in this connection is that in so far as they handled the problems of speculative philosophy, they showed utmost independence, made full use of reason and followed the spirit of free inquiry. However, in conformity with their objective of attaining 'perfect knowledge' which they realised could not be achieved by following pure reason, they invoked revelation. Acceptance of revelation and subordinating reason to it are not done on sentimental grounds, than for philosophical reasons. Because of their firm commitment to truth, they were not disturbed in compromising reason for its attainment. If it is a question of compromise between reason and truth, Indian philosophers would prefer to compromise the former. Philosophy does not rest ultimately on the claims of reason. Its main concern is not to uphold dogmatically the sanctity of reason even when it is found to be wanting. If the main function of philosophy is not simply to uphold the claims of reason, but to know things correctly, there is no valid reason why it should resist to accept rich insights from whatever source they may come from.

No doubt, philosophy is different from mysticism. While the aim of philosophy is to attain an intellectual understanding of Reality, a mystic passionately craves for a direct experience of it. He is not so much interested in formulating intellectually plausible theories of reality, nor in demonstrating the

rationality and logical validity of his experience. His is mainly an approach of involvement. The concern of a philosopher, on the other hand, is to construct meaningful theories of reality which are logically sound and can be rationally demonstrated.

The office of reason is to analyse and evaluate critically the facts of experience or to interpret them with a view to discover the underlying principle or principles that govern them. In performing these, its function are not cognitive, but are analytical and interpretative by supplying certain principles inherent in its nature. As such when reason becomes indifferent to facts of human experience, the conclusions based upon it turn to be empty. Thus understanding the nature of reason many modern philosophers are eager to rest their inquiries on sure facts offered by ever growing sciences, so that, their conclusions can be substantial and meaningful. Therefore, philosophy cannot be indifferent to facts of human experience without resulting in mere imagination.

The facts of experience should be critically examined before they are accepted or rejected. Philosophy should not arbitrarily reject some facts of human experience. It should not pre-judge any facts or treat some as untouchables. To be comprehensive in its inquiries, it should keep open its doors to all facts of human experience. Revolution is one such fact or at least points out to the possibilities of human experience, which many may not have realised, and for that reason philosophy should not be blind to such human possibilities. In so far as it offers valuable insights in understanding the problems of philosophy, its evidence should be carefully judged. On the other hand, if philosophy accepts revelation for reasons other than philosophical, it loses its distinction from theology. It is equally unphilosophical to reject it without ever

examining its philosophic worth. Revelation may not be meaningful in terms of empirical experience and hence in terms of human reason, but if by accepting it the latter can gain better significance, it should be accepted hypothetically like scientists who follow certain hypotheses when they can yield fruitful results. In accepting certain revealed dogmas, in so far as they are not anti-rational and do not contradict empirical experience, they can act as hypotheses for philosophy. So, in accepting them after a critical examination of their claims to truth, a philosopher does not commit any wrong. This was the exact predicament in which the Indian philosophers found themselves placed in their search for truth.

Indian philosophy has accepted revelation as one of the sources of valid knowledge, but not strictly speaking based its conclusions entirely on it. That is how the fact that though all the systems have accepted the authority of revelation they did not arrive at the same conclusions can be explained. On the contrary, if their conclusions remaining substantially the same, they only adopted different arguments all of them must be employing the latter to bring forth the same established truth of revelation. In fact, they have not invented reasons for justifying the truths of revelation, but only gave their reasons for accepting it. Their different conclusions, which provide a wide range of philosophical speculation, are primarily due to their different approaches and have substantially nothing to do with revelation. What follows is a brief historical resume of the different systems of Indian philosophy which can substantiate the above.

The so called revelation is not antagonistic to reason. On the contrary, it is much more rational than what many think of it. Because of their rational approach, Upanishadic thinkers could reject much of Vedic cosmo-

logy, metaphysics, religion and ethics. The scepticism of Vedic thinkers and their reliance on divine inspiration were to an extent given up by them, who believed in the possibility of attaining objective knowledge of Reality and showed much reliance on reflective thinking. The Vedic concepts like Brahman and Atman were so developed by them they have lost their original significance. Moreover, we find in the Upanishads the presentation of different view points on any important philosophic problem which were discussed before they were rejected and particular view point was accepted. The main problems of philosophy were thoroughly debated in seminars of learned people, wherein one was free to criticise the other's view point. This was later considered by Sankara as a form of reasoning. The logical particle 'therefore' which we find prefixed to important Upanishadic statements also shows their conclusive nature. These points cannot be elaborated further, as that is not our main purpose, but it is sufficient to note for the present purpose that revelation is not anti-rational though in it reason is transcended.

The systems like Nyaya, Vaisheshika and Sankhya have simply acknowledged the authority of scriptures. Nyaya is predominantly a school of logic which it developed independently. Vaisheshika and Sankhya metaphysics derived nothing from revelation. They are independent and rational constructions of philosophy. The metaphysical principles of these systems were rationally conceived and proved so that, their validity and intelligibility do not depend upon revelation. As such they were later criticised for not being faithful to revelation. Even Sankhya was considered by some to be heterodox or non-traditional. If they derived anything from revelation, it is to be found in their theologies. Thus, their acceptance of tradition, which seems to rest

on historical reasons, has not hampered their freedom of inquiry and their right to exercise reason.

Coming to systems which are more closely connected with revelation namely, Mimamsa and Vedanta, it can be observed that while Mimamsa philosophers, who are concerned mainly with finding out the ethical importance of the various Vedic rituals, have discussed the concept of revelation and its authority thoroughly. Vedanta philosophers have accepted what they considered as the cardinal teachings of revelation. They have rejected Karma Mimamsa, except a few epistemological conclusions of it, as they found it irrelevant to the real problems of philosophy. Besides, they have rejected from Vedas all that is contradictory to empirical. The few intuitive insights of revelation which they adopted were considered by them to be fruitful and ultimately valid in deciding the transcendental problems of philosophy. They followed reason to where it led them and when they have realised that thereby the basic problems of philosophy remain unsolved, they left off pure reason, accepted revelation and employed reason in the service of it. In doing so, they did not try to subvert reason because of their jealous commitment to revelation. Sankara could clearly envisage the claims of reason. He was aware of its supremacy, for he realised that the rejection of reason is itself based on reason. It should not be rejected because of its faulty use by some philosophers, for the possibility of its future perfection is always there. He also realised the efficiency of reason in achieving unity and cohesion of human thought, especially within the empirical sphere. Moreover, he was fully convinced that what was constructed on the basis of revelation could also be based on reason. But, the mutual contradictions into which speculative philosophy based on

pure reason lands, whereby showing that reason lacks finality of judgement when applied to transcendental problems of philosophy, and if applied results in unsubstantial conclusions, led him to the rejection of reason and acceptance of revelation, mainly for its experiential value. Precisely for these reasons, Descartes, the father of modern philosophy wanted to rest his philosophy on sure and certain facts of experience like 'cogito ergo sum'. Many of the above arguments may be valid against revelation also, but we are not here concerned with the validity of arguments as with their presence. Thus, to base their inquiries on sure grounds, so as to reach substantial conclusions, Vedanta philosophers have invoked revelation which, according to them, is the repository of intuitive and direct knowledge of reality.

Vedanta philosophy is a critique of revelation as much as it is a critique of pure reason. As such we find not one interpretation of it; but as many as its interpreters. The various commentaries and commentaries over commentaries exhibit an excellent zeal for philosophy and a capacity to philosophise. They leave behind such an impression of freedom which they could not have achieved if they never wanted to exercise their freedom of inquiry and simply wished to follow the original faithfully. If, in accepting revelation they only sought to rationalise it, there could have been no different systems of Vedanta philosophy. Using reason and assimilating the various arguments of their opponents, they constructed substantially different systems. Thus, what Sankara presented was not completely there in revelation, for which he was later suspected as a crypto Buddhist. He, who could reject much of revelation as philosophically irrelevant, could have rejected it in total, had he not found it rationally irresistible to do so.

In modern times, what Radhakrishnan

accomplished is not a simple and modern version of ancient Indian philosophy. There is much in his writings of which he is the creative author. Aurobindo's philosophy cannot be fully comprehended without sufficient knowledge of Vedanta philosophy, but simply in terms of it, his philosophy cannot be understood. Gandhian doctrine of 'Ahimsa' was there in Indian tradition, but as developed by him it was something new and creative. I am precluding from the scope of the present study the growth of Jaina and Buddhist philosophies for reasons of space. Though the enlightening experience of Buddha is the primary source of inspiration for all the schools of Buddhist philosophy, the rich philosophical tradition they have built upon it is really stunning for its argumentative skill, conceptual analysis, dialectical reasoning and its grip over philosophic problems.

If we take specific concepts like Brahman and Atman, the pivotal concepts of Indian philosophy, the evolutionary process of growth based on reason is clearly discernible. The significance of these concepts has never remained the same from the time of their conception to now. These concepts in the course of their development have grown so rich in philosophical significance, it becomes difficult to trace their origins exactly and adequately. From a simple principle of prayer or the power inherent in it to an absolute and all comprehensive reality, and from a principle of life-breath to pure consciousness which is infinite and eternal, the continuous development of the concepts of Brahman and Atman respectively represents unmistakably the progressive evolution of Indian philosophy. For a fuller discussion of the problem of continuous growth of these and many other important concepts of Indian philosophy, one can refer to the works of J. Gonda, who after evaluating every bit of evidence found in Indian tradition has conclusively shown that "from an objective point of view there are many arguments for the thesis that the Indian culture which is expressed and reflected by the uninterrupted literary production from the Rigveda onward is an

unmistakable continuum, which while transforming and rejuvenating itself has always been subject to a process of adaptation and assimilation."

Lastly, to conceive a purpose to philosophy, as the Indian philosophers did in conceiving 'Moksha', is not unphilosophical. Moksha as conceived in all the systems of Indian philosophy is not an ignorant person's emotional attitude towards an unknown, nor an attempt to escape from the deficiencies of human nature. It is to attain 'perfect knowledge' or to know the nature of ultimate reality in its complete objectivity. To know things as they are in themselves, but not as what they appear to us, or as conditioned by human peculiarities is to attain liberation. It is to liberate oneself from ignorance, that fragmentary and conditioned knowledge of things. If to cherish such an ideal is unphilosophical there can be no philosophy worth the name. Every philosopher wants to know truth, not in order to escape from his psychological needs or to satisfy them, but because he no longer wants to remain in the world of shadows. In conceiving a purpose—intellectual love of God—Spinoza does not cease to be a philosopher. Marx who set a purpose to his thought, that is to change the fate of the ways of human thinking is a philosopher. Because his thought has given rise to a political creed, as communism is the direct outcome of his philosophy, no one can deny the philosophic worth of his writings. One may not like communism, but one has no choice to dismiss Marx as unphilosophical. In India, all the systems of philosophy have not resulted in establishing religious traditions. There is no religion in the name of Nyaya, Vaishesika and Sankhya.

To conclude, Indian philosophy is like a tree of which the fruit, the flower, the leaf etc., share the same essence and derive their nourishment from the same roots, and yet they are qualitatively different and represent growth, while organic continuity of the tree is maintained. It is a continuous and dynamic flow, and not a stagnant pool of ideas, into which many new streams of ideas have joined making it ever rich, while many old elements of it have dried up.

SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

9

3) Jaffar Hossain was a graduate from Lahore, about 20 years, tough but thin and very intelligent. He ran away from India during the first World War (1914—18) along with Ahmad Hossain and several others to join Moulana Obeidulla Deobandhi in Kabul to fight for Indian Independence. He was interned by Ameer Habibulla in Afghanistan and was freed by Ameer Amanulla, along with the Moulana (in 1919). Jaffar took very active part in actual fighting against the British, under the then Commander-in-Chief of Afghanistan Nadir Khan, who later on became the Ameer. He was the most trusted lieutenant of the Moulana. He learnt Russian thoroughly and taught Urdu or Hindusthani to Com. Ricener, Asst. Foreign Secretary, while he was in Eastern University with me in Moscow. Com. Ricener was the father of the pretty wife of Com. Roskolnikov, the Soviet Ambassador in Kabul.

4). Dr. Noor Mohammad—from Hyderabad (Sind), a Medical Graduate from Bombay, age about 24 tall, fair, but of delicate health, with moustache. His father was a Hindu, and he was converted to Islam but was not a bigot—as it usually happens in such cases. A very sympathetic soul and a pleasant companion. He was nice to all: He was Court Physician in Kabul and also family physician of Ameer Amanullah. He was a good shot, and often a companion of the Ameer in his 'Sikhars' or hunting. A hot favourite of the Ameer and also a lady's man-chivalrous-in the families of the Ameer and high Afghan Court circles. He had with him money and after a few weeks

in Moscow, he went to Germany for further studies at his own expence. and came back to Moscow after one year of studies in Germany. He was in Moscow when I left that city (in 1924). He later on came back to India and then went back to Kabul again as a Court Physician. After Independence in 1947 of India and Pakistan, Dr. Noor Mahammad, had some difference with the Afghan Government and he came back to Karachi, Pakistan. I met his tall handsome son in Karachi in 1949, when I had gone there to attend the Asian Trade Union Convention. He was not married when I left him in Moscow in Autumn of 1924, but married later on in India.

5) Iqbal Sadai, a Nationalist Revolutionary Graduate from the Punjab, about 35 years of age. He joined the Hizrat movement and though he did not belong to the inner circle of the Maulana, yet he was an intimate associate of the Maulana. He was clean shaven and a bachelor and a great admirer of the great Punjab poet Heer. His love for the Soviet Govt. was not very deep and he left for Ankara Turkey from Moscow, a couple of months after we reached Moscow

6). His ward was Rafiq, a bright and handsome young school student and a Mahajer. He also left for Turkey with Iqbal Sadai. He would have liked to stay on in Moscow with us, but followed Sadai's advice.

7). Md. Rashid, a graduate from Deoband, clean shaven, a Mahjir, very modest and unassuming and eager to serve. He had taken up a job in a primary school in Kabul. He was devoted to the Moulana, He was

the only married person in our group of ten, beside myself.

8). Abdul Hamid, was a nephew of the Maulana. He was very modest and used to look after the food, dress and personal comforts of the Moulana. He was in a key position as the nephew of the Maulana, but never put or airs. He was clean shaven, but when I met him in Karachi in 1949, he had grown a long flowing beard and I could not recognise him at all till he told who he was. He was a bachelor and under-graduate.

9). Abdul Aziz, was the youngest of all and the most lovable. He had a swarthy complexion with a round face. His child-like simplicity made him dear to all of us. Most unfortunately he got T. B. and was sent to a T. B. Sanitorium near Moscow. He would be happy beyond measure, when we used to go to see him in the Sanitorium once a week. He was cured and was back to the KYTB university when I left Moscow.

10). Last, my humble self.

Kotal-E-Khanjan-Pass.

In about ten days we reached the Pass named Kotal-E-Khanjan, the highest pass, through which we had to pass before reaching the peak of Hindukush, which was more than 10,000 ft. high, where we crossed it.

The pass was narrow, about 8 to 9 thousand ft. above sea-level, very damp, cold and slippery; two huge almost perpendicular rocks more than 100 ft. high on two sides with moss growing thick on the rocks formed the pass and water was dripping down the sides. In a few days it would be covered with snow and become impassable. Ours was perhaps the last caravan of the year to go through the pass. On both sides there were thick jungles but no habitation near by.

I succumbed to the usual human weakness and scribbled my name in Bengalee with knife

on the moss covered rock on the left (Western) side of the Pass, hoping that the next Bengali who would pass through that Pass, would read with surprise a name in Bengali, if decipherable at all and may feel proud that another Bengali had passed through that pass in Oct. 1922. It was a hope against hope for in a few days moss must have grown on my writing making it illegible. I presume that I was the first Bengali, to pass through that pass, for the usual route is through Bamian pass, which was 5/6000 feet high and which has been the historic International Caravan or Trade route. This was shorter but far more difficult and dangerous, as described above.

Hindukush Peak.

From Kotal-E-Khanjan, we descended into a very pleasant valley with cultivated lands, growing wheat and huge melons 1 to 2 ft. in diameter, resting temptingly on the ground on both sides of our road. We halted in the last village on the Southern side of the Hindukush which literally means (Kustan in Persian means—'to kill,' Hindu Killar.

We were guests of the Khan of the village who was very rich. He cultivated huge areas of land and also helped the caravans of traders, passing to Turkomanistan from Kabul valley and also in the reverse direction on payment of cash. The caravans are to halt there necessarily. Serving the caravans in that lonely place, with food and fodder and resting place after they passed through inhospitable passes on Hindukush peak was a very profitable business. He had dozens of horses and mules and hundreds of Dumba sheep and chicken.

We were his guests in one of his spacious cluster of mud houses. A fat Dumba was slaughtered (Jabhaed) in our honour and we were treated to a sumptuous feast. The

Khan with his white beard and tall figure participated with about 10/12 of the Khan's Chiefs. The feast was free, but he charged a heavy sum, in helping us with about 20 porters or coolies who would share the luggage with the mules we had. The load of the mules had to be reduced to half or even less to facilitate the crossing of the peak. The porters carried only ten to fifteen seers on their backs in the usual way of the hill people tying the luggage with a piece of rope, the flat middle of the rope went round the forehead, and the luggage carried on the back of the porters. In high altitude a person can carry much less than in the plains due to the presence of less oxygen.

In our journey so far, we used to start after early and heavy breakfast almost at day break and stopped in the evening for food and rest, near about sunset. This was the pattern for all caravans. Night journeys are difficult and dangerous and are usually avoided for safety reasons also.

On this day we reached our destination at about 2 P. M. and we did not proceed any further as the next stop was about ten miles after crossing the peak of the Hindukush, but relaxed and sauntered about in the mellow light of the afternoon sun. We picked up a few melons from the field, cut them into big pieces and ate voraciously. Those melons were very sweet, juicy and luscious. The teen agers started throwing the thick skins of the melons after eating the red portions, at one another and running about in attack or escape. It was a good game and gave much merriment. We the elders chatted walking in the cultivated village land. The sight of cultivated land full of green vegetables (and also melons) was very soothing to the eyes, after miles of barren rocky lands or thick jungles.

The apprehension of Moulana and some other senior members of the party of being

liquidated or interned in some remote place, had already become almost a joke.

I asked Maulana mischievously how he would like to be interned in that village. He replied "not bad", but there must be enough books to read.

I added "with daily newspapers, brought once a week or even a fortnight". I said I would not mind staying there as internee, but for one year or at most two. I would study their language, their ways of life and customs, tradition, folklore and history, ways of cultivation etc, and become a real expert on Pathan way of life in that region. If I got Maulana as a companion it would be paradise. Maulana roared in laughter. If not released by that time then I would try to find ways and means to escape, which would not be difficult, when once I mastered their language, local Posto. Persian, which I had learnt sufficiently to converse, would not be of much help there, among the Posto speaking Pathans and Turkomans, Kabul river was nearby. If I followed its course I could never get lost, in my attempt to escape.

The sun went down and we continued sauntering in the beautiful twilight, not 'Godhuli' or light filtering through the dust raised by cows returning home at sun set. In that region it can not be "godhuli" as cows are rare there. It might be called Ehera dhuli, but most sheep graze in distant hills and dales with the shepherds and don't come back home in the villages in the evenings. They come back only after months.

Soon after sunset we had our sumptuous meal in the Pathan way and retired to sleep early as we were required to get up soon and start on our journey at about 2 A. M., so that we could reach the next village on the other (northern) side of Hindukush by sunset next day. It takes about 12 to 14 hours, but we took more than half as long but that sad but interesting story is following immediately.

Crossing the Peak.

We were roused from sleep at about 2 A. M. The porters had come. They had finished, unpacking the big packages carried by mules and making small packages etc, already in the previous evening. We finished our earliest ever breakfast of tea etc. at 2.30 A. M. and started. Each being given some boiled mutton, about a kg. and about half kg. of bread and quarter kg. of dried raisins and some salt and pepper. When hungry we would eat the meat and bread with salt and pepper and then chew a few raisins. This we did some times on horse back or mule-back or more often after getting down near a hill rivulet or spring and then finished our simple meal and drink water to our hearts content. Tea shops are very, very rare in those parts, except at caravan sarais, which also were rather rare in those regions.

Variation of Vegetation

We went up and down and again up by the bridle path, but were steadily gaining height. The temperature also steadily fell about 1° centigrade for every 200 ft. of ascent. The thick jungles became scarce and more scarce, as we gained height. The leaves of trees in higher altitudes, were not flat but needle-like, as the pines. Then the trees were shorter and then mere shrubs, dispersed in the rocky land. Still higher, these were like ferns or cactus. Near the summit there was no green vegetation at all.

In the Southern side, the sun's rays fall, however weak and snow melts in summer and becomes the source of the Kabul river. But sun's rays hardly fall on the Northern side of the peak and as a result the snow does not melt and with treading of men and beasts of burden, turns into ice, which is very very slippery and one false step and the man or mule would roll down several hundred feet and be turned into minced meat.

So, our ascent, however tiring was comparatively less dangerous. Where we reached the peak it was all white. It was my first experience of snow and we played with snow balls and really comprehended how actually, Napoleon used to play with snow balls. Hitting one another with snow balls, I could not understand when I read about it in my school days, how a man could be hit with a snow ball and still escape serious injury. I did not know the difference between snow and ice, as I had seen the latter, but not the former, till I reached the top of the Hindukush. It was fun to make snow balls by pressing a quantity of snow between two hands and it would remain in shape and when it hit something, the ball would break into small snow particles. We specially myself indulged in this game for quite sometime and I remembered Napoleon and his school day frolics.

Rising on the top of Hindukush, we looked around and it was all a white sheet covering the entire slope on the northern side. We found a dead body there covered with snow and kept in an improvised grave of a few stone boulders. He must have been one of the last caravans who died out of some illness or simply of cold. From his dress he looked like a Pathan, perhaps a peasant or a poor trader. His body though exposed in the air, did not decompose, as it was very cold and it was covered with snow. His companions left him like that under the care of Mother Nature. If one of us died there he would have met with a similar fate.

On reaching the top of Hindukush, we felt, specially myself, very much elated, that the Hindukush or the Hindu Killer could not kill me, a Hindu. People on the Southern side were called Indus or Hindus. Even (now) the Russians call all Indians—Hindus. So Ahmad Hossain told me that in Russia we

Muslims of India have become Hindus and the problems of Hindu—Muslim unity did not exist, as all Indians are called Hindus there, irrespective of whether he was Hindu or a Muslim or a Sikh or a Christian, **Indus or Hindoos was synonymous with Indians.**

Frozen Lake.

Near the peak, we found a lake. There was a crust of ice on the surface. We were four of us detached and ahead of the rest. Jaffar Hossain, Dr. Noor Md. and myself, being all four on horse back. We were surprised and delighted to see the frozen lake. It was also my first experience. It was partly frozen near the shores but partly not, particularly in the centre. A black duck—like bird was swimming in the ice-cold water where the lake was not frozen. Some one suggested that we should test the accuracy of shooting of each of us. We fired three rounds each turn by turn but the bird was not touched by any bullet. When a bullet would fall in water near it, it would only change the direction of swimming, but would not fly away. I did not claim to be an expert shot, but the other three did. They explained, that because they were firing from the height of a hill top 100 or 150 ft. high, due to action of gravity, they all missed the target. Perhaps they were correct, but I really did not understand why they could not make allowance for gravity, while shooting. None of the 12 shots, came within a radius of five yards from the duck.

We went down to the lake from the hill top and found the marks of the feet of deer in the soft shore of the lake. The deer must have been going to the lake for drinking water. We tried our weight on the sheet of frozen ice on the surface, but it was not strong enough to stand our weight and broke.

But in a month or so it would be completely frozen and be able to carry the weight of a horse, with carriage, as we saw later on in Moscow river. Winter was just starting and the frozen water or ice was hardly one inch thick.

We had our meal of boiled mutton and raisins and drank the pure ice cold water of the hill-top lake. I named it Shiva Lake. By the time we got back on the road from the lake, others in the caravan also arrived and we all proceeded farther.

Now started the most difficult and dangerous part of the journey. The snow of last year was there, unmelted throughout the year. Due to the treading of the caravans a narrow path hardly a foot wide, had been made in the sea of snow. But this narrow path hardly a foot wide had been turned into hard Ice and was therefore very slippery. On both sides of the road was snow which was $\frac{2}{3}$ feet or more deep at places. If your foot slipped on the ice and fell into one of the pitfalls, your foot would go into the soft snow $\frac{2}{3}$ ft, and you were bound to fall and be engulfed in snow. It happened to most of us several times. The path itself was slippery and we had to avoid, the ice and put our feet on any stony surface, that could be discovered, amidst the sheets of ice. Moreover some of these stones were not stable. So, standing on one foot, we would probe with the other foot the ground and if found stable, would put the other foot on it. Stable support and thus proceed forward. It was like a toddler starting to walk for the first time. The most remarkable were the horses and mules, who moved in the same way trying the ground with one front hoof and if found stable, put the hoof firmly there and then bring forward another hoof and proceed in the same cautious manner. How trained and cautious these animals were! Instinct of the experience

of innumerable falls must have taught them this intelligent and difficult practice, in their numerous journeys over these mountains. Sticks made of branches which some of us had cut from the way side trees, at the time of ascent and had proved very useful, were not of much use now in the descent. The descent therefore proved very slow and dangerous for several miles of eternal snow, till we came to the snow free road.

One Mule Rolled Down.

One sad incident was that one mule slipped and rolled down some 2/3 hundred feet and became almost (Kima) minced meat. One chamandan or box tied tightly on its back also rolled with the mule for sometime, then got detached, but continued to roll down on its own momentum separately. The box got battered and broken to pieces and all its contents were scattered in the snow on the hill side. As there were some valuable documents in the box, two of our Pathan helpers, braved the snowy hill and went down, collected the papers and some clothes they found and went to the mule and found it still alive and writhing in death agony. They cut its throat (or hallaled) and ended its agony and left the carcass there to be devoured by vultures or perhaps it was too cold even for vultures to go there and the carcass would remain undecomposed in the snow which (will cover it with its white sheet) till next summer, when the snow would melt. While these operations went on, we found a flat place and waited in the snow and biting cold. While walking down, the movement and effort kept us comparatively warm but when waiting we were very nearly frozen.

We were all on foot as riding a horse or a mule was unimaginable, in the situation there. We also had made a chain of the whole caravan. A man was in front with the bridle of the horse behind. Behind him was another

man holding the tail of the horse in front and the bridle of the horse behind and lastly the remaining men, holding the cloth of the man in front. If the foot or hoof of any in the chain slipped, he would regain the balance with the help of others in the chain. I was told that it was the usual way in those journeys through snow and ice. It reminded me of villagers coming to Calcutta for sight-seeing, making a chain like this with the clothes or saries of the group, one behind the other, for fear of any one getting detached and lost in the human sea in Calcutta.

Fortunately, this most difficult part of the journey ended in the late afternoon when the sun was above the horizon there. Gradually the snow became thinner and the road less icy and before sunset we were again on firm earth or rock and walked confidently and firmly. The chain of men and animals was broken as no longer necessary. We were firmly on the otherside of the Hindukush which was 10/12 thousand feet high near the Peak. But still there was no habitation (and tea shop?). The journey was still difficult, steep cliff on one side and rapidly flowing rivulet, 50/60 feet down on the other. It was walking between the Devil and the deep sea, literally.

As we descended from the peak, vegetation gradually reappeared in the reverse order, to what happened when we ascended. First cactus and shrubs scattered here and there. Then the needle leafed pines and flat leave thereafter. Lastly came the creepers and jungles. Though we saw no habitations of men, we found shepherds with flocks of sheep and their guards, the dogs all along the route at intervals. The sight of shepherds, was very reassuring. We asked them about the distance of the village where we were to stay, for the night and they told us "it was three miles off" (Che Koshmanda). It was twilight

or (about) 6 P. M. We continued to walk or proceed on mule-back whenever there was any broad space and we came across shepherds with flocks of sheep at intervals of a mile or two. These flocks of sheep, with their shepherds, leave their homes with the flock in early summer and return home only in late winter. During the day, they graze in the fields and at night the shepherds make a circle of sheep and sleep in the centre of the circle which becomes very warm from the warmth of the sheep. They do not need even to kindle a fire to keep themselves warm, except on rare occasions.

At intervals of half an hour or so, whenever we found a Shepherd, we asked the same question and got the same reply, it continued Che Kosh menda. 3 miles more till 10 P.M. i.e. for nearly four hours. In the time since 6 P.M. we must have covered at least 10/12 miles, but the 'Che Kosh' or three miles remained unending. The journey was still difficult and dangerous, as there were high cliffs on one side and a deep gorge on the other. The gorge was a branch of river Oxus or Amudariya. While ascending to the peak of Hindukush we had followed the Kabul river towards its source. After crossing the peak we were descending following Amu Dariya from its source on the peak of Hindukush mountains. During twilight the journey was not so bad but it ended soon and the road, rather the bridle path, was hardly visible. Fortunately for us half moon appeared in the sky and lighted our path to some extent, with its feeble autumn light through the mist. But the moon was not always visible as it was often covered by hills, while we proceeded. Even then, we could see the road, by the indirect lighting of the landscape by the moon. At about 11 P.M. the half moon also set and it was jet dark and movement forward was most difficult and dangerous.

I suggested to my companions that we should pass the night with some shepherds and sleep in the centre of the flock of sheep with the shepherds. It would be warm and safe, for I thought "Che Kosh" may continue till the morning. I argued that it would be better to start again in the dawn, with a few hours of rest. By this time we had been on the move for nearly 20 hours with practically no rest. I needed rest very badly but others would not agree to my suggestion of sleeping with the Shepherds.

The reason for my being more tired than the others was my attempts to outshine the others in climbing mountains. Whenever we came to a hill there were invariably two roads; one, the road round the hill and the other a bridle path over the hill. I took a branch of a tree as my stick to help me in the ascent and descent. The senior colleagues of course did not join me and preferred to remain on horse back or on mule back. A few of the junior colleagues joined me, but one by one they left and chose to go back to the horse or mule. While crossing such hills I was invariably the first to go to the top and triumphantly signal to my colleagues on the road and then descend to the road, long before the caravan would reach there. I must have crossed at least 20 such hills before reaching the peak of Hindukush. It was not a very wise thing to do. Though I had the satisfaction of beating others in mountaineering, but I exhausted myself, much more than others. But wisdom was not a virtue with me. It is so even now after 50 years since those youthful days.

However, at about 11 P. M. at last we found a road under construction. It was a short cut from Mazare Shariff to Kabul. It was such a relief, that language can hardly express it. We were about to shout "the Road, the Road" as the Greek Soldiers, going

back home from the Indian expedition shouted "Thala Ta, Thalata—the Sea, the Sea" on seeing the sea in Asia Minor. It was indeed a great relief. One could ride horse or mule and they could move forward with ease on their four legs and even walk on the broad even road about 10ft. wide was a pleasure, after all the rough surface we had to negotiate for more than 2 weeks, since we left the Bamian Road. The construction of the road had started from Maza-e-Sharif and completed up to that place which was about 20 miles from Mazar-e-Sharif. I am sure, it must have been completed up to Kabul in a year or two and thus the road from Kabul to Mazar-e-Sharif was shortened by fifty miles. Future travellers, must have reaped the benefit, but we got it all rough as rough can be. There must have been one or two caravan Sarais in this long distance of about 30 miles for the convenience of the traders who were the main travellers on the International trade route.

Two Missing.

When we reached in batches the house of the Khan, which had been fixed for our place of rest for the night, we found two of the team were missing. They were of the younger batch. We waited for half an hour, but as they did not appear, it was necessary to send two in search of them. This was the first time (and the last) when I did not or could not volunteer. Two others volunteered to go in search and found they were in the next village, cosy and comfortable. I was dead tired. So, though the Hindukush could not kill the Hindu Sibnath, it had made the Hindu as tired as dead.

Steaming Pillao and Dumba curry etc. were waiting for us, but I spread my bed and fell on it like a log, fully dressed. I had not an ounce of energy left even to undress or specially to eat. This was also the first and

last time this has happened to me in my fairly long and eventful life. I immediately fell into sleep and slept like a log. All attempts to wake me up to take food failed. I did not get up at 5 A. M. as had been usual for me all through my life, but woke up at 9 a. m. and all attempts by friends to induce me to take bed-tea, my only luxury also failed.

It was decided to halt for the day there to give a little rest to our aching bones. Moulana and most of the party were more or less in the same condition, as myself.

The porters who had been hired from the Southern side of the Hindukush were paid off and the luggage repacked for the mules as they were when we had started from Kabul.

Turkomanistan.

In the morning when I got up and had hot tea and also breakfast of Pillao and Dumba curry (of previous night), I felt then my usual self again and ready to start for another expedition as on the previous day. But as all of the party including the horses and mules were tired, it had been decided to rest for the day and I was glad at heart for it, though I felt fit enough to start on the journey.

When we were resting and taking rounds and rounds of green tea, I found we were amongst a different people, namely Turkomans. Their dresses were different and their overcoats had longer sleeves, which covered the hands and lower part of overcoats fell much below the knees. They were more slim and not so robust as the Pathans living in the south of the Hindukush. Their language was Persian but of a quite different dialect. The Turkomans, were said to be of Turkish origin. They had come from Turkey, conquered this region to the north of the Hindukush and made it their home both to the Southern and Northern side of the Oxus river. Those who lived in the Southern side of Oxus were citizens of Afghanistan and those on the

Northern side were in the southern fringe of the Czarist Empire. Enver Pasha, one of the famous Turkish Triumvirate, (Zamal Pasha and Jaglul Pasha were the other two) had made an abortive attempt to form a Turkoman Empire, with the help of the British and other Imperialists in 1921. This was called the Basmachi movement. At that time I did not know much of Basmachi movement. It was a religious cum political move against the Soviets, but it failed specially as they had tried to re-introduce feudalism and take the land away from the cultivators to whom it had been distributed by the Soviets and hand them over back to the land lords. This the peasants resented and revolted.

However, to proceed with the story. It was now a road over the plains and we reached Mazar-e-Sharif in 2 days time. It was not only the Capital of North Afghanistan, but also an important centre of the International and historical Trade Route. It is also a very famous religious place, where not only people from all parts of Afghanistan, but also from other neighbouring Muslim countries flock for the Annual Dargah.

Netaji Bose, when he was crossing Afghanistan, pretended he was deaf and

dumb and was going to the Dargah at Mazar-e-Sharif to find a cure for his illness. It was a good and plausible idea. For if he talked with any one as Netaji Bose or as a Pathan, the Police, even the Afghan Police would have suspected and arrested him and sent him to the British and thus baffled all his grand plans to fight for Indian Independence from abroad.

At Mazar-e-Sharif, we were quite comfortable, as there was a fairly big market there and we could buy food of our choice in the restaurants or eating houses. We went to see the Mazar-e-Sharif, where the relic of one of the 4 Khalifas was preserved. It is a mosque and a Makbare (tomb), but not much used except during the Dargah day, when the place was overflowing. When we went there were literally hundreds of pigeons, living and breeding comfortably there, but making the place dirty with their droppings. On our approach, they got flustered and started flying in all directions in great numbers. But they settled down soon in their peaceful resting places. We spent about 15/20 minutes there and some of us said their special prayers.



Current Affairs

Cigarette smoking and other dangerous habits

A British estimate places cigarette smoking as a very dangerous habit in so far as at least 40000—10,000 persons die in Great Britain annually as a result of smoking. Britain has only a small fraction of the total smoker population of the world and calculating on a proportionate basis smoking must be killing off millions if we took into account all the smokers of all the countries of the world. But there are many other injurious habits which cause premature death directly or indirectly and some of these habits may be more wide spread than smoking. Drug habits of various kinds, consuming alcoholic drinks, eating food which increases blood pressure or cholesterol, diet habits which cause vitamin deficiency or malnutrition may be cited as examples. Then there are other habits which reduce longevity. Hustle and bustle, anger, irritation, fear, anxiety, sorrow and general poverty also cause death. Poverty and undernourishment go hand in hand with living in crowded rooms or suffering from exposure. Dirt and squalor also accompany poverty. One may say without any fear of contradiction that want is the greatest cause of untimely death. If one studies the death rate of different countries, the affluent countries have the lowest death rates. Though in these countries one finds all the bad habits that cause untimely death. The high death rate in poor countries can be ascribed to lack of food, proper housing, clothing, medical aid and healthy conditions of living. Removal of poverty will prevent untimely death, reduce human suffering and add to the

pleasures of human existence. Removal of poverty may increase smoking, drinking and all bad habits; but it will increase the life span nevertheless.

Privately Owned Cars in Russia

The Russians are a highly productive people and their total national income would be fairly high. But only five persons out of a thousand own private motor cars in Russia. In the USA 400 out of 1000 persons have their own cars. The Russians can make cars in fairly large numbers but the government do not allow any one to produce more cars. As a result there is a well developed "black market" in cars in Russia. People quite often pay double the market price of a car in this black market. The half of one per cent of the population of Russia who own cars would be considered to be a highly privileged group. They would number about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million in a large country like Russia which has a population of about 250 millions. Car owners will be concentrated in big cities like Moscow and Leningrad where there would be thousands of privately owned cars. This would rouse the envy of those who want cars but cannot get any. So, as a method of forcing equality on the people of Russia, this cutting down of car supplies cannot be considered to be very effective. Rather, inequality is emphasised by such extremely exclusive privileges.

Police Efficiency

The police in India are supposed to enforce law and order, prevent crime and control anti-social behaviour. The present police organisation of the country is a throw

back to what the British set up to serve their purpose in the past and one can not say that this continuation of an ineffective system has been a very wise policy. In olden days the police could exist by standing to attention before and by "selam"ing high level personalities and they had no need to be clever, efficient, morally sound and reliable. Any fellow of proper height, chest measurement and caste would serve and certain areas of India which produced the necessary types supplied all the policemen for India.

But a modern police force cannot be developed out of such mentally and morally ill equipped persons. If anyone chooses to examine how the police work in a big city like Calcutta one has only to stand on the side of a "one way" road. He will find streams of rickshaws and hand carts coming from the wrong side and policemen taking no notice of it. The footpaths too are occupied by hawkers and the people for whose use the roads are made somehow manage to squeeze their way through. Car parts are stolen by miscreants all over the city and we have not heard of the police recovering any stolen parts from any thief at any time. But the police always send notices to car owners for alleged violations of minor parking regulations in order to prove that they are doing their job. This is a farce which the police have been enacting over long years without anyone going to the High Court about such useless harassment of tax payers. The police cars are driven quite recklessly at times; but, of course, police drivers can never be charged with careless driving unless they actually kill some one. As to stopping crime, the less said the better. The police cannot even put a stop to members of their own force being murderously assaulted. The police in West Bengal have now got extra

ordinary powers. The crime wave sweeping over this state would point to the existence of a good few thousand potential law breakers in the state. But the police have not been able to arrest more than a small percentage of the army of law breakers. This shows that the police either have little knowledge of what goes on in the state or they are not making use of their knowledge and information. Ordinary crime is also going on without check. There is therefore necessity for reorganising the police force. The old type "Paharawallahs" and their pen pushing superiors are no longer adequate. The so called detectives also are failing to detect in the same way as the traffic or ordinary police are failing to control traffic or crimes. The crime dens must be liquidated. So must there be control over **Khatahs** and over crowded **bustees**, use of roads for shops, garages, dumps of building material and housing of persons who have no homes. Receivers of stolen goods, usurious landlords and money lenders should be checked. The police should have mounted high way constabulary to prevent dangerous driving.

Parking Fees in Calcutta

The system recently introduced by the Calcutta Corporation for charging money for parking in certain areas should be stopped, as it is iniquitous. A person paying an annual road tax of 200/300 rupees should not be forced to pay another 200/300 rupees a year for parking cars. This happens in many cases where persons have to keep their cars in such "fee" areas for their work or business. Such "fees" may come to nearly a rupee a day in many cases and there is no reasonable ground why one man should have to pay so much while others donot pay anything in other areas. For instance parking fees are charged on the East Side of the Chowringhee while no fees are charged

for cars parked on the West Side. There are fee areas within a few feet of which there are parking places where no fees are charged. The real point is that when cars pay an annual road tax they do so for the use of the roads in general. Use of roads does not mean that the cars must be in motion all the time. If a car is parked on a road along which it can move without paying anything extra; why should it pay extra money for staying on the road motionlessly? Parking is also using the road by a car. The city corporation may be in need of money but that does not justify unfair impositions on particular persons. They may ask for increasing the road tax by a few rupees and take that extra money for their needs. Or they can have City Tax on cars which all cars using the city roads must pay. This will also make it unnecessary to appoint numerous fee collectors whose work is really unproductive and a waste of the nation's work power. An additional Rs. ten or fifteen per annum would yield a higher revenue at no extra cost for collection than whatever the "fee" collectors are obtaining by wasting their and the car owners' time and energy. And, we repeat, these collections are unfair and unjust.

Moral Reform through Murders

Any fundamental change in the social and the political organisation of a country is justifiable only on ethical grounds. Thus when the French demanded the establishment of *liberte*, *egalite*, *fraternite* during the French Revolution the world saw some sense in the killing of the aristocrats in so far as the gruesome acts were perpetrated in order to establish equality and liberty among the French people who were oppressed and exploited mercilessly by the feudal lords of France. The Americans who were lorded over by the British fought their war of independence with justice on

their side; for colonialism was a violation of the Human Rights of man and the overthrowing of colonial or imperial power was justifiable ethically. The Russian Revolution saw some killing of the Russian nobility; also some organised fighting. The Russian nobility had enforced serfdom on many working class people of that country and land was sold along with the cultivators there. The Czarist set up was a contradiction of social morality in many ways. One could therefore find some excuse for the killings associated with the 1917 revolution. When the Chinese overthrew the Chiang Kai Shek domination they merely drove out the General and his army and entourage, without in anyway molesting physically the Privileged People of China. They established communism without committing murders, setting fire to places, robbing banks and shops or breaking up furniture in the manner of frenzied crowds destroying what they disliked. Some reckless and ruthless action was seen at the time of the "cultural revolution" for a little while; but murders were the least part of it.

"So, Class War had been and could have been associated with murders and other acts of violence with some semblance of justice only where there had been grave acts of injustice oppression and persecution commonly perpetrated by members of the privileged classes. Murdering teachers, ordinary policemen, shopkeepers and rival political party members cannot even be called class war. Destroying college libraries, laboratories and class room furniture, cannot be called necessary part of a class war. Teachers are workers and not members of the aristocracy nor are they capitalists. Ordinary police men are not the armed forces and killing a few of them cannot have overthrowing the government as its objective. The social system cannot be changed by destroying laboratories, libraries or by

looting shops or banks. The crime wave that is now sweeping over the country, therefore, cannot be called either a revolution or an attempt at carrying on a class war. The people who are indulging in it are quite often fighting among each other without attacking any members of the privileged classes. There are a few persons who are making attacks on selected persons disapproved of by them. But most of such attacks are on rivals in the game or upon fairly innocent and common people. The whole thing appears to be more like a gang war rather than a social revolution. It is said that the people who are engaged in this destructive work are desiring a change in the social order. If that is so one has to say that they are achieving very little in the way of reaching their objective.

It is also believed that the government of the country is not doing its best to put down the crimes which are disturbing public life at present. The reason for this is that the top people in government do not wish to put in prison the instigators of the criminals as those men are political leaders and friends of the persons in authority. Whatever that may be, the obnoxious situation does no credit to the state officials nor to the alleged revolutionaries, and the sooner this farcical but murderous display of obscene fury is controlled by those who can do so, the better it will be for them as well as for the public.

Pakistanis Offended by British Publication

Some British Publication has offended the students of Lahore Rawalpindi and other cities of Pakistan by its reference to the Prophet of Islam in objectionable terms. The students attacked the British Consulates and embassies in Pakistan, set fire to consular cars, broke windows and generally, tried to do away with all diplomatic immunity for the British diplomats in Pakistan. This anti-British outburst of

popular feeling had its beginning in the criticism by British newspapers of the callousness displayed by the Pakistan government officials when East Pakistan was stricken by Cyclone and Tidal waves. That criticism was resented by the West Pakistanis and the British were disliked for not minding their own business. The publication of the offensive book added fuel to the fire, so to speak, and the British are the least loved people now in Islamabad.

Bank Robbery at Chittaranjan

Nearly rupees nineteen lakhs were looted from the State Bank of India, Chittaranjan, at gun point by seven or eight armed men who came in a black Ambassador Car, shot dead one of the guards, disarmed two others and left in the same car with the money and three rifles which the guards were carrying. Later the police recovered some of the money, found the car abandoned by the bandits and picked up valuable clues which should enable the police to recover more money and apprehend all the criminals. It was reported that the driver of the car voluntarily surrendered to the police. His car he is alleged to have said is a Private Taxi or some such thing and it was hired at Calcutta for a trip to Santiniketan a few days ago. There after the driver was put out of the car at some place near Chittaranjan and the bandits drove away in the car. This is one of the biggest bank robberies of recent times and show the carelessness of bank employees in handling large quantities of cash in bulk in easily approachable places. The guards too appear to be quite inexperienced in the use of fire arms. They should also be in bullet and bomb proof shelters in all banks from which protected places they could fire at robbers without any risk of being shot themselves.

C. R. 'S Appeal to the Leaders

The **Swarajya** weekly has published an

appeal to the leaders of political parties by Chakravarty Rajagopalachari the grand old man of Indian Politics. It reads as follows :

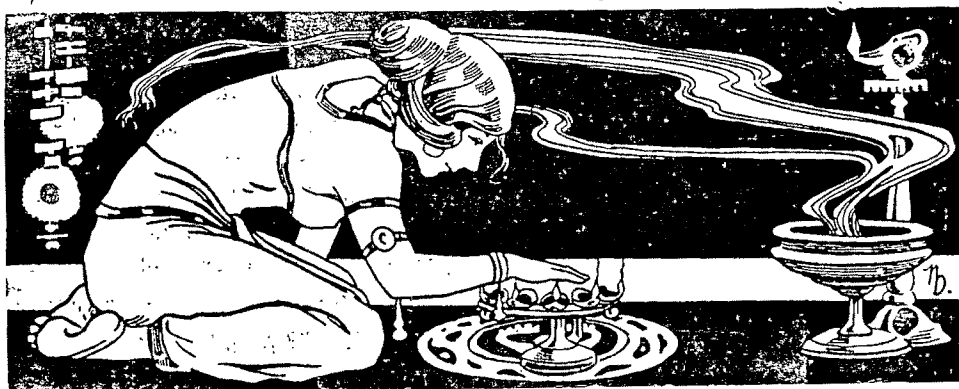
"In a wholly unprecedented manner the Prime Minister has dissolved the Lok Sabha and ordered general elections a year in advance of the schedule only to suit her strategy. She presented the parties opposed to her politics with a *fait accompli* with maximum disadvantages to them. She was not inhibited by any moral or constitutional scruples on account of it. I therefore look upon this not as a general election but as a Referendum on the single question whether the country approves of Smt. Indira Gandhi's plan to tear up the Constitution and annul the liberties of the people and replace democracy by totalitarianism. Leaders of democratic parties should realize that this is a God-Sent opportunity to demonstrate once for all that India does not want communism in any form. How one wishes the opposition to Smt. Indira Gandhi showed greater alacrity and confidence and forgot all matters irrelevant to the great menace posed by Smt. Indira Gandhi's assault on the constitution. The work of the giants who fought and won India's freedom took shape in the constitution, which Smt. Indira Gandhi now seeks to treat as a scrap of paper. With the help of the communists and others she seeks to tear it and throw it into the waste-paper basket of history. "Unite ! Unite !" is my

appeal Money and power of patronage will prove to be trash and the constitution will be saved by the people's answer to this Referendum if the opposition groups drive out the bees in their bounets and resolve to win this great battle which has come unasked."

C.R.

The trouble is that the "giants" who fought for and won political freedom for India were sold by Pandit Jawahar Lal Neheru and the Congress, and the Muslim League dismembered India with a view to make this subcontinent a field for exploitation by numerous self-seeking pigmies who became political leaders by collecting gangs of followers who all thought they could rule the country and, incidentally, help themselves to jobs, contracts, licences, permits etc. etc and make the political parties money making organisations for the privileged few. The majority of the people of India suffered silently and thousands of millions of rupees were borrowed in their name by the party leaders. The leftist leaders were no better than the rightist and they also created and enjoyed privilege whenever they got a chance.

The people of India have no respect for the politicians and the political parties and people vote for candidates without considering their merits. Party members collect their supporters by making false promises or by even more reprehensible methods.



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Bulgarian Author and Playwright

The following account of the visit of a noted Bulgarian author and playwright to India is reproduced from *News from Bulgaria*.

Orlin Vassilev, a noted author, playwright and essayist of Bulgaria visited India recently in connection with the 4th Afro-Asian Writers' Conference which was held in Delhi in the middle of November. A prolific writer for the past 40 years, he is now 66. Orlin Vassilev is an eminent social worker as well and is a member of Bulgarian Parliament (National Assembly).

Besides attending the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference during his week-long stay in Delhi, Orlin Vassilev met a number of eminent Indian writers and poets and gave several interviews to the press and the Radio.

Although Mr. Vassilev considers that exchange of literary works translated into respective languages contribute more to the growth of mutual acquaintance, he finds the personal contacts established through visits to be equally important. He expressed his sincere satisfaction in having been able to visit India, a country with great tradition of ancient culture which has always provided a source of inspiration.

Addressing the Writers' Conference Orlin Vassilev asserted that he was not just an ordinary, 'objective' and indifferent foreign observer to the Conference. His mission

was an expression of solidarity of Bulgarian writers, as soldiers of the same front, with the writers of Asia and Africa against the common struggle against imperialist brutality and the designs of neocolonialism to thwart mankind's progress towards the kingdom of light and happiness. He pointed out that notwithstanding the many difficulties Bulgarian people face in building up their own new life, they have been lending their whole-hearted support to the fighting front against aggression both in Asia and Africa. Mr. Vassilev told the writer representatives from over 20 Asian and African countries that in spite of her limited resources Bulgaria took particular care for presenting to her public outstanding works of literature of many countries. "Not a single day goes by", he declared, "not a single issue of Bulgarian journal comes out of print which does not carry translations of your works or does not reflect our fraternal compassion for your creative efforts and your sacred struggle".

Replying to press interviews Mr. Vassilev told that he began writing at the young age of 22. Conditions at that time in Bulgaria were different. People suffered under the unbearable yoke of a monarcho-fascist dictatorship and it was more difficult for the progressive writers to express their views and rouse the people for struggle. They found recourse to allegories and legends in order to pass the barrier of strict censorship. But Mr. Vassilev

did not go unscathed and was arrested about 23 times.

Mr. Vassilev's works are highly popular in Bulgaria and many of his books and plays have been translated into several languages abroad

Political Tidal Wave in East Pakistan

Nripendranath Ghosh says in *Janata*

The recent tidal wave has taken its toll in East Pakistan. Nearly a million Bengali lives have been lost. No power on earth can stop a natural disaster but the monumental inefficiency of the West Pakistani leadership in handling the relief operations was unforgivable. As a result, the political tidal wave yet to visit that region will have double the ferocity of the November 13 Cyclone. It will change the face of Pakistan.

Also washed away along with Bengali lives is the West Pakistani rulers' hope of retaining their domineering role over the Eastern wing. Needless to say, it is the Bengali socialists who will win in the December 7 General Elections, Pakistan's first. Their victory is guaranteed by two factors (1) Linguistically, they are the superior group in the whole country. (2) There is 1000 miles of Indian territory between West and East Pakistan. For the first time since the disappearance of Subhas Bose in 1945, Bengalis will be calling the tune in the politics of the subcontinent.

Recurring annual losses of Bengali lives and homes due to flood and cyclone have proved once and for all that elected leaders of East Pakistan must have a say in running the economy of that wing. In 1952, the Bengalis protested against linguistic domination and in 1969 against political domination by the Western wing. After the next election, they will go further. Bengali resurgence will naturally come in the shape of economic decisions. To quote the London Times of October 20,

"At the moment East Pakistan buys its coal from China at a prohibitive price of Rs. 172 a ton. This is one of the main reasons why East Pakistan's only steel mill is running at a huge loss. Yet coal imported from West Bengal across the border would only cost Rs. 50 a ton. East Pakistan would also be able to export its main commodities, fish and low-grade jute, to eager markets and starved mills of West Bengal."

East Pakistan has its indigenous band of parasites and corrupt civil servants just like its West Bengal counterpart. But the Bengal peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the population, will not stand any more nonsense. They want land and protection from flood and cyclone.

As early as 1937, Subhas Bose suggested a 260 mile-long coastal dam with a six-lane traffic way for controlling flood, boosting trade and commerce, generating electricity and reclaiming land for cultivation. Such projects have been undertaken by mutually hostile powers in Europe and by West Pakistan and India. There is no reason why it cannot be done by East Pakistan and West Bengal. The sub-continent is laced with mighty mountains. There is no dearth of rocks and boulders. Bengalis are eager to work. There is no dearth of labour. All that is needed is leadership. This can only be provided by the Bengalis who from time immemorial have lived with the cruel sea and the uncontrolled rivers. The proposed dam will not only electrify the economy of the entire region but also generate hope for the future which poverty-stricken Bengalis are rather good at harnessing for their cause. Whereas East Pakistan has some sort of leadership, West Bengal has none. The politicians of West Bengal have lost all the farsightedness for which once they were admired. Hence the leadership must come from East Pakistan.

Recently, a Western diplomat in Dacca

said: "If the civilisation collapses, the process will start here in Bengal." The collapse can be prevented by the coastal dam. Nothing else can.

The Highest Enlightenment

Dr. S. N. L. Shrivastava writes in *the Aryan Path* :

Said the Lord Buddha :

Appakate manussesu ye jana paragamino

Atha'yam itara paja tiramevanudhavati.

"Few are they amongst men who desire to cross over (the river of empirical existence) and reach the Other (transcendental) Shore."

—*Dhammapada*, verse 85

To the same tune, Shri-Krishna the Ancient Teacher said : "*mañusyanam sahasresu kascid yatati siddhaye*"—"Rarely one in thousands strives for Perfection" (Gita, VII. 3).

In a telling manner, the stern teacher of the *Kathopāṇisad* tells us : "*na samparayah pratibhati balam*"—"The Beyond does not come within the ken of those of puerile understanding".

Indeed, those who bring to us "authentic tidings of invisible things" are few and far between.

Scientific and technological advance of humanity has not raised its ethical level. A wise thinker has aptly remarked that ours is an age of nuclear giants and ethical infants. The knowledge which raises man to his highest ethico-spiritual stature is of a different order. Our Upanisadic sages drew a very significant distinction between *apara vidya* and *para vidya*. All the varied sciences and branches of knowledge which pertain to this universe of our empirical experience constitute *apara vidya*, the knowledge by which the Immortal and the Transcendental is comprehended is the *para vidya*, the *prajñā-paramita* in Buddhistic terminology.

The great spiritual teachers of humanity,

Krishna, Christ, Buddha, and others, came to awaken humanity to an awareness of That which is beyond all limits of the empirical—the Atman of the Upanisads, the Nirvana of the Buddha, the Sunyam of Nagarjuna, the Nameless Tao of Lao-tze. So deep and unutterable is the Truth to which they wanted to awaken humanity that Lao-tze was divinely right in saying about it :

He who knows, speaks not,

He who speaks, knows not.

Gautama the Buddha was a seer of this unutterable Truth. For full three weeks he remained immersed in the enjoyment of the Vision Splendid and what he realized appeared to him so subtle that he thought it futile to speak about it to anybody. But Brahma, it is said, appeared before him and with folded hands entreated him to preach the truth he had realized for the welfare of humanity, and Buddha then resolved to do so. He was always conscious of the fact that the highest truth he had realized was beyond the comprehension of ordinary minds. He would speak about it to the select few, to those who had a high degree of spiritual sensitivity.

We read in the *Saddharma-Pundarika* that once five thousand monks and nuns and lay devotees of both sexes had gathered at a congregation to hear from Buddha about the highest Buddha-knowledge. In spite of their repeated entreaties, the Buddha would not speak out. At last the entire congregation melted away and only Sariputra was left. The Buddha, recognizing Sariputra as a worthy recipient of his highest teaching, said : "My congregation is now pure, freed from chaff; the trash is removed and the pith only remains."

The Buddha always adjusted his teachings to the level of the audience he had to face. Said the Buddha to Sariputra : "I reveal the law in its multifariousness with regard to the

inclinations and dispositions of creatures. I use different means to rouse each according to his own character. Such is the might of my knowledge." (SDP, p. 54)

"*Ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti*"—the One Truth is spoken of variously by the wise—said the seer of the *Rigveda*. The idea is echoed in Buddha's words :

As a vessel is made to receive all its distinguishing qualities according to the quality of the substance laid into it, so the Tathagatas, on account of the diversity of taste, mention a diversity of vehicles, though the Buddha-vehicle be the only indisputable one. (SDP, p. 136)

The Buddha is regarded as the founder of a religion, a new religion which has come to be known as Buddhism. In fact, Buddha never intended to found a religion in the institutionalized sense of the word. He called his religion a Way, (*magga* ; Sanskrit, *Marga*). This Way he never regarded as *his* Way, or a Way *invented* by him. To him it was a Way taught by all the Buddhas that came before him and a Way that will be taught by all the Buddhas that will follow him in times to come. The different Buddhas in different epochs of time cannot possibly teach different vehicles, he said, for there is but one vehicle to Buddhahood. The following words uttered by him to Sariputra are significant :

The former Tathagatas also, living in the past for innumerable Æons, the many thousands of Buddhas who are gone to final rest, whose number can never be counted,

Those highest of men have all of them revealed most holy laws by means of illustrations, reasons and arguments, with many hundred proofs and skilfulness. And all of them have manifested but one vehicle and introduced but one on earth ; by one vehicle have they led to full ripeness incon-

ceivably many thousands of *kotis* of beings." (SDP, p. 49)

Buddha never claimed to have *founded* anything but simply to have *found out* what the Buddhas of the ages past had found out and what Buddhas in the ages to come shall be finding out.

Buddhism, if the word be taken to mean only the essential core of what the Buddha himself had taught, is no creed, no institutionalized religion, but the Way eternal and universal trod by the Enlightened of all the ages. The real mission of the Buddha, as he himself has stated it, was not to propound doctrines or to formulate any system of metaphysics or theological dogmatics but to point out the Way to the highest ethico spiritual stature. Memorable are his words :

I am the Tathagata, O ye gods and men ! the Arhat, the perfectly enlightened one ; having reached the shore myself, I carry others to the shore ; being free, I make free ; being comforted, I comfort ; being perfectly at rest, I lead others to rest. By my perfect wisdom, I know both this world and the next, such as they really are. I am all-knowing, all-seeing. Come to me, ye gods and men ! Hear the law. I am he who indicates the path ; who shows the path, as knowing the path, being acquainted with the path. (SDP, p. 120)

The Path, the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyam atthangikam maggam*), is the quintessential core of Buddha's teachings. The whole emphasis of the Buddha was on perfection in this Path, elevating man to the highest spiritual stature he is capable of, to Buddhahood, the Highest Enlightenment.

To preach nothing short of the Highest Enlightenment was the lofty mission of the Buddha. To quote his own words :

The Chief of the world appears in the world to reveal the Buddha-knowledge,

He has but one aim, indeed, no second ; the Buddhas do not bring over (creatures) by an inferior vehicle...I would be guilty of envy, should I, after reaching the spotless eminent state of enlightenment, establish anyone in the inferior vehicle. That would not beseem me. (SDP, pp. 46-47)

Let not the message of the Enlightened One, never more needed than at the present times, go unheeded :

*na hi verena verani sammantidha kudacanam
avarena hi sammanti esa dhammo sanantano*

Never does hatred cease by hatred but by love alone ; this is the Law Eternal.

—Dhammapada, verse 5

Communist World in 1970

The following abstract of events in the Communist World in 1970 as made out by Janathan Steele is taken from the *Guardian Weekly*.

"For the Communist world 1970 was the Year of Comradely Forgiveness. It was a period in which old enemies began to be reconciled again. In Europe the Soviet Union recognised that West German 'revanchism' was a figment of 'Pravda's' imagination and that Herr Brandt's approaches to the East were worth taking seriously. In August the two countries signed a treaty renouncing the use of force in their mutual dealings.

"On the Eastern, or rather South-Eastern, front Sino-Soviet relations showed a marked improvement. In 1969 there were bloody clashes in repeated frontier incidents, but 1970 was a year for talking. It was crowned in the autumn by an exchange of ambassadors between Moscow and Peking and the signing of a new trade pact. Within the Warsaw pact the outstanding differences between Rumania (which in 1968 condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia) and the Soviet Union narrowed perceptibly. Two years

after the treaty became due for renewal the Soviet Union finally swallowed its pique and sent Mr. Kosygin to Bucharest in July to sign a new twenty-year friendship pact. In return Rumania sent a small contingent to the autumn manoeuvres of the Warsaw Pact in East Germany, the first time it has joined allied exercises for many years.

"The new spirit of reconciliation even reached down to perverse little Albania which began to repair its relations with neighbouring Yugoslavia. But it must be remembered, of course, that this kissing and making up referred only to inter-Government relations. The party differences within the Communist world remained as wide as ever. The Albanians continued to brand the Yugoslavs as revisionists and what better proof, they asked, than Mr. Robert McNamara's visit as head of the World Bank to help prop up the Yugoslav economy with new loans ?

"The Russians continued to accuse Mao of being an 'anti-Marxist' whose thought has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism'. The Rumanian leader, President Ceausescu, barely two days after the signing of the friendship pact with Moscow, called for a free debate within the world Communist movement to bring Marxism-Leninism into line with new social and economic trends.

"Strengthening the movements' unity can only be achieved on a new basis, in which the autonomy and independence of each party is fully ensured as well as its right to draw up its general policy in conformity with the concrete conditions prevailing in the country" the Rumanian President said. This is "National Communism" in its most obvious form, the culmination of a decade, the 1960s which saw "international communism" collapse totally as a useful concept.

"The invasion of Czechoslovakia was meant to halt the movement, but did the opposite.

Except, that is, in Czechoslovakia itself, and then presumably only for a few years. 1970 saw a further restoration of Soviet control. The Czechoslovak communist party went on with its purge, which included the expulsion of the former party leader Mr. Dubcek. By the time the purge finished in September, roughly one out of every five members had resigned or been expelled. Non-party people were also questioned about their political beliefs, and many lost their jobs. Yet in marked contrast to 1956 in Hungary it was done without putting political leaders on trial. A number of leading intellectuals who had been charged earlier in the year found the trial abandoned—much to the annoyance of the party's hard liners and Stalinists, who tried to pressurise Dr. Husak into a tougher policy. "By the year's end there was some tentative evidence that the worst might now be over in Czechoslovakia. If so, the country might then embark

on something like the slow uphill path which has now made Hungary into the most relaxed (a relative term of course) country in Eastern Europe. The Hungarian party held its tenth congress in November. It was marked by new efforts to foster decentralisation and self-criticism inside the party.

"But the most dramatic and definite reconciliation of all in 1970 remains the flowering of Bonn's Ostpolitik, and the treaties signed with the Soviet Union and Poland. Only two years after claiming West German infiltration in Czechoslovakia as one pretext for the invasion, the Kremlin was making friends with Willy Brandt and inviting West Germany to lend Russia capital and technological know-how.....some of the.....hurdles of European cooperation have been surmounted.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Food and Man by Miriam E. Lowenberg ; E. Neige Todhunter ; Eva D. Wilson ; Moira C. Feeney and Jane R. Savage. Published by John Wiley and Sons. Inc. New York and reprinted in India by Wiley Eastern Private Limited, J41 South Extension 1, New Delhi 49, Royal Qto 342+X illustrated, art paper cover, price Rs. 4.50. The authors have made an extensive and thorough study of nutrition and food habits of human beings and have produced a remarkable treatise of great importance to humanity. Hunger has played a great part in Man's history. The present position shows that some nations spend a very high per-

centage of their income on food, while others the affluent and generously fed nations spend a much smaller portion of their incomes on food. India tops the list of food buyers with nearly 80% expenditure on food and Canada comes lowest with about 23%. Among European nations the highest expenditure on food is found in Portugal, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia and France. Americans are the most lavish in eating. They eat 6000 varieties of food. But they spend only 26% of their individual incomes on food. The national percentage was 13%. The book can be

recommended to all students of social sciences.

Some health books by Dr. S. J. Singh being of the new nature cure series of booklets published by him from the Nature Cure Council of Medical Research, 51-52 Gwynne Road, Lucknow-1. The booklets are "The Potato Cures"; "Combating colds, coughs, catarrah and sinus trouble" "Abolishing Rheumatism, Gout and Arthritis"; "Natural Treatment of Piles and Vericose Veins"; "Putting off the Old Man and Putting on the New"; "Banana for Health"; "Getting Rid of Heart Disease"; and "An Apple a Day". The books are priced reasonably and provide many useful health suggestions.

Unforgettable Lessons of History : Being a collection of articles by Soviet Generals of the War of 1941-45 Published by Novostis Press Agency Publishing House, Moskow. USSR. The Generals are Marshals Grechko, Zhukov, Moskalenko, Zacharov, Yepishev and Shtemenko.

The Sources of a Vicious Course by Otto Braun published by Mercantile Publishers, 4-5/B, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi, Price Re 1/- The book contains the memoirs of the German Communist Otto Braun who stayed in China from 1932 to 1939.

The Eeonomic Implications of the Union Budget, 1970-71 by Prof. Russi Jal Taraporevala, published by the Forum of Free Enterprise, Sohrab House, 235 Dr. D. N. Road, Bombay-1.

Also published by the same organisation is another booklet **The Anatomy of Waste and Inefficiency in Engineering Construction** based on a speech delivered by W. X. Mascarcuhas, Chief Engineer of a State.

The Reorganised Planning Commission by H. K. Paranjape published by The Indian Institute of Public Administration, Indra-

prastha Estate, New Delhi. It is a study in the implementation of administrative reforms.

Published by the same organisation is another booklet **Centre-State Relations in Planning** by H. K. Paranjape. Prof. Paranjape prepared this paper initially for the National Convention on Centre-State Relations and it deals with an important issue.

P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer : by K. Chandrasekharan, published by the Director Publications Division, Government of India in their Builders of Modern India Series. Crown Oct. pp 158+X Illustrated one plate, paper board binding, price Rs. 2.75. The writer knew Sir Sivaswami Aiyer quite intimately. His father was a great friend of Sir Sivaswami. This short biography therefore is not only of sound documentary value ; but has a certain literary appeal which one does not meet with very often in books of this type. It can be recommended to readers who like to know more about the great sons of India of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

Modern India and World Fellowship : By Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Vice-chancellor, Patna University. Being the Kamala Lecturer for 1967, University of Calcutta, delivered in 1969. Published by Macmillan Co. Ltd. Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, London. Demy Oct. pp 104+6 Paper Board, Art Jacket Price Rs. 12.00. Dr. Datta is a reputed scholar and his Kamala Lectures are an exposition of India's Internationalism and efforts at creating fellowship between different races and nationalities. Dr. Datta states and proves by documentation how universalism has been inherent in Indian civilization and culture. India preached the gospel of love and universal brotherhood through the **Upanishads** and teachings of the Bnddha. Later many foreign travellers visited India (Arabs and Chinese) and carried India's message to humanity to the outside

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world. Even after Europeans started visiting India, Hindu philosophy attracted the attention of Western savants and many Sanskrit treatises were translated into German, French and English. Even during relatively modern times many great European scholars have visited India. Dr. Datta names among others Prof. Sylvain Levi, Dr. M. Winternitz and Dr. Sten Konow. Those who visited foreign lands from India were also remarkable for their cultural achievements. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was the greatest among such persons. Dr. Datta's lectures are well worth preserving in book form and would be enlightening to all students of the cultural history of India.

Gurn Nanak : A collection of essays on Guru Nanak by different writers with a foreword by Smt. Indira Gandhi and an introduction by Sri Satya Narayan Sinha. Published by Publications Division Government of India pp 224+XVIII, one colour plate, paper cover price Rs. 4.00. Apart from the introduction there are 19 essays by well known persons. Dr. Zakir Husain, the late President of India delivered a speech on Guru Nanak on the 14th April 1969 of which the text is incorporated in this book. Other essays of special interest are "Guru Nanak's concept of God by Dr. Jodh Singh," contribution of Guru Nanak to Saint-Literature "by Shri Parasurama Chaturvedi "Guru Nanak and Indian sadhana' by Shri Ramdhari Sinha Dinkar and "Guru

Nanak—a social Revolutionary" by Shri Ujjal Singh, governor of Tamil Nadu.

Gipsies Forgotten Children of India : by Bhikshu Chaman Lal with a foreword by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India Demy Oct. pp.216+XVI illustrated by many plates, art paper cover, price Rs. 5.00. It is a very interesting and well written book. Shri Chaman Lal writes from personal enquiry and investigation and the book has great documentary value. As India is considered to be the home of Gipsies it is a subject in which all Indian's should be particularly interested.

Political Soeialization and Student Activism in Indonesia : By Prof. Stephen A. Douglas published by University of Illinois Press Urbana, Chigago, USA, Royal Qrto pp 234+VIII, Map, cloth bound Price \$7.95. The book gives a clear analysis of the part played by Indonesian students in abolishing communism and establishing a "new order" and would provide interesting reading to those who wish to understand the student movement of Indonesia. The students of Indonesia appear to possess more practical common sense than students normally do in other countries. Prof. Douglas provides some very interesting statistics to illustrate the conclusions he arrives at. The student problem is very serious in India and this book will indicate lines which our administrators should follow for a solution of the problem.



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NOTES

Murder of a National Leader

The assassination of the Forward Bloc leader Hemanta Kumar Bosu has raised a vital question to all Bengalis. Are we going to be ruled by killers who have no shame, no pity nor any human considerations ; but have such a firm belief in the efficacy of murders as a political weapon that they go about with knives in their hand looking for helpless victims of any age or any standing in the social political life of the nation ? Can murderers be fair and just rulers of any country ? Can they set up lawful governments of any type anywhere when they settle all differences of opinion, all opposition by slitting open the throats of those who question their wisdom and authority, or are in opposition to them in politics.

The answer is that Bengalis cannot and will not agree to tolerate this murder cult. We cannot have youngmen indoctrinated into the ways of predators. We know that some mature minds are behind the development of a mental condition in our youngmen and women in which they think slaughtering

innocent persons mercilessly is an approved method of achieving political power. In ancient and medieval times dynasties fought dynasties or political groups carried on war against each other in order to gain ascendancy in the field of rulership. But they did not follow a cloak and dagger policy and try to achieve political objectives by organised murders. Even during revolutions no one advocated assassinations as a method of winning in a political fight. Liquidations or purges have been merciless and have caused the death of numerous persons : but those killings were carried out with some semblance legality and lawful procedure. The obscenity and the shamelessness of pouncing upon unsuspecting opponents, exploding bombs and stabbing them to death have nothing comparable in revolutionary warfare or in the official carrying out of mass capital punishment. What is now going on in West Bengal is glorification of the lowest crimes that can be imagined. And people who are preaching this hideous cult to our youth are going unpunished. One may be excused if one thought that the Governor of West Bengal

is in a position to know who these preachers are and that he is largely responsible for the present state of affairs in so far as he is not putting these aiders and abettors of murders behind the bars. Some even suggest that he is positively sympathetic towards these instigators of crime. The Governor is the ruler of West Bengal and he is responsible for the safety and security of the people of the State. If he cannot control the knife wielding and bomb throwing murderers who roam the streets of Calcutta freely and do what they like without anyone doing anything to stop them, he should resign and leave the gaddi that he is occupying in the name of the President of India. If he feels sympathy for the preceptors of assassins, he should, first of all, give up the post of Governor. If a political party adopts a policy, either openly or in secret, which induces the youthful members of the party to commit murders, those responsible for the adoption and propagation of such a policy should be imprisoned immediately. If the police officers dealing with such matters say they are not sure of the identity of the persons who teach people to commit murders, such police officers should be replaced without any delay.

Hemanta Kumar Bosu was a seventy six year old politician who had been a legislator for more than a quarter of a century. He has been a bachelor who had devoted his life to the cause of the people. He was a close associate of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and was the chairman of the All India Forward Bloc organisation. At the time when he was struck down by "ideologically" inspired assassins, he was moving about without police protection, attending public meetings connected with his candidature for the ensuing elections. He refused to have any body-guards as he thought that would be an expression of fear. He said he had gone

through his fairly long life without feeling frightened and he did not wish to change his mental outlook. Hemanta Kumar Bosu had no enemies for the reason that he had always been honest, straight forward, just and fair even where his worst critics and opponents were concerned. He was eminently free from meanness and malice. The persons who so ferociously attacked and killed this loveable old political worker were definitely employed by some utterly low and criminally minded gang leaders who had a hypnotic hold over their youthful followers. These masters of inhuman anti-social activities mesmerise their youthful admirers by convincing and high sounding misinterpretations of the sayings of well known political philosophers. The immature youths believe whatever these confidence creating criminals say and agree to commit the most heinous of crimes in the belief that by these despicable acts they will help to make the world a better place to live in and human society more perfect. But the fake ideals that are preached to these youthful disciples of the political criminals poison their mental outlook. They begin to suffer from what may be described as a form of artificially induced lunacy. All these youngmen and women must be rescued from the clutches of the criminals who masquerade as political thinkers. Unless this is done the shadow of death will continue to darken the landscape of Bengal and a psychological pestilence will destroy the sanity of the youth of the state.

Elections, Democracy and National Progress

Elections for choosing members of legislatures by voting is a recognised method of setting up and operating democratic forms of government in modern political societies. Those countries which have adopted democratic constitutions and manage their political affairs by free, fair and popularly approved

methods of election, believe that democracy assures the people the greatest good of the greatest number as also the maximum enjoyment of freedom by all nationals. It should be noted here that not all countries which claim to have democratic forms of government are true democracies. There are some countries with single party dictatorial forms of government which also call themselves democracies but are in reality just plain and simple authoritarian states. Elections in these countries are just for show. The single political party, which is a ruling minority, tell the people to vote for a person or persons selected in advance by the leaders of the coterie. We are not discussing the put up jobs falsely called elections in these fake democracies of a dictatorship pattern. The democracies which have free and fair elections usually have at least two political parties and sometimes more. These parties indulge in mutual criticism, expound their own political beliefs and try to prove to the people that their ideas and ideals of government will prove to be the most beneficial for the people of the country. And the purpose of the nations progress and its civilisation will be best served if their nominies were returned to the legislatures. The aim of a true democracy therefore is to refine, vitalise and develop the country's civilisation and to lend to the nation's culture a rarer ethical excellence in order to make the people purer and superior in their intellectual outlook and behaviour. Sound political parties fundamentally try and aspire to achieve these and similar objectives.

But unfortunately political parties in most democratic countries donot often have any such ideals. They try to make their propaganda appear attractive to the people by promises of better living conditions, more gainful employment, cheaper beer or tobacco and similar advantages of a grossly material

sort. In some developing countries like India, the promises are worse in point of vagueness and obvious ambiguity. They say they will make the rich poorer and the poor richer, give the voter what does not rightfully belong to them, make everybody happy and prosperous ; without mentioning any methods or dimensions. In a country where the average annual per capita income is 400 hundred rupees, a perfectly equal distribution of wealth would give every Indian an annual income of Rs. 400 only. That should be taken as a threat and not as a promise by all who earn more than Rs. 35/- per month. At least such equality will make life very ascetic and abstemious for all ministers and members of parliament who now get allowances far in excess of that highly equitable average.

Some political leaders think that Indians must accept Chinese or Russian domination in order to achieve political perfection ! Others flounder in a vortex of words and concepts without any reference to realities. We hear about monopolists, concentration of capital, exploitation of the masses and so forth; forgetting that our country has very little of the resources which, when misused, can develop into a positive menace to the people of the country. With about one percent of the population industrially employed we surely spend our time making mountains of moehills when we suggest industrial wage revisions as panaceas for all social evils. We are one of the highest taxed countries of the world and we have social legislation at par with most industrially advanced countries. Our problems are of compulsory education, fuller employment, linking up of villages by roads etc. etc. But these do not appeal to the megalomaniac romanticism of out look of our politicians. They want to make a song and dance over things which do not exist or are in a faintly flickering condition. It is a sort of mental disease to look at or think of things after

considerable psychological magnification. Very ordinary men are presented as supermen, common 2 inch by 4 inch incidents are glorified and given grand imaginary proportions.

Politicians live by exaggeration. But a nation cannot do so. Life's problems are dangerous realities. They must be handled accordingly. Where people are fed constantly on synthetic grandeur realities tend to be diluted down to negligible strength. That creates a false sense of security in people. We have been independent for two yugas. We intentionally use the Sanskrit term for a period of twelve years, so that we may remind ourselves of India's glorious past. Let us remember at times of forming new parliaments that ancient and medieval India produced the great shastras and the epics. That India was intellectually great; great also in architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, literature, philosophy, logic and in all things which required clear thinking; clarity and precision in work, inspiration and superior skill. We should remember the Rishis, Vyasadeva, Valmiki, the Jaina Tirthankaras, Goutama the Buddha, the Emperor Asoka, Kalidasa, Nagarjuna, Varahamihira and numerous other creative thinkers and constructive workers of great eminence. There were thousands of superbly talented men of wonderful ability where there are not even two dozens now.

We have learnt to worship men of other nations and to forget, or even to despise, our own people. Pride of heritage gives a nation that implicit confidence in its future which carries it through difficulties with a sure-footedness which cannot be borrowed from China, Russia, England or the United States of America. We therefore need leaders who have knowledge of and faith in our heritage. They are the people who can show us the path of future glory. Borrowed feathers may be all right for duping the unintelligent. They

are not good enough when it comes to a question of true achievement.

We do not however advocate a form of ancestor worship; for that cannot lead us to any assured contacts with the lines of work to be followed by a modern nation. We cannot solve our problems of aviation by meditating on the glories of the Puspaka of Shri Ramachandra. Only the heart finds strength in thoughts of past greatness. The brain has to look for inspiration within its own store house of knowledge and by use of its powers of ever new syntheses. But present day outlook avoids studying the past; because it is gone and is no more. It also avoids any intensive study of modern science and technology; because it demands hard work deep analytical reasoning and concentration. In fact the modern outlook is somewhat easy going, addicted to clever intellectual manipulations and dependent upon the general all round ignorance of lesser men. It is necessary that we recover that habit of going to the root of things; to an intensive study of details and a repeated checking up of data which we must collect assiduously and with a whole hearted thoroughness. We may emulate the Japanese and the Germans. Our past will give us faith in our ability. Purposefulness will point to us the way to the successful culmination of our ventures. Politics express the social will of a nation. There should be a clear cut, straight forward and honest approach to the nation's problems in our politics. Hoodwinking, confidence tricks, false promises and unfair practices should be scrupulously avoided. Politics moreover is the foundation of all laws. Politicians therefore have a special responsibility for maintaining and strengthening the laws of the land. Political work defeats its own purpose when it is carried out by breach of the law. All political workers have to remember this at all times.

Pensions for Industrial Worker

Recently President V. V. Giri passed an ordinance by which he instituted a pension scheme for about three million working class people who contribute a certain specified minimum percentage of their earnings to the already existing National Provident Fund Scheme. A worker who becomes entitled to a pension under this new scheme will enjoy certain social security measures with his dependants. Thus if he died before earning the pension his family members would get certain widows' and orphans' benefits ; such as a monthly allowance of Rs. 40/- to Rs. 150/-, along with a lump sum payment of Rs. 1000/-. The Government of India would be paying 1 1/6% of the worker's earnings which will be added to that part of the worker's and the employer's contribution that will be accumulated for pensions in this fund. It is a good scheme in so far as thirty lakh workers out of numerous million working class people will be given a much desired social security under its provisions. But the Government of India would have to put in 7 crore and 60 lakh rupees annually into this fund which will benefit an infinitesimal minority among the workers of India. These workers are by no means the people who most need social security. It is also not clear why this scheme had to be introduced so suddenly by an ordinance. One reason might have been that it was found necessary to make a gesture to show the Government's feeling of urgency relating to social security measures. And there was the question of the nation's ability to pay for such measures.

Had the matter been discussed fully and properly it might have been discovered that the particular workers chosen for social security benefits were by no means the people who most needed the same. There are workers in India who earn less than two rupees a day

for not more than two hundred days in a year. There are many who donot earn even that much. We have quite a few million workers who live under trees or on the footpaths of city streets. There are millions of destitutes who live by begging. There are others, quite as numerous who earn their living through crime. In the circumstances the nation might not have selected three million workers for a special benefit, knowing that these workers perhaps regularly earn more than three hundred rupees per month or more.

However if Government go in for such measures more extensively the question of funds will come uppermost. We can say with confidence that state assistance will have to be increased from 7.6 crores to 76 crores and thereafter to 760 crores per annum, before we know where we are in the sphere of granting social security to all Indians irrespective of their occupations, earnings, possessions and the rest of all that. We have no knowledge of the governments intentions ; but we have some idea of their limitations in actual ability to do things.

A Civilisation of Tolerance

Indian civilisation is based on the ideal of enlightened tolerance. We know the differences that separate us and yet we believe in non-interference with one another and try to live in peace. For we know there is a common humanity that binds us together and enables us to discover our fundamental unity in diversity. We are not weak in our defence of the particular beliefs and principles which give us our distinctive character community wise ; but we know how to live and let live—we have known it for millenia—and that is why the Indian civilisation has not broken up.

The British did not have a very stiff and difficult task to establish what they called Pax Britannica in this ancient land, where,

inspite of periodical outbreak of hostilities between groups and coteries, toleration of differences had been the normal state of affairs. Asoka established an empire which rested on ethical principles, Akbar could override even Muslim fanaticism to unite Hindus with them; and all such attempts at establishing fellowship and brotherhood at all periods of our history found in this psychological background of tolerance a powerful aid to overcoming antagonisms of every kind.

Our constitution after independence also reflects this attitude of mind, this willingness to live peacefully with others who have different ways of life, harbour beliefs which we do not share with them and preferences of a totally different sort. The fact that Indian minorities have enjoyed a fair deal in this country, while minorities in other lands have been persecuted and subjected to inhuman oppression go to show that India remained true to her faith in the common humanity of all Indians. In India members of minority communities have occupied the highest offices that the constitution had created which is something that has not happened in other countries.

But we are finding it very difficult to uphold our time honoured principles in a changing atmosphere in which foreign enemies and their Indian fifth columns are combining to destroy the atmosphere of mutual trust and tolerance which has been a powerful factor of political amity in the country. Agents provocateurs and saboteurs are rampant all over the country and differences which were not considered important enough to be used for purposes of political agitation, are now being used as sticks to beat one another. Language, state boundaries, location of industries, mineral deposits, commercial and economic advantages—anything that comes to the mind of seekers after *causus belli*, is

being used to put forward demands and claims with a view to destroy the nation's unity. The broader considerations of national integration are being thrown overboard by those who are out to create an anarchical situation. They are being financed by India's enemies in a brazen manner. It is a grave national crisis and all Indians must close their ranks to overcome and control its growth.

Socialism, Social Reform and Social Security

Whosoever does not proclaim his faith in and willingness to adhere to a political system of a socialistic type is not necessarily a person who does not believe in social welfare, in doing good to the less fortunate members of society and in practising self-denial for the greatest good of the greatest number. There may be very ardent public benefactors who do not believe in setting up any kind socialism of the political sort. The greatest well wishers of humanity have not been the so-called socialists; many have been kings, wealthy persons of property, industrial and commercial lords and similar persons. If one looks for the makers of great endowments for setting up hospitals, orphanages, schools, colleges, dharmashalas etc. one finds numerous non-socialists who have been the donors. People who had spent their fortunes in having trees planted on the road side for creating cool halting places for pedestrians, for having wells and tanks dug to provide drinking water to the public, for building temples, for poor feeding, arranging for *hats* and fares (*mélas*); one will not find any declared socialists anywhere. Politically boosted and publicised socialism was not heard of when the Buddhist *Shresthi's* gave away their fortunes for the Buddha, for ethical considerations and for the good of the community (*sangha*). The great Christian monasteries were all built by donors who realised that the monks and the

aunts were the servants of the people and devoted their lives to help the poor, the sick, the ignorant, the orphans and the spiritually impoverished.

So that when Sm. Indira Gandhi announces "Garibi Hatao" (remove poverty) from her highly placed political platform she merely repeats what generations of well wishers of humanity have gone hoarse over by preaching their social philosophy. Poverty has not been removed inspite of all the words uttered by the great personalities from the Buddha down to Mahatma Gandhi. The only countries from which poverty and want have been largely removed are the non-socialistic and industrially well developed countries like Sweden, Switzerland, Britain, Denmark, Holland, West Germany, Japan, Canada and Australia. Socialistic Russia has great wealth but it is not used for the removal of human want. It is mostly used for creating a powerful and grand setting for the socialistic government of the USSR. Socialistic China has not yet been able to amass all that wealth. The Chinese therefore have a thinner time compared to most other nations. We Indians have no wealth and what capital we could borrow from the wealthy nations was ill used by the Jawaharlal Nehru camp of economic planners for setting up economically unsound industries and for social benefit measures which failed to enrich society. This left the country with millions of unemployed, half-employed and others who earned mere subsistence wages. Removal of poverty will require the employment of a hundred million persons at wages higher than Rs. 25/- per day; let us say. Has Mrs. Gandhi arranged to employ any one with that objective before her?

Employment is the begining of social security. Without employment one does not

obtain any share in the total national dividend through lawful earnings and is, therefore cut out of active participation in the economic life of the community. The earnings that come to workers are not usually large enough to provide very many important requirements that the workers and their dependents should get as their human needs. Education, medical treatment, money assistance when earnings fall short or totally cease due to illness of the workers, also when women workers cannot work for reasons connected with maternity. Similar financial help has to be given to widows, orphans, injured persons and to people who are too old to work. Wages and salaries are too meagre for the majority of working class people to fulfil all such extraordinary requirements which circumstances give rise to, and civilised societies arrange to grant security to the ordinary earning members of the nation from these extraordinary needs out of funds raised by taxation and incomes derived from state monopolies like railways, postal and telegraphic services and other profit yielding ventures like national airlines, transport systems etc. etc.

Where there is not much employment nor enough revenues due to general poverty, there can be no properly functioning socialistic set up. India is a country which suffers from unemployment very intensively. Most of the people do no productive work and such of them as have any gainful employment earn very little in wages and salaries. The government's revenues are inadequate and the state cannot arrange for the social security of the people. More production, employment and prosperity are what we need very urgently. The cry of socialism in an ill organised and under developed society is untimely and has little hope of any advantageous culmination.

The Efficacy of Stoppages of Normal Activities

Ways of expressing feelings collectively can become stereotyped as do individual spiritual or moral reactions which we notice all the time in hundreds of thousands of people going to the Sagār or the Kumbh-Melas or in individual early morning recitals of religious verses. In the political sphere we find very commonly calls for Bundhs or stoppages of work or the normal activities of life in order to express public disapproval of something or other. This has become a habit with the leaders of political parties whose calls for Bundhs are very willingly obeyed by numerous people to whom a Bundh means an extra holiday. No school, college and office, no travelling in overcrowded public vehicles and no attending to normal duties. All chauffeurs take a days full-pay leave, servants do not come to do household work; but everybody eats and passes the period of stoppage restfully and without suffering any great inconvenience or pain of any kind.

But we should try to assess the real usefulness of these *hartals* or *bundhs* as cures for any of the evils to discourage and condemn which these stoppages of work are called. How do these stoppages put the evil doers in a position of disadvantage and difficulty in which they will fear to commit such evil deeds again with impunity. We do not find that hartals in anyway discourage murderers or bus burners to perpetrate their anti-social acts on the public. We feel that they have a quiet laugh when they find how helpless and incapable the political leaders are to punish or pressurise them. What is required to make criminals regret their crimes or to feel frighte-

ned to repeat their vile and obnoxious acts is not a *bundh* or *hartal*, but a much more virile and active gesture of popular disapproval. A *hartal* is something like passive resistance or *satyagraha* and can hardly succeed in rousing shame or repentance in minds hardened by crime. When the British shot down unarmed people Gandhiji fasted; but that did not bring about a change of heart and of outlook in the imperial overlords. But when Netaji Subhas won over the very mercenaries who had been loyal to the British for generations, by infusing patriotic fervour in them and made them fight the British, it was only then that the British changed their view point. Moral persuasion works only with the morally conscious and sensitive types of persons. Where coarseness of action has toughened the heart, ethics or logic cut no ice. The public have a fair knowledge of what groups and coteries produce these lawless defiers of the rules of social ethics. The public therefore must combine to put such pressure on these gangs as would make them feel that they are not going to rule society by rowdism and by acts of terrorisation. If that does not succeed then these men should be subjected to non-cooperation of a kind that will be felt by them. No jobs, no business, no donations, no hospitality no support whatsoever of even one's family members—if these men continue to act tyrannically in order to impose their will on the public. And whoever collaborates with them should also be subjected to this type of boycotting. All these people live by exacting money, food, accommodation and general support from the people of the localities where they live. Such contributions must be stopped.

CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

If you ever wish to go to Balarampur, I shall tell you the route. You know where five roads meet at Shyambazar? It is there that you have to catch your bus. All buses do not go to Balarampur. But you will find the conductors yelling—Itinda Ghat, Itinda Ghat—.

There are others calling out—Barasat, Basirhat, Taki—

But go up a little farther and you will come to a number of buses in a cluster near the kerb. There also you will see a large crowd of persons ; men women, hawkers,

porters and piles of luggage. You will see Bolorampor written in misspelt English upon the head board of the Bus. A mere look will convince you that it was for Balarampur. The tickets cost twelve annas for each passenger. And for twelve annas they will reach you right up to the market place of Balarampur. This is known to all as Balarampur Gunge. Mathur Shaw's large shop is right in the fore-front of the Gunge. That old sign-board is still fixed there over the entrance. The lettering is large and colourful and it reads "Balarampur Variety Stores,

Mr. Bimal Mitra is one of the best known novelists of Bengal. He has written about fifty novels, many of which are "best sellers". Some have been used by cinema producers very successfully. This particular novel was published during the Gandhi centenary year and was respectfully dedicated to the Mahatma. Some of the Bengali words have been retained in this translation as these are commonly understood by the English speaking people of India. We are however giving the meanings of these words nevertheless as found necessary.

Gunge—A corn market ; Babu—a respectful suffix attached to the names of men ; Arat—a wholesale stores for the purchase and sale of goods in bulk ; Pathshala—a school ; Tol—a centre for Sanskrit studies ; Kavyatirtha—a degree granted for proficiency in Sanskrit literature ; Shastras—the sacred

books of the Hindus ; Srimadbhagavadgita—A holy book containing the teachings of Krishna the incarnation of God (of Vishnu, one of the holy trinity of the Hindus); Mahabharat—one of the Epics of Sanskrit literature divided in 18 parts of which Vanaparva is one ; Ram, Ram—in counting, persons devoted to Ram begin counting by pronouncing his name instead of saying "one". Cowrie shells—Were used as money at one time. They are used for counting and keeping accounts too ; Kayastha—the second caste of the Hindus : Vaid—also a caste of the Hindus to which belonged those who practised medicine ; Kavyalankar—Nyayalankar—higher degrees granted for Sanskrit studies in literature and philosophy ; Chakkotti—Bengali spoken version of the name Chakravarty ; Kasi—the name of that portion of the city of Benares which is considered to be holy. (see also page 177.)

Pro. Mathur Saha. Balarampur." In that shop you can find everything beginning with soap, oil, lentils down to pan leaves, betel nuts, catechu and so forth. Even hurricane lanterns, torchlights, hinges and nails are all there.

And the Ichhamati is just there. The river is quite wide at that place. The ferry-boats are there to take one across from one side to the other. If you use the ferry, you might feel frightened. Fear of the boat sinking. The boatmen row the boat over with sixty-seventy passengers. Not only the passengers but also their bags and baggage. Many of them buy things from Mathur Shaw's Variety Stores on this side and go across to sell the same on a retail basis to the people over there.

Well, if you arrive there by the ten thirty bus, you will hear the Balarampur High School bell ringing out its ding-dong time signal, correct to the nearest second. Not even a minute's difference is permitted. Gour Bhattacharjee is very particular about punctuality. Then you go on eastward following the road on the Gunge front. It is a wide brick soled road. There are houses with gardens on both sides. After passing five houses, look to your left. You will see a large area surrounded by a high wall. And there is a huge gate forged out of steel rods and flats on the road on which the walled area has one corner. There is a large board on the gate and on the board is written "Balarampur High School".

The old gardener Janardan stands just by the gate. Janardan will open the gate as soon as he sees you.

He will ask,—Where are you coming from ?

You will say,—I am coming from the publishers—

—You want to get your books included in the school's list of text books ?

Janardan will know what you have come for by looking at the bundle of books that you will be carrying. He has been a gardener there since donkey's years. He has been seeing the publisher's canvassers year after year. They come with piles of books. Then when the year's booklists are printed and given out one sees them no longer. They do not come near the place for at least a year.

You will naturally feel surprised and ask—How do you know all this ?—

Janardan will smile faintly.

He will say—You asked to see the Head Master. Bhabaranian Babu is the Head Master ; but he does not deal with all this. All that is looked after by our Gour Pandit Mashai—

—Gour Pandit-Mashai ? Who is he ?

Janardan will say—Oh, you are then new at this game,—he is all in all in this school. You have not heard Gour Pandit-Mashai's name ? Well, then there is no hope for your books getting into our lists. This school is his school you know.

Well, Janardan had not lied. Janardan belonged to the period when the Balarampur High School was initially established. At that time Balarampur had no schools or Pathshalas. It was Gour Bhattacharjee-Mashai who called in Janardan one day and gave him a job.

Janardan remembers all that. One day he met Bhattacharjee-Mashai on the road and bowed down to touch his feet in a respectful pranam.

—Oh hello you ? Who are you ?—

—Sir, I am Janardan—

—Oh ! Well, how are you my boy ?—

Janardan said,—But sir, how can I be well ?

—Why my boy, why are you not well ? What is the matter with you ?

Janardan said,—I have lost the job at Mr. Shaw's wholesale shop.

Bhattacharjee-Mashai stopped speaking as if dumb-founded and then said,—Lost your job? Why have you? What was your fault my boy?

—Well sir, there was nothing wrong with me. The times are bad. Business is dull and not likely to look up; that's why I lost my job.

These are ancient history of Balarampur. The Balarampur of those days was not at all like this. No buses plied on the roads. There were no electric lights as there are now. The tar-mac roads had not yet been built. Even to-day Balarampur is only a rural habitation. In those days it was crudely rustic. No schools, nor even an old-style Pathshala. Nobody knew Sanskrit, nor did anyone want to learn Sanskrit. They wanted to learn English, geography or history. Only Sanskrit studies were not in any demand.

Gour Bhattacharjee asked—Would you work properly Janardan?

Janardan responded very eagerly and said—Have you any information about a job? Get it for me Pandit Mashai—it will be a great help. Any job—any pay. Just a roof over my head; I want nothing more—

Since then Janardan was employed at this Balarampur High School. The school was not yet established—it was only an idea slowly taking material shape. Such a big village, so many shops and an impressive market place; with crowds of people coming and going; it would be very suitable for a primary school or even a Pathshala.

Janardan asked—When will the school be started Pandit-Mashai?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said,—It will, it will, very soon—as soon as I get a suitable plot of land I shall start the Pathshala.

It took two years to find that suitable plot of land! Who would, after all, make a gift of

land. One may have plenty of land, but that does not mean that the owners of land will feel any desire to donate landed property. Ancestral inheritance was a windfall which one would like to keep a tight hold upon and to enjoy personally. Who would like to practise charity by giving away what has been obtained without any personal effort?

Mathur Shaw had amassed a fortune by running his wholesale stores business in the market place. Cash transactions, almost all. Counting rupees and small change had hardened the skin on all the five fingers of his hands.

He said—Who are you?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was rather young then. He could not be kept down. He worked from morning till night to collect money. You may say he was begging from everybody.

He said—My name is Gourapada Bhattacharjee; Kavyatirtha for academic merit. I stay in Balarampur. On the south side.

—How long have you been in Balarampur?

—I have come here about a year ago.

—What is your profession here?

—Teaching students.

—Where is your original home?

Mathur Shaw Mashai gathered much information. Mathur Shaw was quite old even then. He found out how much Gour earned, the number of his family members, sons and daughters and all the rest of it.

He said—If you start a Pathshala, how will you meet your household expenses?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—My Pathshala will not lack students sir. And you are all here, important and respectable persons. If you show your sympathy unstintingly, the Pathshala will be a sure success.

Then he halted a few moments and said—I am the son of a Brahmin. I am used to

fasting. If necessary I shall eat only one meal a day.

Mathur Shaw Mashai laughed and said—Well, you are a learned Brahmin, you may fast ; but what about the Brahmin lady, will she also fast ? And why should she ? You must consider her side of the arrangement too.

Gour Pandit said—Shaw Mashai, the Shastras say Matkarmakrinmatparamo Madbhakta Sangabarjita.....that is he who works for God, works for the Almighty, he who is free from all desire, bears no enmity towards anybody, he alone will be able to see me—

Shaw Mashai understood nothing. But it sounded good and out of the ordinary.

He eagerly asked him to sit down next to him. He said—you sit here. I am quite bovine in my stupidity, I feel happy if I get money, I do money lending, I understand nothing of Sanskrit or such like matters. Please explain the meaning to me.

Gour Pandit Mashai was pleased to get such a good listener. He said,—you see, Mr. Shaw, you and I, all of us, we are all enchanted by our illusions. We say my household, my work, my master, we say all that don't we ? We do not realise that we are nothing but mere instruments. All that happens is caused by God. He is the worker, He is the source, He is everything—

Even then Mathur Shaw understood nothing. He said—what does it mean ? Please explain very carefully and let me understand—

Gour Pandit said— I like to explain and expound, Mr. Shaw, but I find no audience, that is my sorrow, people do not understand Sanskrit. Now listen—

So Gour Pandit began to interpret Srimadbhagavadgeeta. While buyers of oil, salt, spices, rice, lentils and so on, waited and listened to a middle aged man recite

Sanskrit at great speed and explain the meaning of what he recited. And Mathur Shaw, the owner of the shop sat facing him exuding spiritual bliss and devotion.

Some one asked the salesman—Who is he, Gorachand ? Gorachand manipulated the scales and replied—he is a Pandit—

—What is his name ? A new comer to Balarampur, isn't he ?

—He has hired a house in the south area, wants to start a Pathshala.

And Gour Pandit was proceeding non-stop with his Sanskrit verses and with their interpretation—Nirbairah Sarbabhuteshu Yah Sa Mameti Pandavah. That is, men are only instruments, he who offers all his intellectual and everyday efforts to God and works like a servant for the pleasure of the Almighty, he is "matkarmakrit". You understand Mr. Shaw, the Shastras say you have to be "Sangabarjita" that is you must give up all desire and attachment ;—for instance if I start a Pathshala here I must be devoid of all attachment. I must not think that the Pathshala will be my source of income and a means of livelihood... then.....

Gour Pandit was forgetting that he had to go home for his midday meal. Janardan was sitting near him. He said—Pandit Mashai, it is very late, you should get up.....

Gour Pandit was steeped in philosophical meanings. He got annoyed at this disturbance and said—you shut up ! You are an ignoramus and you cannot appreciate anything—

So saying he continued with his annotative discourse—Sarbabhuteshu Yah Sa Mameti Pandavah. That is—

Mathur Shaw had seen many men but never another like this one. His business was long standing. Many men have come and gone as buyers since the inception of the Balarampur Variety Stores. Many have deceived him and he also had deceived many. But he

looked at this new arrival with quite different eyes.

He suddenly interrupted in the middle of words and said—Pandit Mashai, it is very late, have you had your food ?

—Food ? Eating ?

The interruption displeased the teacher. He said—No, no, eating can be postponed for the time being. I have found an experienced man like you, the Shastras say ‘Sarbabhutatma-bhutatma.....

Suddenly somebody came in and faced Mr. Shaw. Seeing him Mr. Shaw said, “How are you Gobinda Babu, come in, come in.”

Gobinda Babu sat down. He said,—no, I must not sit down;—I required some mustard oil, will have to be sent to the house, one tin—

He was getting up to go.

But Mathur Shaw Mashai called him from behind. He said—Oh, Gobinda Babu you have not met this gentleman, he is.....

Gour Bhattacharjee stood up. He greeted Gobinda Babu with folded hands and introduced himself. Mathur Shaw said,—he is the Chairman of the District Board Gobinda Chandra Chakravarty.....

Mathur Shaw also explained what Gour Pandit was trying to do. He said—He wants to start a Pathshala in Balarampur. He is a learned man. Wants me to give the land.

Gobinda Chakravarty was a busy man. Chairman of the District Board. He said, very good indeed. Why not come and see me some time ?

* * *

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai visited and spoke to almost everybody at that time in this manner. All that happened in the dim past. Balarampur was not at all like this in those days. Gour Pandit was also quite young at that time. The land was given by Mathur

Shaw Mashai. He took a great fancy to the Pandit. That big school which you see now, was situated then in a plot of about two and half acres full of jungle willows, wild yam bushes and weeds. A few Mango, Jambuberry and coconut trees in the milieu of a ditch full of dirty water ! Snakes and vermin. One day he made a deed of gift in favour of the school for the entire plot.

When you go inside, you will see a large open space in which the boys play. As you pass that you will notice an old man walking fast towards the gate. His Punjabi shirt has half sleeves, his dhoti is short in width and he has slippers on of an ancient design named after the great nineteenth century Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. He has a folded cotton wrap thrown over his shoulders. A pocket watch is hung round his neck.

—Janardan, Janardan, shut the gate, shut the gate.—Janardan also has grown old. As soon as he hears the Pandit Mashai, he immediately shuts the gate. And a number of boys who were trying to come in get locked out.

—Here, why are you late ? Don’t you know the school starts at ten thirty ?

—Here, you ? And you ?

They all stand with a sheepish look on their faces.

—Tell me, why are you late ? You ? And you ?

One of them ventured to stutter—My mother is ill and could not cook the rice—

—All right, you come inside.

Janardan opened the gate slightly and he crept in.

—And you ?

—I had to go to the barn Sir to take the cooked rice for my father—

Eventually Gour Pandit allowed everyone to come in. But they were warned, all of them, so that none would come late again.

But it was different and difficult with Anilesh. Anilesh Chatterjee.

—Even you are late, Anilesh?

Then he said to Janardan—open, open the gate Janardan—

Janardan opened the gate. Anilesh walked in shamefully with ungainly steps and went straight towards the school building. He behaved as if his safety lay in hiding himself.

Gour Pandit was following him. As soon as he came closer he said—If you all begin to come late Anilesh, then whom will the students emulate? From whom would they learn? Who will show them the correct way of behaviour?

Anilesh was really ashamed. He stood motionlessly and said—Pandit Mashai, you will not understand our problems—

—I will not understand? What exactly do you mean?

—No, Pandit Mashai, it is useless to explain. You belong to another age. We have heard you set up this school and all that. But we are born in this age and we have many problems now! You know, I had wordy battle with my wife to-day. Let me tell you everything, she did not even cook my food.....

As he spoke, he stopped and then said—You are accusing me, just see who is there, who is going in—

Gour Bhattacharjee turned his face and looked. He saw the Mathematics Teacher Sasadhar Babu slinking in and making for the Office Room from behind the staircase—

—You are displeased with me, why, you do not say anything to Sasadhar Babu? Tell him what you have to say—

Sasadhar Sarkar had heard all this; but he ignored it and went on towards his destination.

But Gour Pandit was not so easy to

avoid. He went straight to Sasadhar and said—Sasadhar, is it ten thirty now? You are all teachers of long standing—

Oh, stop it—said Sasadhar undaunted—
It is enough that I have come at all!

—What is the meaning of that?

—Meaning? Have I got to submit an explanation to you?

—What do you say, Sasadhar? Is this school mine; is it not your school too? Have I built this school for myself? What makes you speak like that?

Sasadhar Sarkar said—When you built the school you built it; you are nobody now. If I have to explain my conduct I shall do so to the Head Master, to the School Committee. Why do you come into this and jabber in an uncalled for fashion. Why don't you stick to your Sanskrit—

Gour Pandit was thunderstruck. He lost all power of articulation. Everything went topsy turvy in a moment. He did not hear nor notice when the bell rang, the classes assembled, the collective recital of Shastric verses was made; he was insentient to everything,

But even that was only for a short while. Then he thought, why should he take any notice of Sasadhar's ill mannered utterances. Sasadhar was only a man of yesterday. How would he know how he secured this two and half acre plot from Mathur Shaw. What pains he had to take to change the attitude of Gobinda Chakravarty, the Chairman of the District Board. He went from house to house in Balarampur with Gobinda Chakravarty's letter, begging for donations. With that money he put up a tin shed and started his Pathshala. How would these new teachers, Sasadhar Sarkar or Anilesh Chatterjee know anything about all that? Whose words are upsetting him? What utter rubbish!

He went to his own room and picked up the Mahabharat from the table. Whenever he feels upset, he reads it and his mind clears. He does not feel angry any more.

In the Vanaparba of the Mahabharat Yudhisthira says :

“Naham Karmaphalanweshi Rajputri
Charamyuta
Dadami Deyamityewa Yoj Shasthawa-
mityuta.....”

Oh, Princess I donot engage in action in search of fruit.

I give because giving is necessary I carry out ritualistic duties for duty's sake ; he who seeks fruit in return of religious performance, he is a trader of religion ; religion is stock in trade for him. He is low, he is contemptible.

* * * *

Well, in those days Balarampur had no such wide tar-coated roads, nor any big buildings as there are now. Where the buses stop now was the old Gunge or corn market. The Gunge is still there ; but hardly a Gunge of any size. In those days the porters carried numerous sack loads of paddy from Mathur Shaw's Arat stores and stacked them in the boats on the Ichhamati.

Bidhu Kayal used to have the sacks filled with paddy after weighment. And Shibu Mahato sat on a gunny bag spread on the road counting the bags that were taken out. The porters carried the bags on their heads and put them in the boats. There used to be a heap of cowrie shells on the left hand side of Shibu Mahato. Ram e Ram—two is two—three is three—four is four, four, four—the counting went on this way vocally till a hundred was reached and then a cowrie was transferred from the right to the left hand heap. Counting is utterly obnoxious as it goes. If one is absent minded even for a split second, everything goes wrong.

Leaving the Gunge behind, you go straight on to the south. A beaten track, if one traversed a quarter of a mile over ditches and the totally uneven patches one would come to the south zone of the village. This south zone was the worst part of Balarampur. Dirt everywhere. And a weed and algae laden pond.

Shibani had not understood at first. She was going to the town, a town ! She certainly had some sort of image of a town in her mind.

When she got into the bullock cart at her father-in-law's house in Mobarakpur, she had, unseen by others, folded her hands in prayer to her divine patron too.

Their uncle came to the cart and asked,—you are then going from this village, Gour ?

Gour Bhattacharjee touched his uncle's feet and carried his hands to his own forehead. He said—Yes uncle ; how long should I hang on in this small village ? There is no Pathshala or a Tol here, whom can I teach Sanskrit here ?

—But where have you decided to go ?

Gour Bhattacharjee had replied—to Balarampur—

—Balarampur ? Where is that ? What District ? Is it a town ?

—Yes sir, a fully developed town.

—How many Brahmins or Kayasthas live there ?

—Thirty families of Brahmins and about a hundred and fifty houses occupied by Kayastha or Vaidyas. Apart from that, Balarampur is a place where educated people reside. They understand and appreciate merit. Where are any such men in Mobarakpur who understand the inner sense of Sanskrit studies ?

That is so. Uncle had said nothing, nothing more at the time. And what could

he say, anyhow ! His nephew had not said anything that was untrue ! Mobarakpur was no longer in any fully functioning condition. There was land, but not enough settlers. Those who were better class people had already left for towns to seek their fortune in service or business. Only mangoes and jack fruits did not suffice to feed people. And what gain was it here to become a Kavyatirtha at such great pains and expenditure.

—Then you are not coming back here ?

—I shall certainly come back if suitable opportunities take shape. But would they let me come back ? Balarampur also has a dearth of Kavyatirthas. There are no Tols or Pathshalas there. They will accept me very enthusiastically uncle—

—Oh well, I have not many more days. If you do come back you may not see me again. Wherever you happen to be I give you my blessings and wish you happiness.

That was the end.

That was the end of Gour Bhattacharjee's connection with Mobarakpur. But did Gour Bhattacharjee know that he would be in such a fix at Balarampur ? In fact he had a fellow student in his Tol called Kartick. Kartick Chakravarty's home was in Balarampur. This Kartick Chakravarty had gone from Balarampur to Navadwip to study for the Kavyatirtha degree at the Tol.

Kartick had asked—Where do you come from, my friend ?

Gour Bhattacharjee had said—Mobarakpur—

—Where is that ?

Gour Bhattacharjee explained,—It is the birth place of Kirti Kavyalankar, District Nadia, police station Hanskhali—We belong to his preceptor's family.

Kartick had exclaimed—Oh, then we should bow down and touch your feet. For

India had very few such great philosopher-logicians.

Gour Bhattacharjee had expressed sorrow and said—That may be so ; but those conditions and times are no longer there. Nyayalankar's family is extinct. And the preceptor's family members are also not alive. Only myself and my uncle—uncle's sons have turned out good for nothing ; they sit and smoke leaf cigarettes in the village Barwaritala and when they feel like it, they go and try to catch fish from the shallow lakes near by. They feel that fulfils their life's ambition—

—Then why do you not come over to our place.

—Your place ? Where ?

—Balarampur. In the Twenty-Four Parganas—

Kartick Chakravarty had said that such a long time ago. Perhaps out of courtesy only. But the words were not erased from his mind even after he had returned from Navadwip back to Mobarakpur. He had mentioned it a number of times to his uncle in course of conversations. He also discussed the matter with some well-to-do people of the village as a project. But no one showed much interest. Sanskrit ? Kavyatirtha ? What good will it do to us by learning Sanskrit ? It will not help to fill the stomach.

All worthless talk ! If the people belonging to the birthplace of the great and erudite Kirti Kavyalankar speak in that way, then one could hardly feel any affection for that locality.

They all heard one day about his plans. Having heard they exclaimed in surprise—Balarampur ? Where on earth is Balarampur ?

—It is the home country of my fellow student Kartick Chakkotti. We studied together for the Kavyatirtha degree at Navadwip ;

people know how to appreciate merit there, you know, they are not like you all—

Holding on to that slender thread of acquaintance, Gour Bhattacharjee one day got into a bullock cart with his wife and left Mobarakpur. Starting on his journey after repeating the name of his goddess—Durga, Durga—several times. The railway station was about eight miles away over a long dirt track. Entraining there, straight on to Balarampur. But where was Kartick ? Kartick Chakravarty ? He got his Kavyatirtha degree from Navadwip. Son of a Brahmin ? He had just got off the train with his wife at Balarampur.

A man told him on the road outside—Kartick Chokkotti ? Listen ; he does not stay here any longer ! He has left home to settle down at Kasi.

—Then what is one to do ?

It was a shameful situation ! Gour Bhattacharjee beat his hand on his forehead at his own stupidity.

For shame ! One should have written first before coming. It has been an act of great indiscretion to arrive suddenly at an unknown place with family.

And his wife was there with him.

Well, one must admit that the people of Balarampur were very good. They procured a passable shelter for them. Somewhere about the centre of the south area, a two roomed house. With a courtyard in front. A shed at one corner of the courtyard. That was to serve as a kitchen. And there was a pond in front.

Shibani peeped out of a corner of her veil and had a look at the house.

She said—How are we going to live in this ?

Gour Bhattacharjee lost his temper. Said—Why, this is far better than your Mobarakpur.

Shibani said—Water ? What arrangements for drinking water ?

—Why, there is that pond which you can see. Endless supply of water ! Fill your pitchers with water and drink ! There is a slight flavour of slime but that should not stand in your way. Did you have a pond in front of your house at Mobarakpur ? You can drink as much water here as you like—there is no one to stop you—

(To be Continued)

Durga—Consort of god Shiva ; Mashai—the word is added to the names of respected men ; Saha—same as Shaw ; Pandit—A learned man ; Yudhisthira—The eldest of the five Pandava brothers in the Mahabharat.

Translated by—K. Chatterjee

THE PROBLEMS OF UNION OF THE STATES OF INDIA

PRABUDDHA N. CHATTERJEE

Before the British era, India was never a coherent nation. The probability of being such arose only out of the circumstances created under British Rule. During the Mohammedan and the Hindu periods of Indian History there was no concept of Indian nationalism as such. India was essentially a land of numerous peoples ruled over by dynasties; sometimes two or more such communities were held together by an imperial dynasty within an empire on the same lines as in the "Holy Roman Empire".

Then two hundred years ago, from the time of the battle of Plassey, a totally strange race, different in complexion and appearance, in manners, outlook and habits began to acquire gradual dominion over heterogeneous India. About hundred years from now, the process was complete and from that time the different peoples of India were placed in union under the common grind of the same alien overlordship.

Resistance to this overlordship then inevitably pointed to the necessity of a common front against the subjugator. Struggle against a common enemy, when long and sustained, welds peoples in a bond of fellow feeling. When the various Indian peoples fought against a common foreign subjugator, they acquired thereby a community of feeling as comrades-in-arms in a common cause and this has been the chief cementing bond of union in the Republic that was born after the departure of the British. Otherwise the

various peoples of India would be very much the same inter se as the various nationalities of Europe.

Such was the background available for the construction of independent India. After the British had left, several nationalities, each with their distinctive language and national features, were left with a common hope for a combined democratic regime. But a mixed national composition with sharp difference among peoples never suits a democracy. The unitary structure of state was therefore unsuitable in India. A federal structure was called for. Only a federation could reconcile the larger common needs with national or regional differences. A federal system alone could combine central supremacy in regulating larger common interests with decentralisation of powers and provincial home rule in other matters.

In other words, while the nationalities within India willingly surrendered their supremacy to a common Government in matters of general interests, they wanted home-rule or self-government so far as their local or regional interests were concerned. They were quite willing to give up any idea of forming separate independent nation-states of their own but they were not just prepared to surrender their respective national identities. They were quite happy to relegate themselves to the status of sub-nationalities merging into a great nation in the making. But all the same, it remained urgent, at least to start with,

that their distinct status should be formulated and respected in any project of federation.

A good start was given towards pleasing the sentiments of the different nationalities thus to be turned into sub-nationalities when special recognition was given to their several languages in the Constitution of the Federation. Fourteen languages are mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution out of which twelve are those sub-national languages. There can be no doubt that the sameness of language is among the strongest bonds that hold people together. There is little wonder in this because speech is not only an attribute which raises a human being from non-human level but is also invaluable for the conduct of affairs of any association or organisation including the Government itself.

Here, we must distinguish language from mere dialect. There is much misunderstanding on this point. Sameness of dialect is not necessary in making a nationality. Everywhere it is language which created literature in which the highest thoughts of a people are preserved. A dialect does not make a literature. It is unfit to be used in Government communications. A dialect is nothing more than a form, often a crude form, of the same language as used in particular local areas.

Our leaders should have endeavoured from the outset to form a federation with nationalities in India as units. This was the promise—as recorded in the Motilal Nehru Report—given all along by the Congress during the times of struggle against the British domination.

Only three things ought to have counted for a people to qualify as a national unit in such a federation—viability, language and geographical contiguity, in that order. People such as the Telugus, the Malayalees, the

Maharashtrians, the Gujrateres and not least of course,—the Bengalees, speaking languages recognised in the Constitution and living as viable compact communities should have been at the outset given self-determination within the federal frame-work. In other words, our federal units should have been such compact communities as would be able, at least within a reasonable period to support themselves financially—not like Nagaland—timidly conceded by Jawaharlal Nehru, our late Prime Minister,—in perpetual need of Central or Federal subsidy.

The great thing to avoid bad blood was to concede from the start the right of such communities or sub-nationalities to live a life of their own, unhampered by the Centre in matters of regional and sub-national interests.

One possibility however, confronts a federation of nationalities envisaged above viz. that of an attitude of extraterritorial allegiance among isolated groups of people of one nationality sojourning or living in the territories of others, all within the same Federation. In any event, individuals and families of one nationality must visit or live in territories of other nationalities inside the federation and the question is whether they would be justified in turning to their home state or province for succour in case of difficulty. This question assumed prominence during the blood-curdling events in Assam in 1960 and 1961. In distress the Bengalees of Assam, victims of unparalleled persecution, looked to West Bengal for help and shelter. It was said by some critics that this meant that thenceforward when people of other 'states' or provinces residing in Bengal felt themselves in trouble, they would approach their respective home provinces and induce or compel them to intervene in West Bengal affairs. Thus Rajasthan Government would, it was said,

then demand guarantees from the West Bengal Government for the safety of the Marwaris in Calcutta. The Punjab Government would call for explanation from the West Bengal Government for any alleged discrimination against the Punjabi taxi or bus drivers. It was predicted that this extra-territorial mentality would surely break up the country and lead to a civil war. In fact there are no Rajasthani or Panjabi enclaves in Bengal. Non-Bengalees in Bengal are mainly here for money making.

Evidently, the picture was drawn to mislead people. Under the present Constitution the Government of the States cannot, and actually they have never, attempted to intervene directly in the internal affairs of one another. The utmost they have done is to bring pressure of public opinion to bear on the Centre and on the "truant" State in question in order to redress grievances.

So far so good as to action on Government level, but it is no use denying that the mentality of extra-territorial allegiance within India exists among us Indians on a province-wise or on a State-wise basis.

It is sad to reflect that this mentality has been nurtured among our peoples during the years after Independence by the despicable manoeuvring systematically resorted to by some leaders at the very top. They knew perfectly well that provincial nationalism based on linguistic affinity was too real in India to be by-passed. Still they would procrastinate and belittle the popular craving for readjustment of State boundaries—so that the homelands of the various Indian nationalities are properly put on the map of India,—and this very obduracy on their part kept alive feelings of mutual exclusiveness among the national groups.

More criminal on the part of the toprankers

among the leaders in India has been their habit of unfair discrimination between one linguistic group and another. This tended to destroy the atmosphere of congeniality among different Indian peoples. Instances of partiality of a despicable type were not few and aroused bitter jealousies among people of one Indian nationality against another. Vested interests were placated at the cost of that generous sense of content among peoples which would come from fair dealings and which was essential for the promotion of love of the country at large. The oft-repeated call from leaders embedded in power for giving the first place to the interests of India as a whole was patently insincere—a sheer hypocrisy to which people reacted by greater provincialism. "For the Pharisees try to clear only the outside of the cup and the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess".

If for example, the Bengalees in the Brahmaputra valley of Assam were insulted, tormented, robbed, outraged, ruined and murdered with Government of Assam simply looking on and if the Central Government with all its powers would not interfere, what could the poor victims of persecution do but try to seek refuge in a State where people were close to them in language and shared their own culture and so would understand and sympathise with them and try to help them?

This happened in 1960 and 1961. Actually, it was because of a certain callousness towards the Bengalees in other States, experienced on diverse occasions in the past, that West Bengal Government had to concern itself alone with the fate of the Bengalees in Assam at those times and was just not in a position to refuse the entrance of streams of refugees from the ghastly horrors of Assam, Bengalees would

never cease to contrast Delhi's comparative indifference to their distress in those times with the concern of the Central Government when the Assamees attempted to ill-treat the Marwaris similarly in 1967. Similarly in 1950, when the Bengali refugees from newly created Pakistan were dying in thousands in Assam—this time from starvation and epidemic, the Assamese Government was un-concerned and the miserable refugees had perforce to look to West-Bengal for the succour they obtained.

In reality, the protagonists of linguistic states had no ultimate intentions towards centrifugalism ; they had a gradual but eventual emergence of a compact Indian nationhood in mind. Unhesitatingly they advocated surrender by the component units of all powers relating to common interests in the Indian subcontinent absolutely to the Centre. For purposes of co-ordination and symmetry they would not also grudge Central control over even certain matters of regional interests. If necessary they would even go to the length of making the provinces or the "States" almost sinecures in matters of power because they knew that the chief thing was only to please the sense of national pride among the various Indian nationalities by giving them a formal and equal place as units of the federation. They realised that national feeling being a matter of sentiment and pride is satisfied if a respectable status is given to the nationality concerned, though such nationalities may not individually possess any actual power in the federation composed by them. Is not the position of a reigning King or a President a vital one, even if the King or the President has no de facto power to govern ?

If the advocates of "Linguistic States" in the federation of India had their way, they would have adopted conditions to popular

psychology and planned the boundaries of the federating units carefully from the start on nationalistic lines ; the Indian nationalities would then have willingly consented to be relegated into the position of sub-nationalities in order to have the privilege to be integrated in a strong and great nation of Indians which their happy co-existence would evolve into a well-knit perfection—so much so that in God's good time even sub-national differences would wither away in congeniality, mutual trust and goodwill and only a noble super-nation would be left.

But this consummation has been retarded to a great extent by the ruling caucuses at the material times—they vacillated, intrigued, obstructed and delayed the formation of sub-national States on normal lines, played one national group against another—all these to protect or further their own vested interests or from motives of vain personal preferences.

At the time of the departure of the British, people were generous towards each other and jubilant at the end of the age-old bondage. If the existence of the different nationalities of India were given recognition on, for example, a plan indicated by the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution—they would be something like 14 in number—and if boundaries of states were drawn and rearranged on the basis of the respective habitat of those nationalities, a solid foundation would have been laid for a great federal union. A firm policy would have had to be taken to find out such boundaries with the aid of a careful census under Central surveillance, but the task once accomplished would have been a testimony for ages. It is a deep-seated urge among men to have their national boundaries recognised, and with that urge satisfied along with the promise of being gradually blended into a grand united nation before them, the

Indian nationalities would have made not only stable but exemplary units of a federation.

But the late Jawaharlal Nehru,—and his associates, were devoid of imagination and the faculty of correct judgement. They not only shilly-shallied but obstructed this most beneficent development. Their prejudices and bias coupled with their blundering obduracy worked against the coherent fitting in of the frustrated nationalities who when newly freed were eager to combine under a permanent constitution. They let the psychological moment for building a composite nation pass, their intrigues and delays marring the period of spontaneous cordiality that comes to peoples after liberation. They allowed the anti-social and anti-national vested interests to crystallise, the regional bickerings to grow and fissiparous tendencies to appear in political India. Today there is no dearth of national groups wanting or waiting to break away from the Indian Union. It is thus too late in the day to bewail extra-territoriality now.

If we had leaders of faith and courage—even just of good faith, our India could be made into an indestructible national union of indestructible sub-national states, until of course in a gradual process of evolution, the sub-nationalities themselves voluntarily chose to merge their national identity completely in a greater nationhood. But now this prospect has receded; the sins and blunders of our leaders have been far too many and the enthusiasm for India as a whole has flagged.

A successful federation of Indian Nationalities promised to be a grander spectacle than the United States of America; here several distinct nationalities would have combined equally in a federation to evolve a glorious blend while in America the process has been that of only supplementing the nucleus of

English settlers there with immigrants from the rest of the British Isles and from Europe. India would then have been the advance model of world federation. Unfortunately however, the authorities here thought fit as stated above, to oppose the natural urge of a nationality for recognition being granted to its home-land and instead of scientifically planning the homelands with the aid of carefully prepared language statistics, waited for violent mass upsurges in different parts of the country to be goaded to make “concessions”. Our erstwhile fashionable Prime Minister, the late Jawaharlal Nehru was mainly responsible for evolving this policy of parrying mere reason and yielding to threats, riots and rowdism instead—in short, yielding only to argumentum ad baculum—and much of the vast volume not only of bloodshed but also of bad blood among peoples of different provinces cannot but be attributed to him.

What has happened in our country? Biharees were encouraged by the Centre to resist obstinately any border readjustment in the South-Eastern regions of Bihar, knowing fully well that those regions were inhabited by Bengalees and Oriyas and should in all justice go to West Bengal and Orissa. An impossible agglomeration of nationalities was obstinately persisted with in Hyderabad State for years at the instance of our then ruling Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, till at last public opinion prevailed upon a statutory enquiry commission to recommend the dissolution of that unnatural State. Separation of Andhra from the Tamil country had to be forced by riots and bloodshed after a martyr of the Gandhian creed was callously sacrificed in a slow lingering death, while States of Gujrat and Maharashtra came into being when mass murders by the Police did not suffice to put down popular aspirations,

For the bad blood that they created among the Indian peoples posterity will specially curse the powerful coterie which controlled the destiny of India under the late Jawaharlal Nehru. They might have averted the ill feelings and the clashes between the Tamils and the Telugus, between the Gujratis and the Marathas—they were the men who deliberately kept up conditions of hatred between the Bengalees and the Oriyas on one side and the Biharees on the other. Their treatment of the national question, of popular urges had been maliciously unfair—setting up one nationality against another so much so that even in places where after mass upsurges and much loss of blood—people got their legitimate demands fulfilled, bitter memories of the mean partisanship of the Centre lingered.

The task before India is to outlive the

damages inflicted by Nehru and the circle of people that surrounded him.

Some hopeful indications are there. The problem of sub-national demands in Assam has been solved to a great extent by the creation of Meghalaya, the homeland of the hill people who do not speak Assamiya. NEFA or Arunachal is also being drawn away from the influence of Assam. Tripura and Manipur will be given full State hood. It remains for Kachar of the Surma Valley to be freed from the Asamiya speaking people of Brahmaputra Valley whose majority domination amounts almost to tyranny. If it is joined to Tripura on linguistic principles it will be a fine combination of two Bengali-speaking peoples and an era of contentment and of prosperity will open for both.

Let us see whether the Authorities will take the course of prudence on a firmly laid down policy or follow a policy of drift.



SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF BHUVANESVARA

ADRIS BANERJI

Bhuvanesvara is one of the finest gifts of ancient Orissans, unrivalled even by Sanchi; Khajuraho, Chittorgarh and Girnar, due to varied age, categories of monuments and style. Yet, the existing literature does little justice to the geographical, economic and social contexts, which produced this unique phenomenon. The historians, the archaeologists and art critics have been busy defining the chronology, the style and aesthetics of these monuments. Due to the absence of the missing links or gaps in the series, the origins and development have been far from clarified and the cultural phenomenon remains unclarified except by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi. The lost canon of architecture was edited by N. K. Bose decades ago.

The number of temples at Bhuvanesvara run easily to triple figures, if every fane that now exists and those which have disappeared are added, which had once stood on its broad smiling bosom, with outcrops of laterite then more abundant, now denuded to meet the growing needs of its inhabitants. In old times, they were needed to make defences and erect beautiful palaces (*prasados*) of their divinities. Now however, the total amount of the elite do not go beyond forty. Whether the visitor approaches it from the north east, that is Calcutta or from the south that is Madras—Waltair side, one meets with flat alluvial plains, with hills looking blue here and there due to infraction; in the ever receding horizon, full of paddy fields, cut up by broad rivers

which often flood them when in spate. The principal building material for the rich and poor alike was the laterite. In ancient days the greater portion of this area must have been covered by forests, which have now completely disappeared.

The details of the topography are well known. Bhuvanesvara is a place which has the unique distinction of having monuments from the very dawn of the historical period to the post independence city of New Bhuvanesvara. At Dhauli, five miles south of Lingaraja temple, we have the immortal edicts of Emperor Asoka, including the special Kalinga edicts. It was this country, the conquest of which ushered in the dusk of Mauryan Imperialism. It has the forepart of an Elephant carved out of virgin rock. I have a fond hope that someday the banks of the Daya, which flows between Bhuvanesvara and Dhauli, would likely yield stone tools of the old stone age. Next is the fortified town of Sisupalgarh, whose sequence of occupation goes back to the 3rd century B. C. Its identification with Tosali is still a moot point. Then comes the celebrated Jaina monastic caves at Khandagiri and Udayagiri. It has the celebrated Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. The earliest established religion of Orissa was undoubtedly Jainism, followed by Buddhism. The style of the reliefs and friezes have all the qualities of the 'Demotic' school, already known to exist from Begram in Afghanistan

to Amaravati in the Krishna valley. They are more mature than Bharhut and Sanchi, remarkable for love of significant forms and devoted to the synoptic method of story telling.

Then follows a 'Dark Age', though Sisupalgarh continued to flourish. External commercial intercourse with the Roman empire either through Arikamedu or the port which is reported to lie buried under the sandunes of Konaraka is indicated. In the 7th or 8th century A. D., after the disappearance of Sasanka, his feudatory house of Sailodbhavas erected the Parasuramesvara temple. Temple building went on unabated during the rule of the Bhauma-Karas. When late R. D. Banerji and H. K. Mehtab compiled their history of Orissa their plastic activity had not been well defined. But this hiatus has now been filled by Panigrahi¹. Aboriginal in origin (B. Misra—**Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings**, pp.80 ff), they were devotees of Mahayana Buddhism. In many respects they were the Orissan prototypes of Pratiharas and share the same proliferation of monuments. Their contribution in the making of the temple city of Orissa is considerable. Their sculptures like those of Osian, Mandor, Badoli betray a fond admiration of Gupta classicism, marked by an inclination for volume, the factor that distinguishes the works of Cimabue and Giotto.

The Bhaumas were followed by the Somavamsis, in whose time the temple of Bramhesvara and the hypatheral temples at Hirapur were erected. Erection of temples gathered momentum under the Eastern Ganga Kings. The former Kirtivasa, alleged to have been founded by Sasanka, was re-built as the present Lingaraja, Ananta Vasudeva, Meghesvara; the Jagannatha temple at Puri and Konaraka were their other foundations.

The rococo was reached in the time of the Gajapatis, who embraced Neo-Vaishnavism and the Gaudiya type of temples, that is Bengali hut shaped style, appears in Orissa. The oldest of these is the Rasika Raya temple in Mayurabhanja district.

The materials were uniformly laterite, with one or two exceptions, like Muktesvara. During my visit to Bhuvaneshvara in 1965 and 1966 I found laterite blocks being used by the lower middle class people for their homes. For sculptures another variety called 'Khudelite' was utilised. The quarries according to the law were state properties. Therefore, their easy and economic utilisation is appreciable. But what about the financial resources behind this mass of erections which must have been immense! What were its sources?

Bhuvaneshvara area was famous for its fertility. We may add to it the whole of the Mahanadi valley. But mere land revenue and tributes from feudatory or vassal states do not seem to be sufficient. There are grounds to believe that trade both overland and seaborne were great provenders. The find of newly minted Roman coins by Carlyle in the 19th century in Singhbhum district is an indication of routes followed by **sarthavahas** from Tamralipti or from Dantapura and Kalingapattanam towards Magadha and Suhma. The long seacoasts on which the breakers now thunder from the Bay of Bengal must have had ports and harbours apart from the two already mentioned. The absence of any ruins near Konarak is well known. But N. K. Bose suggested existence of bricks structures below the sandbanks of the place. This has yet to be proved. If they do discover these then there is an instance of small seaport from which small Indian ships could go to South East Asia or ports in Eastern or Southern India like Arikamedu, hugging the coast. The find of coins of Romano Hellenistic types at Sisupal-

garh is another kind of evidence. A source of revenue from this head can be presumed. To this must be added the system of forced labour by slaves and war prisoners. The only expense was possibly for the stone cutters and sculptors, who received these wages in kind or cash. Enlightened despotism had several means to carry out their projects, sanctioned by usage and custom, which are not available to democratic governments. When the truth about the tragedy, that has been enacted behind the Iron curtain in Lob Nor and Tibet to usher in a nuclear age in China, comes out, the world will probably be horrified about the slave labour involved in it.

The total areas of each temple, including the **mandapas**, **ardhamandapas** call for notice except the gigantic Lingaraja and Jagannatha. At Bhuvanesvara, notwithstanding the paens of praise deservedly given by Bishan Svarup, M. M. Gangoly, R. D. Banerji, Stella Kramrisch and others, the area of each is indeed small. Sometime they were extended by multiplication of the porches; even then the total floor area did not provide for vast assemblages. For example at Muktesvara, Vaital Deul, Parsuramesvara, Rajarani etc. Even the Ananta Vasudeva with its two **mandapas**, sandwiched between others, the Lingaraja with its spacious compound filled with minor shrines leaving aside small ones like Chitrakarini, Bramhesvara, Svapnajalesvara etc., do not provide for even minor gatherings on festival days.

Yet, religious discourses like **katha**, reading of the Epics or the Puranas, musical parties (**bhajans**) and ritual dance performances of Devadasis, must have taken place; but possibly they were not open to general mass. Or they witnessed from outside the temple precincts, the spaces which have been built upon. That dance was an essential part of

ritual and contemporary social cycle, is evident from the applied sculptures, full of rhythmic linearism. That almost all the female figures (**Kanyas**), even male figures, as we find from the sculptured grille at Kapilesvara, are in dancing poses is undoubted. In fact, ancient Indian dance and music at its best and in their most elaborate fashion are found in the shrines of Orissa. This is as it should be. Because, throughout the length and breadth of India folk tales, dance and music are lyrically presented through the media of mallets, chisels and paint brushes. The population unlike their modern descendants, dealt with great metaphysical questions in a popular way, instead of stabbing each other on materialistic grounds. And, since sculpture gives concrete forms to the identical moods by which the masses solved mystical problems in their folk poems, passion plays that spring from the heart of the population, not yet spoilt by industrialism, were very popular. Because, a visit to the temple will not be merely a devout mission, but an educative intellectual experience of extreme psychological value. All these, however, lead to one conclusion: that these places of worship were built primarily for the court and few favoured patricians and leaders of sects and orders engaged in esoteric practices. The vast concourse of thousands or millions seem to have been unknown to the architects and engineers, who did not provide for them in their designs like the Christian Cathedrals or cathedral cities of Jains with their vast **chaturmukha** temples.

Bhuvanesvara, it must be underlined, neither marks the commencement nor the end of milleniums-old architectural or plastic activities. Though it dimly indicates possible origins, evolution, development of classic and finally rococo in the valleys of Mahanadi, Rishikulya and Languliya rivers.

It conserves for us specimens of different ages and periods ; something like pedestals and show cases in a museum gallery. In so doing, they have left a mass of evidence to be garnered for evaluating the cultural background and economic structure that gave birth to them.

COIFFURE

As far as social aspects are concerned, let us start with the hair styles on the heads. The art of hair dressing was cultivated by both the sexes. Sculpture and painting being our only sources about ancient India, Bharata's *Natyasastra* clarifies different hair styles in different regions. The Mathura and Gandhara sculptures are rich in information, and if those found on terracotta figurines are added we have an unlimited evidence. Generally the men had their hair tied in a knot at the top of their crown. A tradition which survived at Bhuvaneshvara from C. 7th century A. D. The variety of coiffure in Gupta age is overwhelming, the most favourite being for man to wear them in wiglike fashion. The hair of **dvarapala** of the Sisiresvara temple shows that it was known at Bhuvaneshvara.

It would be worthwhile to pay some attention to the **mukutas** or coronets or chaplets which were a source of great income to Indians from the luxurious habits of patrician ladies of Rome². The sculptures at Bhuvaneshvara fully corroborate their popularity at home. In the dancing grille of Kapilesvara temple three distinct varieties are met with. Two other types are met with in the grille of the same type of the Parasuramesvara temple. Others supply about 30 varieties of **jata** and **Karandda-mukutas**.

The hair was generally parted in the

middle irrespective of sex. **Churna kuntala** was a favourite style. Others were :—

1) The hair was combed back and bound in a knot on the head as already noted. The image of Karttikeya on Parasuramesvara has this **sikha** style. The female figures are distinguished by love for wearing flowers, ornaments and arrangement of the hair. Along with chaplets, tiaras were known.

2) The hair after being combed by women were tied in a neat bun. The **Alasa-Kanya** (the lady looking at the mirror) has it coiled at the back. It is found in the Rajarani temple. Another **Alasa Kanya** of the same type, with one leg up, the lady feeding the child, the female with her second finger on the lower lip, have this style.

3) The hair is bound in a top knot, tied by a band or ends of the hair as we find in the female figure of a **dampati** couple on the Vaitala Deul.

4) The men also shared this particular style.

5) The two female companions of Ganga on the Parasuramesvara temple, have looped and knotted hair at the back of the head combed straight.

6) A female divinity of Vaital Deul has her hair done in spiral form on the crown of her head.

COSTUME

The uniform wearing apparel at Bhuvaneshvara for males were dhoti (loin cloths) and **dupattas** (chadars). The ladies with few exceptions wear **Sari**. The dancers of the grille on Kapilesvara temple, Parasuramesvara temple, the **Dampati** figures on Vaitala Deul, the **Kichakas** (Dwarfs) on either side of the **Kirttimukha** of Muktesvara and Karttikeya of Parasuramesvara wear a short loin cloth (two and half cubits in length)

which used to be called **amochis**, forty years ago in Uttara Pradesh.

The images of Naga and Dvarapalas of the Sisiresvara temple have short pants called **Kachch** or **janghiya**.

The women are found invariably with **Sari**, sometimes plain and sometimes flowered, but no choli or jacket to cover the upper part of their bodies. But the quality of material naturally can not be determined. The lady looking at a Mirror on Rajarani temple wears a short Sari, like Santal women, the hems of the cloth leaving bare the full rounded legs. At Lingaraja temple it comes slightly below the knee.

ORNAMENTS

Amongst the examples of lapidarist's art are found, **Nupura** Mekhala (girdles),

Kankana (bracelets), Ketaka or Churis, **chakra** and **patra** kundalas, **sismag**, **tika**, **sinthi**, nose pins **Hara**, **Kanthahara**, **Ananta** and Valayas etc.

ARMS

Straight Swords, Lances, Bows and Arrows. Writing boards and pen are also seen.

A thorough and exhaustive account of the social economic aspects of Orissa sculptures are likely to fill tomes. Here a brief survey has been attempted, with the hope, that my unfulfilled desire will be taken up by some one younger.

1. Arts Asiatiques, Tome 4, Fascules 4, (1957), pp. 275ff.
2. Schoff—Periplus on Erythrean Sea, p. 191.



ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH

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Of the economic philosophy of Rabindranath, less has been published. It is not so well known that as an economic seer Rabindranath towered above most of the economic thinkers of his day. His economic thinking was indeed so rich in truth that if he was not a poet and artist, he would have had certainly his recognition as a great economic prophet of his country. He realized the truth about the poverty and stagnation of his country quite early in his life, when he was deputed by his kins to manage the family zemindari at Silaida and Patisar. He said that while he was there he first came into intimate contact with village life. He wrote: "At that time it seemed to me to be a matter of shame that I carry on the business of zamindari, keeping myself engaged all the while in looking after income and expenditure, thus busying myself with the preoccupation of a businessman. From that time onward I constantly strived to liberate the mind of the rural man so that he can take his own responsibility." He discovered that the soul of India was in the village, and as such if poverty and stagnation were to be driven away from this land of ours, it must come through bettering the destiny of the rural man. Earlier he had experience of a different kind of economic contacts. By inheritance he must have had disgust for the commercial life of the city. His grand-father was the most prominent businessman of his time in Calcutta. The failure of the firm after a brilliant phase of prosperity, must have left the family disillusioned about commercial avocation. But while the family scratched merely the surface of it, the

poet who heard about it, must have pondered deeply and realized the truth of it, which in later times he expressed in his writings. Another family tradition that the poet must have had as a background to work on, was the intense nationalism of his father and his elder brother Jyotirindranath. This too, on later occasions he expressed in his writings.

A realistic economic thinker

That his heart truly ached for the village and the amelioration of the village folks, he expressed in writing many a time during his life. But his true role as a realistic economist becomes clear when he gives out plans for the uplift of the village life. In these writings we discover for the first time a fervent plea for integrated development of economic life. Said he: "The people's welfare is an amalgam of several ingredients. To take one of them by itself cannot do much good. Health, recreation and activity of the body and mind—thrown together in one combination, they make the picture complete." His famous discourse on Swaraj showed how deeply he had thought over the matter of welfare of his fellow beings. He was quite candid about it, and felt no scruple to let even Gandhiji know his mind about the economics of the spinning wheel. "Simply by turning the Charkha, weaving home spun yarn and holding grave discourses, we shall not be able to project the realization of what swaraj means." "If swaraj comes to us in the semblance of mere home-spun yarn it would, likewise be intolerable. Conceivably, a man of Mahatma Gandhi's calibre, comman-

ding immense faith in his individual greatness, could succeed for a time in making some of our people accept the uninspiring prospect—to obey him is an end in itself. To me, however, it seems that such a state of mind is not helpful for attaining swaraj.” “Poverty may be somewhat mitigated if all our countrymen begin to spin thread: that will not mean the attainment of swaraj though. So what? The increase of national wealth is surely no small thing for a poverty-haunted land. It would mean a great deal if our cultivators who let their time go waste engaged themselves in productive work. The lucrative use of the surplus time is of prime importance.” Again he said: “One of the hurdles of swaraj will be removed when our cultivators employ their leisure in productive occupation. Our leaders will have to think out ways and means by which that spare time may be used to the best advantage. And it is not obvious that such an advantage is best secured in the line of cultivation itself?” “To till the soil is for him the line of least strain.”

Basis of Tagore's economic philosophy

Tagore's economic philosophy rested on his belief in the value of self-determination. “If the people of even one Indian village make the village their own re-creation, the first long step towards the solving of the problem would have been taken.” “Behind the abject poverty of our country is the fact that we keep ourselves segregated, trying to bear all our heavy burdens by ourselves. In Europe when the steam engine came, many handicraft workers were thrown out of employment—how could the bare hands of individuals challenge the machine? But the people of Europe think for another in a crisis—where civilization is a powerful force, fellow feeling must be intense. The realization began to grow that combined efforts of the

people could be their strength and their capital.” That is why all his life Tagore was an earnest advocate of co-operation and co-operative system. He made it clear that if the productivity of the cultivators is to be increased, then this is to be achieved with the help of machines. Machines cost money, and for individual farmers it would be hard to find it. But if fifty farmers combine to do farming on co-operative principles, then the combined resources of all would help them to buy the necessary machine. Said he: “This combination of many people to earn a living is known in Europe as the co-operative system. It is by this system that our country can be rescued from its age-long poverty and stagnation.”

Interaction of towns and villages

Tagore did not, of course, minimize the importance of towns and cities. “In their natural state—that is, when the community does not incline too much to one side—the village and the town have harmonious interactions. From the one flow food and health and fellow-feeling. From the other return gifts of wealth, knowledge and energy.” But he deplored the present state of things, in which the city has become supreme and the village a slave. “All opportunities, all advantages, all that is needed for the enjoyment of life pile up in the city; the village simply slaves to provide food and just manages somehow to exist.” “All civilization is now a parasite of wealth. It is not merely the earning of money, the worship of money is dominant. The false gods destroy the goodness in man. Never before was man such a great enemy of man; for nothing can be more cruel, more iniquitous than this gold hunger.” So did it lead to the destruction of the city-centred civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome.

Labour power—the real capital

Said he : It is by collecting in their own hands the working capacity of many people that the rich attain their position. The capital is the combined labour power of many people and it has taken concrete shape in wealth. That labour power is the real capital the power inherent in every worker. If they can say, "We shall combine our strength", their real capital will be in their own hands. Those who lack the capacity to unite must of necessity suffer. They can gain no permanent benefit by abusing others or by robbing them. We must, therefore, try to combine all our labour power and thereby gain economic benefits to be shared by all. That is the co-operative principle. It is this principle which has made man great in knowledge and given a moral basis, to his conduct of practical affairs. Where it is lacking, there is suffering, malice, falsity, barbarity and strife." It is not the rich but the poor who must rescue society from the crushing weight of great wealth. The building of an entrance to the heavily barred economic field must lie in their hands. The weakness of the poor has so long kept civilization weak and incomplete; they must set this right by the conquest of power." But when Tagore spoke of the conquest of power he did not mean conquest by the non-economic weapon of 'force'. Said he : "I do not believe that inequality in

wealth can ever be completely removed by force. The disparity inherent in man is sure to assert itself. As in the world of nature so in the world of man complete uniformity paralyzes initiative and makes the intellect idle. But excessive unevenness is equally bad, since it greatly hinders the development of social contact amongst people by the creation of distance between them." He pointed out that "every man is entitled to adequate wages and leisure. To have only the barest means of living is an insult. The dignity of civilized living rests today on a chosen few, maintained by the unwilling labour of many. Vast masses of people deprived of education, health and the means of enjoyment, are doomed to exist as dullards." He, therefore urged that "the masses must now develop their own inherent strength—that will be of more permanent worth." Again and again he reminded his countrymen that this development of inherent strength must come through self-determination and mutual aid. "If the Indian economy is based once more on co-operation, the villages which are the nurseries of our civilization will be vitalized and the whole country will gain a new life." His earnest prayer was that "the liberation of wealth, its redistribution be carried on in this country to the fullest extent, so that, through the united efforts of all the people, the goddess of food and plenty be firmly enthroned for all time to come."

DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA—THE UNCOMPROMISING SOCIALIST

N. KAMARAJU PANTULU

With the passing away of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia at the premature age of fifty-seven on twelfth October, 1967, about three years ago, India lost one of its passionate fighters against every form of injustice ; a great intellect who brought to the socialist movement, a freedom from obsessive dicta of other leaders' doctrines ; an uncompromising socialist who kept his flame of idealism burning bright and refused to be lured by the attractions of office to swerve from his ideals ; a many faceted personality with almost encyclopaedic dimensions of intellect ; an uncompromising individualist and a democrat who was intolerant of the inertia of the Indian society in which change was long over due ; a Samson pulling out the pillars of an edifice that was housing corruption, inefficiency, and social stagnation ; a true servant of the masses who dedicated his whole life to the common man's cause, to the cause of the backward classes, the down trodden underdog of society, equality of women and to the Indian socialist movement. The socialist movement in the country has lost a dynamic leader who tirelessly worked for social transformation of the country and for socialism. The left democratic forces have been deprived of a crusader. His death had created a great void among the ranks of the opposition leadership in the country.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was an uncompromising fighter against injustice and exploitation and a true friend of the poor, and the oppressed, a rebel who wanted to destroy an unjust socio-economic order so that a new

and just order could be ushered in its place. Dr. Lohia never wished for any earthly possessions for himself. Acharya Kripalani rightly pointed out whole paying glowing tributes to Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia that—"after independence the fervour of many a former revolutionary had cooled off and they had engaged themselves in making fortunes for themselves. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia remained a revolutionary to the last." He was never after pelf or power. He rebelled against all sorts of political and social injustice wherever he went, let it be U. S. A. or Goa. His strength and hold on the people lay in his total effacement of selfishness. India was deprived of one of its few national leaders with a clear vision and guiding hand in the crucial era of socialistic transformation ; a colourful personality and a tireless crusader for justice, for the poor, a true democrat who brought the message of socialism to the peasants. Dr. Lohia believed that the emancipation of India meant emancipation of the peasantry and the clue to this emancipation lay in socialism. To him democracy was not only a pillar of society, but a way of life and a posture of the spirit too. He asked in one of his talks, the young socialists of Benares Hindu University in 1946 "How democratic you are will be proved by your attitude towards your servant. Are you prepared to show him the same courtesy which he is entitled to as a human being and which you show to a man of position ?" Undoubtedly a democracy of this type is not only social, but moral too.

Dr. Lohia had his own ideas on a number

of national and international problems of his times which were very often described as perverse, fanatical, unrealistic, dogmatic and quixotic etc. by his political adversaries, but a majority of them proved to be true and practical after his death. Dr. Lohia believed that from the U. S. A. to Indonesia and all liberated colonies of Africa should constitute a single block and give a jolt to the whole thinking world and this block should work independently and decide its own future course of action on conducting an acid test of each crucial question on the basis of merit. Dr. Lohia had also suggested a mutual security pact among the South East Asian States and economic co-operation among them. Dr. Lohia had also pleaded the need of co-operation between India and Pakistan. He believed that geographic, economic and military compulsions have made these two countries mutually dependent. Dr. Lohia believed that a lasting solution to all the outstanding problems between India and Pakistan was possible only through the establishment of a confederation between these two States. Commenting on the United Nations organisation and the status of the member nations Dr. Lohia said that he did not like the policy of giving different status to different nations. He pointed out that "the peace of the world will be secured only when there is equality between all nations and within each nation." Dr. Lohia believed that the wealthy nations have a great responsibility towards the poor nations and they must help the latter in their battle against poverty. Dr. Lohia, as early as 1948 urged India to organise a third camp of countries which did not belong to any block. He was the first Indian leader to visit Yugoslavia after Tito broke with Stalin.

It was largely due to his untiring efforts that the Nepali National Congress was formed at a conference in Calcutta towards the end

of January 1947, with the twin objectives of the removal of the Rana regime and the establishment of democracy. Under Dr. Lohia's leadership the congress socialist party took the initiative and helped the Nepali National Congress to launch a civil disobedience movement in 1951, which led ultimately to the release of all the arrested workers.

Dr. Lohia was the author and the pathfinder of a number of movements in India namely Angreji Hatao, Land Army (Bhu Sena) Liberation of Goa etc. He participated in a number of movements, with an almost unique and unrivalled gusto. Dr. Lohia was a great champion of the cause of equality of women. The episode narrated by prof. Mrs. Usha Mehta of Bombay University deserves reiteration in this connection. "When asked about the difference between his four pillared State and the Rama Rajya as conceived by Gandhiji, Dr. Lohia replied that he would like to call his ideal State, Sita-Rama Rajya instead of Ramarajya to stress the pride of place women would get in such a State."

Dr. Lohia was not only a theoretician of the socialist party, but a leader of the socialist movement, a parliamentarian of rare ability, and an agitator par excellence. A man of unusual courage, an agile general, a disciplined soldier and a champion of the cause of world parliament. The qualities of self respect and self reliance, a spirit of adventure, toleration and sympathy, discipline and devotion to duty, highest esteem for Mahatma Gandhiji's Satya and Ahimsa, wedded at the same time to the concept of revolution in thought, word and deed. Outspoken, tender hearted but relentless, freedom loving, and at the same time despotic, fresh and provocative. Freshness of approach, novelty of thought, seemed to have combined in the enigmatic, ever vigilant and relentless rebel Dr. Lohia.

We hear almost everyday, nay, very minute

the tall talk of socialism, equality, and social justice, of the ruling congress party leaders, while in reality capitalism, inequality and social injustice are growing apace in the country. Dr. Lohia wondered how Bhoodan and Gramdan were going to succeed when the entire movement was financed by the propertied classes. In his view, India's pretending to play the role of a big power was just a gambit unless it first put its own house in order. The term equality was understood and sought to be applied by him not merely in the national but in the international context. Though he was often compared to an irate and an undisciplined school boy, very often he worked as a disciplined soldier and duty conscious leader. An oft repeated charge against Dr. Lohia is that he held parliament in scant respect and tried to bring down its dignity. He described Indian politics as an ubiquitous bag of fraud. Dr. Lohia

criticized the foreign policy of the Government of India as merely expedient rather than based on any principles ; and it was neither purposeful nor had it been able to secure any possible benefit to the country. It is indeed an experience to study the multifaceted and controversial personality of Dr. Lohia. The task before us is to understand and elucidate his views on life, history, society, and culture of mankind and enrich the socialist movement, and reallocate the emphasis on the principles of politics and socialism, now that he is no more on the scene. The socialists of India should engage themselves to their plans of action in right earnest, if at all they care anything for their departed leader. The best way to pay homage to this great patriot and socialist leader lies in an all out effort to raise the standard of living of the common masses, particularly that of the backward and depressed classes.



PLACE OF JUDICIARY IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

M. SALEEM KIDWAI

Introductory

Placed among the three great institutions of democracy, the Indian Judiciary has been assigned an important role in the Indian Constitution the keynote of which is justice—social, economic and political. The makers of the Indian Constitution realised that without a free, strong and impartial judiciary, the democratic system could not function smoothly and successfully. Thus, they conferred upon the Supreme Court very wide and extensive powers and made it in a way the most powerful in the world having the largest jurisdiction. The constitution has vested the Supreme Court with powers and functions of a Federal Court, of a final Appellate court, of a protector of fundamental rights, and of an Advisory Body in a very unique manner. Keeping in view these formidable and impressive powers the framers of the constitution prescribed very high minimum qualifications for the appointments of judges.¹

Composition

The constitution provides that :

“There shall be a Supreme Court of India consisting of a Chief Justice of India and, until Parliament by law prescribes a large number, of not more than seven other judges.”²

The number of judges has been increased from time to time by parliamentary legislation. It was raised to ten in 1956, and then to thirteen in 1960.³ The court now consists of fourteen justices including the Chief Justice and 13 other judges. Provision is also made for appointment of ad hoc judges at any time when the quorum of the judges is not

complete for holding or continuing any session of the court.⁴

According to Clause II of Article 124 :

“Every judge of the Supreme Court shall be appointed by the President by warrant and seal after consultation with such of the judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Courts in the states as the President may deem necessary for the purpose and shall hold office until he attains the age of sixty five years.”⁵

Provided that in the case of appointment of a judge other than the Chief Justice, the Chief Justice of India shall always be consulted. By and large the Indian Constitution has adopted the British method for the appointment of judges to the Supreme Court.

Qualifications

The makers of the Indian Constitution prescribed high minimum qualifications for the judges, in order to eliminate politics in the appointment and to enhance the competence of the judges of the highest court in land. Clause III lays down the following qualifications of a Supreme Court judge :

- “(a) has been for at least five years a Judge of a High Court or of two or more courts in succession ; or
- (b) has been at least ten years an advocate of a High Court or two or more such courts in successions ; or
- c) is, in the opinion of the President, a distinguished jurist.”⁶

Tenure

Unlike Britain and United States, the Indian Constitution provides that judges once

appointed shall hold office until they attain the age of sixty five years. A judge may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the President.

Removal

A judge of the Supreme Court may be removed by an order of the President on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity. But the President's power is exercisable only after an address of each House of Parliament to that effect supported by a majority of 2/3 of the members of that House present and voting, which, again must be a majority of the total membership of the House.⁷

Salaries Etc.

The constitution has fixed the salaries of the Chief Justice and other judges of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice is paid Rs. 5000 P. M. and other judges 4500 P. M. Besides this they are entitled to such privileges and allowances as may from time to time be determined by Parliament.

Functions of the Supreme Court

The jurisdiction of the court can be divided into three categories—i.e. original, appellate and advisory.

Original Jurisdiction:— Article 131 defines the exclusive and original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. According to this the court, shall have original jurisdiction in any dispute—

- “(a) between the Union Government and one or more states : or
- (b) between the Union Government and any state or states on one side and one or more states on the other ; or
- (c) between two or more states.”⁸

The dispute must involve any question on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends. Provided that the said jurisdiction shall not extend to a dispute to which any state is a party, if the dispute arise out of

any provision of a treaty, agreement, covenant, agreement or any other similar instrument which provides that the said jurisdiction shall not extend to such a dispute. It may be noted that the original jurisdiction under this article, covers disputes between the legal persons and not private persons. Unlike the American Supreme Court, the Indian Supreme Court has no original jurisdiction in cases affecting ambassadors and public ministers.

The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court under the article is subject to other provisions of the Constitution. Besides the limitations imposed by the proviso to Article 131, Parliament may according to Article 262 by law provide for the adjudication of any dispute or complaint with respect to the use, distribution or control of the waters of, or in any inter-state river or river valley.⁹ Again notwithstanding anything in the constitution Parliament may by law provide that neither the Supreme Court nor any other court shall exercise jurisdiction in respect of any such dispute or complaint.

Thus, the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is limited. It is not a court of ordinary original jurisdiction in all matters and between all parties. In order to invoke the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court the two conditions must be satisfied,—(a) as to parties and (b) as to the nature of the dispute. If these two conditions are not satisfied a suit can not be brought before the Supreme Court simply on the ground that there is no other court in the land which can try the question raised by the suit.¹⁰ Needless to say, the Supreme Court in its original jurisdiction serves the purpose of a true federal court.

Appellate Jurisdiction:— The appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is very wide and covers cases which may be broadly put into these categories: constitutional, civil, criminal and special.

Article 132 provides for appeals in cases involving a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the constitution. The word 'involve' implies a considerable degree of necessity and the word 'substantial' here means a question regarding which there is a difference of opinion and which has not been finally settled by judicial decisions. Such an appeal lies to the Supreme Court if the High Court certifies to this effect but the Supreme Court may itself grant a special leave if it is satisfied that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the constitution.

This Article thus ensures that though a High Court may pronounce upon the validity of an Act or decide any other question involving the interpretation of the constitution, in all such cases the decision of the High Court shall not be final and that the final authority must rest with the Supreme Court.¹¹

In civil matters, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court from any judgement of a High Court if the High Court certifies that the amount or the value of the subject matter in the case is not less than 20 thousand rupees or that the case is a fit one for appeal to the Supreme Court irrespective of the amount.¹²

In criminal matters, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court from a High Court if the High Court (1) has, on appeal, reversed an order of acquittal of an accused person and sentenced him to death ; or (2) has withdrawn any case from a subordinate court and has sentenced an accused person to death ; or (3) has certified that the case is fit for appeal to the Supreme Court.¹³

In addition to appeals in constitutional, civil and criminal cases, the Supreme Court has discretionary appellate jurisdiction. It may, in its discretion, grant special leave to appeal to it from any court or tribunal excluding, however, military courts or tribunals.

The constitution further empowers Parliament to enlarge the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in respect of appeals in criminal matters. In spite of huge discretionary powers the Supreme Court has declared in unequivocal terms that special leave to appeal will be granted in exceptional cases only, and that too in cases where grave and substantial injustice has been done by disregard to the forms of legal process or violation of the principles of natural justice.

Advisory Jurisdiction:— The Ad Hoc Committee on the Supreme Court, while admitting that there had been considerable difference of opinion among jurists and political leaders as to the expediency of placing on the Supreme Court an obligation to advise the President on difficult questions of law, had recommended the advisory jurisdiction.

Article 143 provides that if at any time it appears to the President that a question of law or fact has arisen or is likely to arise, which is of such a nature that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of the court upon it, he may refer the question for consideration and the court may report to the President its opinion thereon. But the President is not bound to act in accordance with the advisory opinion of the Supreme Court. However, it appears neither desirable nor feasible to ignore the valuable opinion of the highest court of the land on any such question. The following questions have so far been referred to the Supreme Court for opinion: (a) Delhi Laws Act 1912 in 1951 ; (b) Kerala Education Bill, 1957 in 1958 ; (c) Indo-Pak Agreement on Berubari Union, 1958 in 1960 and (d) Conflict of powers and jurisdiction between the Legislature and the Judiciary in the Utter Pradesh in 1964.

Though it is not obligatory upon the court to give an opinion, it will be unwilling to

decline a reference except for good reasons.¹⁴ The Chief utility of such opinion is to enable the Government to secure an authoritative opinion as to the validity of the measure before initiating in the legislature.

Court of Record:— The Supreme Court is a court of record and has all the powers of such a court including the power to punish for its contempt.¹⁵

Review of Judgements:— According to Article 137, subject to the provisions of any law made by Parliament or any rules made under Article 145, the Supreme Court shall have power to review any judgement pronounced or order made by it.¹⁶

Power to issue certain writs:— As a protector of fundamental rights, the Supreme Court has the power to issue writs in the nature of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari for the enforcement of these rights.¹⁷

Binding force of the Court's decisions:— The constitution lays down that the law declared by the Supreme Court shall be binding on all courts within the territory of India.¹⁸

Further, according to Article 142 the Supreme Court in the exercise of its jurisdiction may pass such decree or make such order as is necessary for doing complete justice in any cause or matter pending before it, and any decree so passed or order so made shall be enforceable throughout the territory of India in such manner as prescribed by Parliament and, until such provision in that behalf is made, in such manner as the President may by order prescribe. The Supreme Court has also the power to make any order for the purpose of securing the attendance of any person, the discovery or production of any document or the investigation or punishment of any contempt of itself.

Article 144 provides that all authorities, civil, criminal and judicial, in the territory

of India shall act in aid of the Supreme Court.

The constitution further provides that the existing powers and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court may be increased by the Parliament by legislation¹⁹.

An analysis of the constitutional provisions, relating to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court reveals that the Supreme Court has been given all the jurisdiction, then exercised by the Federal Court and the Privy Council. The constitution has vested the Supreme Court with powers and functions of a Federal Court, of a final Appellate Court, of a protector and guardian of fundamental rights, and of an Advisory Board in a very unique manner.

C R I T I C I S M

The provisions of the constitution are satisfactory as far as they go but not fully commensurate with the high responsibilities entrusted to the judiciary. One may along with Dr. M. V. Pylee argue that the necessary qualifications eliminate politics in the appointment of judges and are intended to enhance the competence of those appointed as the judges of the highest court in land. But there is plenty of force in the argument that the words 'distinguished jurists' and 'in the opinion of the President' leave a loophole for discretionary appointments.

It should be noted that mere presence at the Bar, no matter what the duration may be and no matter what the professional competence of a person may be, should not be regarded a sufficient qualification for appointment as judges of the Supreme Court.

(Although there has been no case where a politician was absorbed in the distinguished office of a judge; but this eventuality can not be ruled out that the judges without requisite experience in the Bench, Advocates

without requisite experience in the Bar and a politician may be appointed as a judge if the President forgets for a moment the dictates of his conscience for political expediency, to state that the individual in question is an eminent jurist).

Therefore, steps must be taken to ensure that such persons do not find entry into the judiciary at any future stage. The constitution can be suitably amended to exclude the possibility of any such appointment. What is necessary in this connection is not that a judge has integrity but that his integrity is beyond suspicion.

Tenure of Office

Although the constitution provides direct appointment of distinguished jurists and advocates as judges of the Supreme Court, yet in practice, the appointments have been made from among the judges of the High Court, "retired or about to retire." It is said, this method ensures some judicial experience and some capacity to form a sound judgement and to express with clarity. But does this method of selection also ensure that the Indian judiciary would match if not surpass, the record of American Supreme Court judges in regard to legal knowledge and skill and independence. One wonders whether this method of recruitment coupled with short tenure has something to do with the timidity of approach we often find in judicial pronouncements and the failure of judiciary to give proper and due consideration to the spirit of the constitution.

It is important to note that the judges of the Supreme Court retire at the age of sixty five years. This is in sharp contrast to the practice in the U. K. and the United States. There they are appointed for life time but they can retire, if they choose, at the age of 70. This enables their country to utilise their experience which they have gathered at the

expense of the nation. This long tenure which the judges of the American Supreme Court have had, has been to a certain extent responsible for giving consistency to its work, and for the judges to give a tone and direction to its role as the guardian of the constitution²⁰.

On the other hand in India, the higher judiciary is often manned by men who are close to, if not virtually on the verge of retirement. Naturally, they look to the Government for favours after retirement. Would it not be advisable to follow the practice obtaining in the United States ?

Various Considerations governing the appointment of the higher judiciary

Regarding appointments to the Supreme Court it is found that merit has not been the only criterion or basis. The members of the Law Commission have made the following observations :

"It is obvious that the selection of judges constituting a court of such a pivotal importance to the progress of the nation must be a responsibility to be exercised with great care. The court must consist of judges who taken as a body are, as lawyers and men of vision, superior to the body of judges manning the High Courts." Such a result can be achieved and maintained only by the exercise of courage, vision and imagination in the selection of judges with the eye solely to their efficiency and capacity.

Can we say that such a course has been followed ? It is widely felt that communal and regional considerations have prevailed in making the selection of the judges. The idea seems to have gained ground that component states of India should have, as it were, representation on the court. Though we call ourselves a secular state,

idea of communal representation which were viciously planted in our body politic by the British, have not entirely lost their influence. What perhaps is still more to be regretted is the general impression that now and again executive influence exerted from the highest quarters has been responsible for some appointments to the Bench. It is undoubtedly true that the best talent among the judges of the High Courts has not always found its way to the Supreme Court. This has prevented the court from being looked upon by the subordinate courts and the public generally with the respect and reverence to which it is by its status entitled²¹.

Course of removal

The constitution provides that a judge of the Supreme Court shall not be removed from his office, except by an order of the President passed after an address by each House of the Parliament supported by a majority of total membership of that House and by a majority of not less than two thirds of that House present and voting has been presented to the President in the same session for such removal on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity.

Nevertheless, the two chambers of the Indian Parliament may represent the same party complexion and once a Government has also a majority in the council of states and decides to remove a judge from the Bench by proving his misbehaviour or incapacity through inspired investigation, the constitution grants no security of tenure to the judiciary. To remedy this defect, it would be appropriate to amend this provision by requiring at least 3/4 majority of total strength of each House favouring such a proposal.

Salary and Economic Security

The emoluments fixed by the Indian constitution are not sufficiently attractive. In

fact, they are much less generous to secure to the nation the services of some of the most distinguished members of the Bar. One fails to understand how and why the Law Commission reported against any increase in the salaries of the judges.

After Retirement

It is not unoften that the judges of the Supreme Court after their retirement are appointed as members of various tribunals and commissions. One fails to understand that whereas the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission and the Auditor General of India are, after retirement, barred from further employment, the judges are not. It does not seem, as the Law Commission observed, that the judges should look forward to any other governmental employment after their retirement, we are clearly of the view that this practice has tendency to affect the independence of the judges and should be discontinued.

Parliament's power to change the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court

The original jurisdiction of the American Supreme Court can be changed only by an amendment to the constitution, which can not be valid unless 3/4 of the states ratify. In India, the Supreme Court for jurisdiction is dependent upon the Parliament alone. Here the jurisdiction of the court can be changed only by an amendment to the constitution, which the Union Parliament independently of the states can effectively make; ratification by the legislatures of at least half of the states is necessary for this amendment. The constitution should be amended so that no change can be possible in the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court unless a Bill is passed by the Union Parliament by a majority of total membership of both the chambers and 2/3 of the members of each of the chambers present and voting, and is ratified by at least half of the states.

Suggestions

To restore to the higher judiciary its proper status and to attract the best talent to the Bench, it becomes essential that the constitutional provisions relating to its tenure, emoluments and service be modified along the following lines :—

(I) There should be no age of retirement. The judges should hold office during good behaviour and their tenure should be subject to physical fitness.

(II) On attaining the age of seventy years, they should have the option to retire on full salary.

(III) The strength of the Supreme Court should be raised to obviate the necessity of ad-hoc appointments.

(IV) The selection should be made strictly on the merit basis. No communal and regional consideration.

(V) Instead of present 2/3 majority in both the Houses, 3/4 majority of total membership should be required for the removal of a judge.

(VI) In order to exclude the possibility of an incompetent or undeserving person being appointed as judge, the words "distinguished jurist" and "in the opinion of the President" should be deleted from the constitution.

(VII) The fixed emoluments of the judges should be raised and be made sufficiently attractive to secure the services of most distinguished members of the Bar.

(VIII) After retirement, the judges should not be offered any governmental assignment.

(IX) There should be a positive ban on their entry, to Politics in order to ensure that they do not have any inclination to help a political party while in office.

(X) The delay in justice may be avoided if the procedure for the trial is simplified.

(XI) Finally, it must be pointed out that unless free legal advice is made available to the poor, justice can not be secured to them. Thus, the representation by a lawyer should be made available at Government expense to the poor and needy persons.

1. William O. Douglas, From Marshall to Mukharjee, Studies in American and Indian Constitutional Law, p.332.
2. Article 124 (1).
3. The Supreme Court (Number of Judges) Act, 1956-60.
4. Article 127.
5. Article 124 (2).
6. Article 124 (3).
7. Article 124 (4).
8. Article 131.
9. Subs by the Constitution (seventh Amendment) Act 1956, S. 5. for the original proviso.
10. Ramgarh V. Province of Bihar, AIR 1966 FC 55.
11. Basu, D. D. Commentary on the Constitution of India, p.427.
12. Article 133.
13. Article 134.
14. Re Allocation of Lands and Buildings, AIR 1943, FC 13.
15. Article 129.
16. Article 137.
17. Article 139.
18. Article 141.
19. Article 138 and 140.
20. Robert Jackson, The Supreme Court in American System of Government, p.55.
21. Law Commission, Fourteenth Report, pp.33-34.

ROMANTICISM : PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

D. D. AGRAWAL

There is perhaps no other word in England's critical vocabulary which is so frequently used and widely misused, so laboriously studied and discussed, so carefully analysed and logically misunderstood than the word 'Romantic'. It means different things to different minds and has different connotations even to the people of the same age and understanding. It may have one meaning to one person at one time but a totally opposite meaning to the same person at another time and, strange as it may appear, one may be right both the times. Also, what one considers as Romantic in the beginning may turn out to be anti-Romantic in the final analysis. This is indeed an insurmountable difficulty one faces as one attempts to study Romanticism. In such a situation, the reader is either so disheartened that he gives up the study of the word completely or so enraged that, metaphorically speaking, he handles the word aggressively in the spirit of a master punishing a refractory child. He may also come out with a definition of his own and in saying what it is he may only be saying as to what it ought to be.

Time and again the student is told that Keats is a Romantic poet and the 'Ode On a Grecian Urn' is a Romantic poem. Time and again, he is told that the Romantic and the Classical are paradoxical qualities having no simultaneous existence in the same age, much less in the same poet and never in the same poem. The conventional contention is that Keats is a Romantic poet but then there is also a measure of truth in the statement that he is a Classical poet and that this Ode is a specimen of classical poetry. To say,

therefore, that Romantic poetry is only half true. Hence no attempt to define the Romantic poetry as the offspring of reaction to classical poetry will ever be completely true. The two qualities often exist side by side. The polarities often meet.

There is another difficulty one faces as one attempts to study the Romantic poetry. We may sometimes find in a Romantic poem qualities which may be antagonistic to the professed qualities of the Romantic literature. Wordsworth, for example, is a Romantic poet but there are qualities in him that are anti-Romantic. Melancholy, we are told, is one of the tests of the Romantic poetry but we find on examination that he is essentially a poet of joy. Joy counterbalances the sense of melancholy in him and dissolves it to a very great extent. Wordsworth is yet a Romantic poet.

There are various other difficulties in the study of the Romantic poetry. When does the Romantic literature start? We may ask this question, for example, and find ourselves fumbling for a suitable answer. We find no answer except that opinion is divided on this issue. Grierson,¹ for example, suggests, that the Romantic literature seems to start from the tragedies of Euripides and the Dialogues of Plato. He claims Plato to be the first great Romantic. He contends that it is to Plato that the some Romantics have turned to find a philosophical expression for their moods. In his conception of the human mind and the importance he attaches to its proper development, Coleridge is a follower of Plato. The interfusion of philosophy and poetry that we find in Wordsworth and Shelley

belongs to the tendency inherent in Plato's dialogues.

It is also suggested that Romanticism comes from and with the Christian religion. The advent of Christianity subordinated flesh to spirit. According to Heine Christianity is a power "in whose primary doctrine is contained a condemnation of all flesh, which not only gives to the spirit the control over the flesh but will also destroy the flesh in order to exalt the spirit." When Wordsworth says:

I have owed to them,

In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart,
And passing even into my purer mind,

With tranquil restoration ;

he is indeed in the primary stage of transport from the world of flesh to that of the spirit. He regrets that in his youthful contacts with nature the world of the eye and the ear was all in all:

The sounding cataract

Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,
The mountain, and the deep and gloomy

wood,

Their colours and their forms, were then
to me

An appetite ; a feeling and alone
That had no need of a remoter charm,
By thought supplied, or any interest
Unborrowed from the eye.

The presence of the spirit and its significance in the life of man is realized in the following lines:

And I have felt

A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts:

The subjection of matter to mind and the urgency on the part of the body to do the bidding of the soul is probably the result of the Christian teaching. There seems to be nothing surprising when Heine suggests that the "Romantic poetry had its origin in

Christianity" and that it "was a passion flower which sprung from the blood of Christ."

According to another view, Romanticism dates from Spenser. The emancipation of the spirit from the bondage of social order, the unchaining of the senses and the free play of imagination that characterize the poetry of the Romantic Revival spring from that of Spenser. According to another opinion Romanticism comes with Shakespeare. Romanticism in Spenser is a manifestation of instinct. It does not emerge as conscious reaction to any accepted convention. There is no conscious attempt on the part of Spenser to destroy the old rules of composition. He is not aware of them. Shakespeare disobeys the classical principles of dramatic composition and follows free will in creating an admixture of the comic and the tragic not allowed by convention.

There are also critics who suggest that the word 'Romantic' should be applied to a phase of English poetry which began in 1789 with Blake's "Songs of Innocence." C. M. Bowra, for instance, says—"If we wish to distinguish a single characteristic which differentiates the English Romantics from the poets of the eighteenth century, it is to be found in the importance they attached to the imagination and in the special view which they held of it."² Bowra suggests that the five major poets, Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats agree on one vital point that the creative imagination is the essence of Romantic poetry and Blake is first to put it into practice. Hence, there is a measure of truth in the statement, that the Romantic poetry flowered from Blake.

The writers of text-books suggest a mere direct date for the beginning of the Romantic poetry. They contend that Wordsworth and not Blake is the father of the Romantic poetry and that it dates from the publication of the "Lyrical Ballads" in 1798. They believe that

the year 1798 forms not only the beginning of the Romantic poetry but also determines its nature and temperament. We must, note that there must have been a kind of Romantic poetry before Wordsworth, and there indeed was but the poetry of Romance proper exhales from Wordsworth who was first to realize the need to liberate poetry from the bondage of classical rules and first to give this realization a bold practical shape.

The movement we call Romantic proceeds from him and he is the pioneer of it. He writes in a style he purposefully believes in and has the courage to say that the other style is not good. His Prefaces are specimen of his condemnation of the Neo-classical poetry. His poetry is the example of the determination and hope with which he initiated the new form and incorporated into it the new content. Hence his position is unique and unprecedented. To suggest that Romanticism starts from Christianity is taking the matter too far. It is true that in rejecting the flesh and elevating the spirit Christianity comes before Wordsworth. But Romanticism does not reject the flesh totally; it considers it a passage to spiritual reality. Flesh in Romanticism is not so much rejected as transformed. The sensuousness of Keats is only a thin margin between the flesh and the spirit. He has a physical perception of eternity. Christianity rejects the flesh hypothetically. To associate it with Romanticism is not to understand its nature. Romanticism springs from Wordsworth and not from St. Paul.

These are some difficulties we face as we prepare to study Romanticism. These difficulties are created by those who fail to see the simple difference between Romanticism Instinctive and Romanticism Historical. Instinctive Romanticism is an attitude of mind.

It is that special way in which one reacts to the objects that charm and experiences that startle and fascinate. It is present in everybody, everywhere. It flares up as one sees a lightning in the sky or appreciates a thundering cloud. It resides in the sense of wonder and curiosity in every human heart. Instinctively, every poet is a Romantic poet. Instinctively there lies concealed in the heart even of a diehard classicist something of a Romantic poet. It is to instinctive Romanticism that Walter Pater refers when he says that Romanticism is "rather a spirit which shows itself at all times in various degrees..... than the peculiarity of a time or school."

But this discussion is of infinitesimal value in a study of the history and development of Romanticism. Historical and not instinctive Romanticism is our subject. Our observations and comments, as also considerations and conclusions, should be based on historical and not instinctive Romanticism. Hence, when we speak of Romanticism as flowering from Wordsworth, or of Wordsworth as the leader of Romanticism, or of Keats and Shelley as the poets of the Romantic Revival, we mean Historical and not Instinctive Romanticism. We must, therefore, remember that when we speak of Romantic poetry, or Romantic Age in literature, we have in our mind a particular period of literary composition and a particular galaxy of poets writing in it. And that period, broadly speaking, begins with the poetry of Wordsworth and ends with the year 1832 by which time almost all the Romantic poets die and Wordsworth, who lives upto 1850, does not write much afterwards.

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1. Background of English literature: Grierson (Chapter on Romantic and Classical).
 2. The Romantic Imagination: The opening sentence.
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THE PROBLEM OF PEACE IN WEST ASIA

Dr. Y. S. MEHTA

No nation in human history has suffered as much as the people of Israel. Jewish community was nationally humiliated, socially crippled and made economically bankrupt when it became the target of Hitler during the Second World War. After a great human consideration the Jewish community received a national home, for which they aspired for years together. It was a happy day for them that the United Nations Assembly voted on 29th November, 1947 the partition of Palestine. The country had been recognised by most of the nations of the world and she has a proud place in the United Nations. Even Soviet Russia, as early as 17th May, 1948 granted de jure recognition to that country.

In spite of all this the unabated feud is continuing between her and neighbouring Arab states, though owing to the unsparing efforts of the United Nations there had been ceasefire and momentary peace. Israel is violently interested in its survival. They have occupied some neighbouring territory by war. It was a chance that Israel could timely know the preparations of the Arabs, in particular of the U. A. R., for launching an attack on her.

It is from her offensive posture that some Arab countries are realising the facts and that is why Saudi Arabia, one of the Arab countries has put forth a proposal for the peaceful settlement of a dispute in U. N. O. Israelis however, feel that Saudi Arabia is guided by her own economic considerations and forgets the fact that never in the history of mankind has an agreement taken place, where the victorious nation has to lose everything and the losing nation has everything to gain. They feel

Aquaba is with them, due to sheer force of power. They can not give it up, because it is their connecting way with the rest of the world.

As regards the occupied territory, Saudi Arabian delegate wants that Israel leaves the annexed territory but Israel is not prepared to accept any terms of the Arabs unless and until she is recognised by all the Arab countries and Suez Canal is kept open for navigation to her. Then and then alone Israel feels she can think of terms of a settlement.

As regards our country's attitude India stands for peaceful co-existence. Our policy has not been fluctuating between sympathy for Arabs and aversion for Jews, but we are guided by human considerations for the toiling millions, who have been made refugees in their own mother land. On the other hand it is most unfortunate that the mighty nations of the world are guided by selfish considerations.

West-Asia is rich in oil. It has its strategic significance. It is a meeting point for east and west and therefore, imperialist powers feel that if they can control the Middle East they can control the whole of Asia. The Arabs were puzzled right from the times of the Balfour declaration by the British Government. British Government informed the Arabs as early as February, 1918 that its support to Jews went only so far as it is compatible with the freedom of the existing population, both economic and political. The Jews accepted the partition plan in the hope that once a Jewish state was established, the rest of Palestine would also be occupied.

The Arabs on the other hand rejected it and asserted their right to the whole of the Palestine area. The Jews own large industries in the United States, where there has always been a wealthy and influential Jewish community. It is unfortunate that due to Jewish influence in U. S. A., American administration is not adopting a right attitude in relations to this problem. On the other hand it has boosted her morale, to fight against the Arabs. A small nation can not take courage to fight against bigger neighbouring nations, who have surrounded her. It is the power of some other nations which has promoted her to resort to aggression and develop such a resolute determination that it can flout the resolution of the United Nations with impunity.

The sad and sudden demise of Abdul Gammel Nassar, the President of the Arab

Republic has shocked the Arab world. Israel may take advantage of this position of helplessness of the Arabs. Therefore, in the interest of world peace and security and to ensure the promotion of economic and social advancement of its people, India has to recommend peaceful co-existence. Indian Government has to do all possible things to accommodate Israel for its navigation in Aquaba as well as in Suez provided it vacates its aggression of Arab territory. Saudi Arabia's resolution is a compromise and may appear as humiliation to Arab emotionalism and its resurgence; and also a set back to Israel which is proud of winning the six day war. However, we have to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life time has brought untold sorrow to mankind. Therefore, Saudi Arabia's resolution should be tried with suitable adjustments to restore peace in West-Asia.



C. Y. CHINTAMANI A SELFLESS PATRIOT

N. RAJAMANI

Chirravoori Yajneswara Chintamani, throughout his life remained a staunch and selfless patriot, with an unflinching adherence to his cherished ideas and ideals, even under severe stresses and strains. Though he was a politician yet his character was void of opportunistic elements. Moreover, he possessed a keen intellect and an extraordinary memory, which enabled him to bring out forgotten facts and figures with immaculate accuracy.

He was a doyen among Indian journalists and always fought for the freedom of the fourth estate. He earnestly wished that the civil liberties should be protected at all costs. On the whole he was a man, who fought for his country's freedom from within his own frame work of strongly laid out principles and faith.

Youthful Editor

C. Y. Chintamani was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He was born in a poor Brahman family of Vizianagaram on 11-4-1880. As he was poor, he could not hope for a better education and a comfortable living. His early bitter experiences in life guided him through a settled course, from which he never faltered throughout his life. From a tender age he possessed a flair for writing and he could express his thoughts in a fine and flowing style. When this quality of his bloomed fully, its radiance attracted many admirers. Soon a way was opened for this budding journalist and he became the Editor for a weekly from Vizianagaram in 1898, only at the age of 18. Thereupon his social and political activities began to blossom and gave him an ever increasing popularity.

From 1901-'09 he began his travels through Madras, Allahabad and Amroati in the capacity of a journalist and Assistant Secretary to the Indian Industrial Conference. Finally he decided to settle at Allahabad, where he earned the friendship of the eminent Indian politician, Madan Mohan Malaviya. Their association led to the launching of the *Leader* and Chintamani took control of its reins. When the Chief Editor of this paper spent his youthful energy in expressing his thoughts relating to politics, he soon found himself in the arena of a busy social and political life.

Political Career

Chintamani was a great admirer of the congress and he enthusiastically followed its fight, for the freedom of our nation. But since he was a writer, he could not blindly follow the paths of others. His ability to analyse and assess the situations made him a great critic of certain well-known Indian politicians and their policies. Apart from possessing the ability to write, he was also a gifted orator. When this was noted, he was soon elected to preside over the U. P. Social Conference, the U. P. Industrial Conference and the U. P. Political Conference. When he made his mark as a politician, he was elected to the U. P. Legislative Council, of which he was a member from 1916-'23 and again from 1927-'36.

The first distinct turning point in Chintamani's political career came when the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were in the making. The introduction of the Reforms gave the signal for the split in the Congress ranks. When the Joint Report of the Scheme was published in June 1911, the older section

of the Congress expressed its view that though the scheme contained certain defects regarding its proposals relating to the Central Government yet in the best interests of the country the scheme should be supported. But when the special session of the Congress held at Bombay, passed the resolution stating that the scheme was 'inadequate, unsatisfactory and unconstitutional', it compelled the supporters of the reforms to formulate their own views under their Liberal Party banner. Chintamani took an active part in working out the programme of the Liberal Party. However when the Government of India Act was introduced in the House of Commons, the Liberals noticed that the Bill was not in "Conformity with India's wishes and India's requirements". Hence they wanted an amendment to the Bill and Chintamani joined the Liberal Deputation to England in connection with the scheme. In the Report of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on India he said "Better submit to the present unconstitutional government rather than to more reactionary and further more unconstitutional government of the future." Chintamani's work in the deputation was highly commended by his contemporaries.

In December 1920 when the ministries were formed in the Provinces, under the Montford scheme, Chintamani joined Pandit Jagat Narain in the U. P. Ministry, as the Education Minister. For twenty-eight months he showed his calibre in the field of educational reforms. In his manifesto to the elections of Jhansi, his constituency, he said "Secondary Education is the pivot of the whole system and no well considered expenditure to provide extended facilities and to raise its standard will fail to react upon the condition and progress of the people." Hence when the actual opportunity came to put his thoughts into action he utilised it to the best

possible extent. Secondary Education had its serious defects. It failed to pay much attention for the improvement of the mental calibre of the students. With the result the immature minds were unable to adapt themselves to the rigorous university life. The Calcutta University Commission gave serious thought to the problem and reached the conclusion that the secondary education should be separated from the University education and should be made a self-contained unit. Chintamani fully endorsed the Commission's recommendations and implemented them. Owing to his tireless efforts a Bill for separate Board of High School and Intermediate Education was moved in U. P. which increased the facilities of education and opened the door of education to the poorer sections of the society. Thus Chintamani did not cease to work for the human welfare.

The Montford scheme worked smoothly as long as Montagu was at the helm of affairs. But his exit from India spelt the death knell of the progressive movement. Like the Governors of other Provinces, the U. P. Governor tried to assert his authority over the internal policies of the Province. In sheer exasperation at the Governor's interference with the official machinery Chintamani along with his other colleagues, tendered his resignation.

After a serious illness he joined the 'Leader' in 1924, as its chief Editor. He pursued his firm principles through his convincing articles. The 'Leader' became one of the leading news papers of the nation and it acted as the mouth-piece of the Liberal Party, of which Chintamani remained the General Secretary for at least six years. But his love for the nation always stood above all his thoughts and this made him to enter the U. P. Legislative Council in 1927. He remained as a member till 1936.

As a man of independent views and principles Chintamani had no liking for the Gandhian principles of non-violence and non-cooperation. Rt. Honourable Srinivasa Sastri observed that "He is, if anything, an example of independence of judgement and I do not know of a single person whom he will consent to obey, even though that person may be a Maha-Mahatma." Chintamani's dislike for Gandhian methods sprang from his belief that it would be utterly impossible to make the people always to adhere to the philosophy of Satyagraha. He once commented to Gandhi "You (Mr. Gandhi) alone will retain the *Satya* ; all your disciples desire the *Agraha*." This feeling of Chintamani should not be taken to infer that he was pro-British in character. It will be better to stress here that he, like any of the patriots likes to see the end of the alien rule over India. But he did not like the Gandhian method of non-violence, which he thought would certainly result in lawlessness. At the same time when the government tried to cow down the movement with a strong hand he criticised the Government's repressive measures to suppress the movement.

In the same way he had a distinct dislike for Gandhi's scheme of national education, which formed the plank of Gandhi's non-cooperation. He expressed his views under the caption "Independent Education". "Our education cannot be improved by cutting off connection with the government and sitting under the grove of mango trees. Besides the government being the most powerful agency that a country possesses all new schemes rely for their success on government support." When, during the second non-cooperation movement the Press Ordinances were passed by the government, some important papers ceased their publication. Chintamani joined the deputation of A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Tushar Kanti Ghosh to wait upon the Viceroy

Sir George Cunningham. He made a deep impression as a spokesman of civil liberties.

When the Government of India Act of 1935 was introduced, Chintamani came out with a vehement criticism of the Act. He said, "I venture to describe the Government of India Act of 1935 as the Anti-India Act. I feel when I recall and reflect upon all that Government of India did, has done, and is doing and all that it refused and is refusing to-day in respect of fiscal and commercial policy, I feel with some bitterness that the Government of India in these matters may not incorrectly or unjustly be described as the Government against India."

During the war Chintamani expressed his disapproval over the Congress attitude of hesitancy and indecision towards the war. He was of the belief that for the safeguard of democracy and international morality the Congress would consider it a binding duty to support the Britishers. At the same time he did not fail to press the claim for dominion status and rapid Indianisation of the army.

In recognition of his contribution to education the Allahabad and Benares Universities honoured him with doctorates and the Lucknow and Mysore Universities invited him to deliver the convocation Addresses. For his services he was knighted in 1939.

Chintamani was a patriot with an independent mind and fearless spirit. He was stamped a liberal on account of the fact that he firmly believed in the basic principles of liberalism. He fought through his words and deeds for safeguarding the civil liberties. He was a journalist, who did not rest for a minute in protecting the freedom of the press.

He quoted Herbert Spencer's maxim in his 'Indian Politics since the Mutiny'. "If public approbation comes, well and good ; if it does not come, also well and good, though not nearly so well and good." He lived upto his maxim till his death on 1.7.1941.

P. C. SORCAR—THE MAHARAJAH OF MAGIC

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

The Maharajah of Magic—that is how Protul Chandra Sorcar, 'the greatest magician the world has ever produced in recent times—will be remembered for elevating legender-main from the labyrinths to the art of INDRAJAL. He raised the art of prestidigitatation to the pinnacle of perfection. The Western world is indebted to this wizard for resuscitating this dying Oriental art from the quagmire of myth and legend to the loftiest heights.

The repertoire of this prince among the prestidigitators included such famous items as the sawing through the lady, blind-folded reading of any language or sign and cycling through the most crowded and congested streets of the Western world, cutting the tongue of one of his assistants, waters of India etc. Has the art of magic which he perfected to such dizzy heights of science and technology died with Protul Sorcar?

No Indian or foreign wizard had bagged so many coveted awards and honours and earned the attention of the gentlemen of the Fourth Estate in the East and the West, as did Protul Chandra Sorcar. He travelled all over the globe as India's cultural ambassador regaling the people with his mastery over sorcery. In fact, Sorcar was a world citizen, at home with different cultures and in distant climes.

No one was better qualified to perform the arduous duty of a cultural ambassador of India than Protul Sorcar for magic is an art which knows no language barriers. "The

difference between East and West completely disappears when we come to magic. Magic has brought East and West together. There is no geographical barriers in magic. People of Bombay or Boston, New York or Nagasaki are all equally amazed when they witness the miracle of sawing through a lady. Singers, comedians, theatrical actors and lecturers have their language problems—they become limited to those who understand their language, but magic (being mainly visual) appeals to all nations equally... Thanks to the universality of the Art of Magic, through which the East and the West have met in one common goal of brotherhood, friendship and mutual understanding", says the maestro.

Sorcar was once asked by a journalist what made him take up magic as a profession. Pat came the reply: "What a question? I was born in a family of seven generations of magicians. It is in my blood, old boy". "Magic is my passion, I breathe magic—I dream magic—I work magic," he added on another occasion.

Born on February 23, 1913 at Tangail in Mymensingh district, now in East Pakistan, Protul took to magic as a duck to water. His father Bhagavan Chandra Sorcar did not wish his son to become a *jaduwallah*. Caught in the act of practising a trick, Protul was profusely caned by Bhagavan Chandra. His filial affection knew no bounds and later on he applied an ointment to heal the wounds

of caning. Young Protul had often wondered whether he would ever be able to fly in a plane during those days of penury. "Strange it seems now, the plane is almost a second home to me, having to keep a busy schedule throughout the world", he once told a journalist. His father wanted Protul to become an engineer. Unfortunately, Protul could not oblige the old man, but his eldest son was made an engineer in fulfilment of the wish of Bhagavan Chandra. "I could not have become an engineer. I was born into an atmosphere of magic. I breathed magic from the day I was born. How could I have become anything but a magician?" he asks.

-After passing the Matriculation Examination in the First Division, Protul graduated in 1933 with honours in Mathematics from the Ananda Mohan College at Mymensingh. He took to painting as a hobby which stood him in good stead in designing his own sets. The road from Mymensingh to Calcutta was not so easy as people have imagined. What young Protul did at first was restoration of the glory of ancient Indrajal and thus popularisation of magic and creation of an atmosphere for it at home and abroad.

What is Indrajal? The answer is given by the magician himself. "Indrajal is an art—an art that entertains the eye and the mind through suspense. It flourished in the royal courts of India. King Vikramaditya, Raja Bhoja, Queen Bhanumati, for instance, practised it. Further back, we find it mentioned in the epics, in the Tantra Shastras, in the Atharva Veda. Its masters kept it a secret. It was handed over from preceptor to pupil, father to son in greatest secrecy. This too much secrecy killed magic in India. I want to lift it back to the status of an art it enjoyed for centuries in ancient India."

Sorcar interpreted the basic principles of magic through a series of articles and

books in English, Bengali and Hindi. He had written about 20 books in English and Bengali. "Sorcar on Magic", "Magic for you", "Hindoo Magic", "More magic for you", "100 magics you can do" etc. are in English and "Indrajal: Magic", "Hypnotism", "Mesmerism", "Chheleder Magic", "Sahaj Magic", "Magic Siksha" "Deshey Deshey", etc. in Bengali.

Sorcar's writings are unique in the annals of magic literature. "That it will perpetuate the name of the foremost Indian illusionist of history is less important than the fact that it advances a great art and the cause of Indian culture", commented an American magic historian. He had made tall claims for Indian magic in his writings and the Western world was sceptical about it. He demonstrated the wealth of Indian magic in 1934 in Burma, Siam, Singapore and China.

Sorcar was introduced to the Japanese audience in 1937 by the father of Indian Freedom Movement in the East—Rash Behari Bose. The land of the Rising Sun which gave him the first break also was where the legendary magician breathed his last on January 6, 1971. Sorcar did accomplish what was considered impossible before he passed away. In fact he wanted to retire from giving performances at the age of 60 and concentrate on research on magic for which the Government of Orissa had gifted him a plot of land at Bhubaneswar. Protul Chandra Sorcar has already trained his son Prodip (P. C. Sorcar, Jw.) to follow him in the profession, though he is yet to show the world his showmanship. No doubt, Prodip is a chip of the old block and has in fact shown his mettle by coming out of a sealed box which was sunk in the Hooghly. There is no doubt that Prodip will take over the magic wand from his father. Protul was able to put India

on the world map of magic and take the magic of the East in all its mystery to the West. What was the cause of Sorcar's popularity?

Not only was Sorcar a master magician, but he was also an incomparable illusionist and shrewd showman. He was a psychologist and knew exactly what the public, whether in the East or the West, wanted. "Sorcar was able to demonstrate the advances made in Psychology as well as advances in magic as an entertainment", confirms an authority. He was not a mean advertiser, a powerful publicist and an astute businessman in this respect. He was a dynamic showman and a master in public relations. He was thoroughly versed in the strategies of publicity and stagecraft.

Sorcar was fully conscious of the fact that magic was after all a visual art and grandeur was what was needed. He created opulent sets, beautiful costumes, big time lighting effects, and best of all, wonders, mysteries, illusions, and deceptions from every country, every age, every period. He had a huge library of magical books at his "Indrajal" (Calcutta residence) where he spent hours in research work. He had his complete production centre at his residence where he built the most intricate illusions and painted the most magnificent sceneries. Truckloads of materials accompanied him anywhere he went and he brought back cartloads of trophies. Years of hard work, minute attention to detail, constant striving after improvement and devotion to the craft went in for the creation of INDRAJAL. Though most of us are familiar with his repertoire of magic, it is necessary to say a few words about sawing through the lady.

Sawing through the lady is the most intriguing item that has caught the fascination of the West. An electric saw is fitted

to an operating table. A beautiful girl is brought for sawing. To drive home the fact that the saw is really sharp, Sorcar presses a switch and places a block of wood near its sharp blade which sends clouds of shavings over the heads of the audience. The girl is then hypnotised and laid on the table. The girl is then cut into two pieces by the whizzing saw and the trunk and torso are exhibited separately to the audience who tensely hold their breath. Dressed in the same beautiful dress the girl emerges from no where onto the stage holding a bouquet of flowers in her hands to the astonishment and deafening applause of the spectators. Sorcar's sawing through the lady has been several times televised and millions have enjoyed it. Of course some of the ladies have fainted in the hall and not infrequently enquiries poured in to find out the fate of the lady sawed through.

Blindfolded reading of any language or sign was Sorcar's another favourite item. The members of the audience are invited to write anything on a blackboard. He is heavily blindfolded by a thick black handkerchief over which another thick coating of flour-dough is applied. The magician reads the signs, symblos and words with his X-Ray eyes. He pointed out if anyone committed a mistake in writing the sign or symbol. He was a linguist; knew more than thirty languages.

Sorcar rode on cycles through the most overcrowded cities of the world. Place de l' 'Opera' Paris; Esplanade ; Chowringhee, Calcutta; Times Square; New York; London and other cities when the traffic was at its peak. He made the skeletons dance to his tune, performed the Indian Rope trick, produced pigeons and what not from nowhere, also ravishing beauties mysteriously during the show. He made motor cars full of passen-

gers vanish and then drove them onto the stage. Girls floated in the air and disappeared mysteriously. He poured the water of India on and on. He supplied milk through conical newspaper containers to his audience of which they seldom could drink a drop. He added to his stock-in-trade a number of new items every now and then. His Sputnik Rocket illusion, Festival in Calcutta, and his U. N. number are in point. Another number which he used to perform, but lately discontinued, was the cutting off the tongue of one of his assistants who was much too talkative. He invited the members of the medical profession to witness this hypnotic feat. The heart and pulse of the subject stopped completely when the tongue was cut out. His broomstick number was captivating. A newspaper boy on crutches was produced on the stage and Sorcar took off his supports by substituting a broomstick. He made the boy dance to the rhythm of hula hoop to the fun of the audience. Finally the boy left the stage with his real crutches.

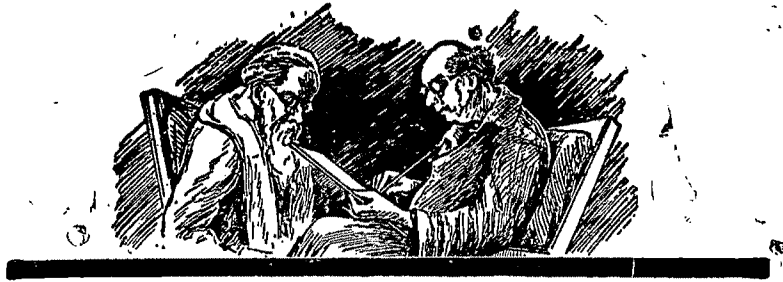
Magic, according to Sorcar, should not only delight but also provide food for thought. He was doing his best towards this end. "Much more than what I have done for Indrajal needs to be done. This art as it was performed in ancient India is yet to be fully discovered. We have only surmises and conjectures now. We must have something more definite. That means research, intensive research", the magician confesses.

Left to himself, Protul Chandra Sorcar was the most genial and charming personality in real life. He was easy to get on with and had a lively sense of humour. He was able to get laughs out of the most difficult situations during his shows as in real life. Near Ballygunge Station in Calcutta by the side of his "Indrajal", there is a small teashop run

by one Rashbehari Babu. On one occasion I was sipping a cup of tea. The magician came there and asked Rashbehari Babu for a fish cutlet. He ate it. He asked for two more, to be packed and took out a ten-rupee note from the pocket of his vest. He handed over the note to Rashbehari Babu and walked away to the door, and asked. "Rashbeharida, haven't I paid you a ten-rupee note?" Rashbehari Babu answered: "Yes, you did give me". The magician asked the teashop-wallah to check it again. He opened his drawer, and lo, the ten-rupee note was not there. Rashbehari Babu told the magician. "Protulda, you did not give me the note". The magician told Rashbehari Babu: "You told me just now I paid you the ten-rupee note. What nonsense: You say now that I have not paid you". With a broad smile on his chin, he handed over the note to the poor teashop owner. There are hundred and one such instances I know personally, or narrated to me by people who knew him from his Tangail days. He taught a clerk of the Regional Transport Authority a good lesson. The clerk had an itching palm and was hesitating to register Sorcar's new car without his usual 'fee'. This annoyed the mystifier. Within the twinkling of an eye, the day's collection; which amounted to thousands of rupees; vanished from the clerk's drawers and while the man's sweat flowed like a river, the cash reappeared. In fact the chap did not know it was Sorcar who had come personally for the registration of the car. Just after Sorcar's marriage with Basanti, his mother-in-law brought a choice dish of delicacies for her son-in-law. "There is nothing there", he told her point blank and lo, when the cover was removed; there was nothing. Yes, he showed a trick to his mother-in-law. "There are tricks of all trades, but my trade is full of tricks", he told her.

Sorcar's greatest service to India was that he upheld Indian culture everywhere he went. He did not imitate the Westerners. The western magic, according to him, is mechanical and manipulative whereas Indian magic is primarily psychological. He was an Indian first and last and was proud of his heritage. He donned the dress of the Maharajah in order to proclaim this to the world. In his gold tissue coat, jewelled turban, and Vidyasagar shoes (i.e. turned up toes) Sorcar was really a prince. Once a journalist had the impertinence to ask him. "Mr. Sorcar, you are not of royal blood. Why do you wear the princely clothes?" Sharp came the reply: "Am I not the prince of magic?" Sorcar was not jealous of others. He did not mind others imitating him. His advice to them was to imitate and improve, if possible.

A prophet is without honours. Sorcar was showered with top honours in Magic. The Americans hailed him as the World's Greatest Magician, though he did not make that claim on account of his modesty. The Germans awarded him the Royal Medallion and the Golden Laurel. He was an honorary member of the leading Magic Clubs of the world. He bagged the "Sphinx" Gold award (equivalent to Nobel Prize in magic) twice from New York. At home, he was awarded Padma Shri in 1964. He had a red-carpet welcome anywhere in the world. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was the President of the All India Magic Circle, Calcutta and member of the Rotary Club. Sorcar was perhaps the only magician who fooled the generations anywhere and everywhere and any time and all the time.



POETRY OF THE AGE OF CONFUSION : DINKAR'S HARE KO HARINAM

SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKER

Ramdhari Sinha Dinkar is among the most well-known poets in Hindi. Indeed a measure of his popularity is given by the fact that he has already become a household name. In Bihar, with the exception of Kedarnath Mishra Prabhat, no other poet is held in such a high esteem as Dinkar. The publication of any new book of verse by Dinkar is naturally an event of considerable literary importance.

After long six years Dinkar has broken his poetical silence by coming out with one hundred and two poems in the volume *Hare Ko Harinam* (Published by Udayachal, Rajendranagar, Patna—16). It is difficult to classify the book since it contains poems on different themes and contradictory views on the same theme. Perhaps it is more appropriate to call this volume a new question of Dinkar—a question which he addresses to himself as much as he addresses to others. Like every question, Dinkar's question also arises out of his grave dissatisfaction with what is, and his craving for having something better. If Dinkar has not succeeded in showing a way out of the very great complexity of the present situation it is not very remarkable. What indeed is remarkable is the acute dissatisfaction of a person like Dinkar who has an important position in the existing scheme of things. It is in the dissatisfaction of a person like Dinkar that a true measure of the failure of the current system is to be seen : It has not only failed to provide jobs to the unemployed educated but has not also succeeded in satisfying the queries of the older generation which had identified itself with the system.

There is an irony underlying the title of

the volume which suggests that only a defeated person takes the name of Hari (God). Dinkar can by no stretch of imagination be considered to be a defeated man. Unlike many poets of distinction who may have attained literary eminence but failed to gain material self-sufficiency, Dinkar, besides being a very popular and famous poet, has occupied high positions in public life and in government. Even now he is occupying a high government position. His frustration can not be the frustration of the unsuccessful. The personal element in Dinkar's frustration cannot be very great. His frustration is more largely a projection of the frustration of the nation. It is in this identification with the nation that Dinkar's significance lies.

Dinkar's dilemma is best expressed in the poem "Padma". When he shuts himself in to write poems his granddaughter knocks at his door. Dinkar asks what is more important: Is it what he is seeking in imagination or is it the baby who from outside is lovingly calling him? This dilemma has confronted many writers and scientists in this century who have often resolved it by concluding that it was their duty to leave aside their poetry, science and other cultural pursuits in order to be able to respond more directly to the call of humanity. It is this impossibility to shut out the cries of the agonized humanity that has turned many writers and scientists into political agitators.

It is this awareness of the world outside the haven of the poet that leads Dinkar again and again to talk of the fire inside human beings finding expression. A highly conscious poet like Dinkar cannot indulge in the delusion that characterizes the work of many

smaller poets. Dinkar is very conscious of his creeping old age which he wants to fight to the end "with my back on the last wall of youth." ("Budhapa" *Ageing*). Dinkar's consciousness of his capacity and his full determination to use it are best reflected in the poem "Pavak" (Fire) where he conveys his resolve to defy the will of the oppressor to kill him in such a manner that the poet's fire does not come out. Dinkar says that the darkness of death he would light up with the light of his own fire. In many more poems Dinkar exudes this self-confidence arising out of the knowledge that there are men "who can walk on the earth without touching the ground and who can stand in fire and yet not be burned." ("Impossible").

But it is not long before he relapses into a mood of defeat. "Defeat is the fate of man, victory is but an accident," he says in the poem "Defeat". In another poem he says "Vanquished on all fronts I sing the song of defeat" ("Road to knowledge"). In this mood he becomes despondent of the value of knowledge and seeks to indulge in inaction. "To forget all knowledge and become an unthinking child is man's true pursuit." ("Puru-shartha"—Manly pursuits). He even goes to the extent of swearing to say "You would not die if you stop thinking." (Ibid) It is this type of thinking that can give rise to dictatorship and military rule. It is the expression of an utterly confused state of mind—the same state of mind which seeks social revolution by arming the vested interests with greater authority. If democracy has not been strengthened because of the failure of those in power, the confused critics say, democracy should be killed and power be centralized further through the abrogation of the constitution and the imposition of the Presidential system of Government. The need to-day is not to stop thinking but to think harder by raising questions not asked so far.

But this pessimism is not true. Dinkar who also says, "Doubts are window which allow intellect to travel beyond limits." He asks people to learn doubting which, if once considered a sin, "we love now." So long as one is permitted to doubt, to discover anew the virtue enveloped by darkness, even pessimism cannot be allowed to hold an absolute sway. Therefore, inaction is not what the poet recommends. To the contrary. He writes that everybody must endeavour to produce results by way of self-expression. As a fruit is the self-expression of a mango tree, so is poetry of the poet. And, by implication the action of every man. Poetry is the significance of the poet, the condition of his existence. If it ceases, the poet becomes a burden on the earth. ("A Mango Tree"). He reminds us that man's prowess is seen when he walks on thorns. "He emits light only when he himself burns in fire." ("Radium")

Nevertheless the element of self-contradiction is evident even from the most inadequate and incomplete discussion. It is seen in his ambivalent attitude to woman. In one poem he seems to say that woman is more obnoxious than poverty. Poverty and woman have their imprint on all the poets. But poverty may not yet be so painful. "But a woman? Whether it is Tulsī or Tolstoy—he fares the same before a woman." ("Poverty and Woman"). Fortunately this is not his only, or even his true, view of woman. For in another poem he goes straight to an opposite view to say, sensibly enough, that if one woman has behaved like a snake it does not warrant denouncing all other women. Woman, far from being a curse, "is the glow of the lamp of creation," "the expression of the vitality of the nation." To the poet, "To think of the form of woman is to fill up the mind with fragrance. To get a glimpse of a woman's mind is to gain a view of heaven." ("Woman").

Sometimes the poet chooses to be didactic as is to be found in the poems "Sabhyata" (Civilization) and "Purushartha" (Manly Pursuits) which are less than being poetry. Even as philosophy "Purushartha" is questionable, historically untrue. It is a travesty of history to suggest that "Man was soft so long as environment was hard. Man's self was less aggressive when man's knowledge was smaller." ("Purushartha"). Obviously the poet is confusing the destructive capacity given by science to man with man's innate aggressiveness. When man becomes aggressive now-a-days he can bring about much greater destruction than he could before. But is man more aggressive now? Dinkar evidently suffers from the same unhistorical view which crippled Gandhian thought—of considering the past better than the present. This is a very wrong view and needs to be refuted by all means. Undoubtedly glorification of the past like a utopia, connotes a criticism of the *status quo*. But whereas a utopia prompts persons to action, a blind adulation of the past tends to push persons to inaction.

But Dinkar is essentially a dynamic, forward-looking poet. The function of poetry, as he sees it, is to fill up the void outside by bringing out the images roaming in the mind—to create something by churning the mental faculties. ("Poetry and Self-realization"). Dinkar is a daring poet who can challenge the sun and say "The strength I derive now comes not from you, but from the darkness, from the lamentations in the pit where your rays cannot reach." ("The Sun")

It is no longer the national or the political leader who gives him strength but the common masses whom the national leader could never reach. He despises those who "to fly in the sky feel no urge" and do not "flinch from clinging to the earth." He has raised the pertinent question "While eating how many do get the real taste of the bread?"

What is the mantra he recommends for the defeated? Not surrender, to be sure. "Do not give up the song of fearlessness", he says. "The storm of the bad days is the clarion call of some one whose grace is reflected in the merry noises of the morn." Therefore, although "sleep is the happiness of the night" and "awakening, danger of the morn"; Dinkar urges us to see the beautiful nature riding on the rays of the morning sun. This dynamism is what makes his poems all so timely and worthwhile.

My knowledge of Hindi is extremely poor. My ability to translate poems into English is still poorer. Nevertheless if I have dared to offer a few poems of Dinkar in translation, it is entirely out of a desire to share my pleasure in going through this volume with our non-Hindi knowing readers. If it prompts an abler hand to undertake the work of translating Dinkar's poems in English my efforts would be amply rewarded. For translation into English is one means by which we can hope to fight the insidious propaganda that is being constantly carried on by the denigrators of this country (Which unfortunately include quite a few affluent Indians in key positions) running down its literature and culture.

IN SACRED MEMORY

(21)

SITA DEVI

The boys were really enjoying their meal—it was a pleasure, watching them. The poet informed everyone that the night-school authorities had carried away his entire stock of old newspapers. My father mentioned the letter from the Parsee youth and the poet remarked that he received innumerable such strange letters. “If I could gather them all in a book, it would be a remarkable book indeed. Of course, I would have had to ask their permission—but, most probably, the poor fellows wouldn’t have refused”, he said. He also told us about the numerous poems sent to him from Madras, for publication in the *Modern Review*. Rabindranath laughed aloud and said, “These, Sir, are so remarkable that they are bound to increase your number of subscribers.” A Menon from Travancore had wanted to know what happened finally, to Giribala, heroine of ‘Manbhanjan’. And he had also asked the poet whether he objected to his naming his new-born daughter Giribala. Turning to my father he said, “I was thinking of referring him to you, as I don’t know anything about copyrights on names.”

We heard about the little girls who were his friends. They all wrote to him and expected long letters from him but were furious if he did not follow their instructions. The poet hadn’t an easy time answering their letters.

Rachel, the tiny daughter of the painter Rothenstein, had written him a letter saying that, though her calf was only two months old, it was a most wonderful calf. It was

both big and beautiful. The other news she gave was that Betty did not catch caterpillars any more. Rabindranath said, “Now, tell me—how do I answer that letter? I would have had so much more to say if she had asked for my opinion, say, about Home Rule. But ‘Betty does not catch caterpillars any more’—what should my reply be to that? Santa, please think out a solution for me.”

Santa, of course, could not find out an answer. The best letter was from an American-Indian girl. She had read one of his essays and had cut out his photograph from some newspaper. The little girl would be very happy if Rabindranath visited her country. She was quite sure that East Indians and West Indians came from the same racial stock. She liked Indians very much and wished to marry a Hindu. Finally, she had given a detailed description of herself—probably, to make the matchmaker’s job a bit easier. She ended her letter thus—“but don’t think it is a love letter to you.” The letter caused a lot of amusement and Rabindranath said, “Her letter expressed no such sentiment—nor did I get any such idea—but she has cautioned me all the same. No harm, if she did write me a love letter, I should think.”

The night-school boys had finished their food and were now amusing themselves by having friendly fights with each other. Rabindranath left for home and the school teachers sat down to eat. My mother served their food. Finishing our meal in a hurry we

went for our evening walk. The boys were putting up a 'circus performance' that evening. They had the usual cloth fencing and were shouting out their programme with the beating of a tin drum. We had started out quite early but the show had already begun. There were two types of tickets—one was the ordinary and the other was for the 'box'. The 'box' had only two seats. Rabindranath sat on one of them and the empty one was for father, we were told. The boys were the only performers—there were no animals about. The two who got the most applause were Dwijen Mukhopadhyay and Runi, the tiny nephew of Santosh babu. Clowns are a 'must' in a circus. Jatin Kar and his companion were responsible for these acts. They named it 'Maja Ke Khel' and though the children enjoyed it tremendously, we were not as enthusiastic. There was a circus band and some firing of blank cartridges. The poet left before the show had ended and we saw him standing in his front verandah when we returned home. Hearing our voices in the dark, he said, "Well, Sita, how did you like 'Maja Ke Khel'?"

Our New Year's Day finally came to an end.

Early the next morning we received an invitation. Mrs. Sudhakanto Rai Chowdhury came to invite us to her son's Namakaran and Annaprasan ceremonies. As the others were still in bed, I had to receive her. Rabindranath was to officiate as the acharya there. I hurried the others up so that all of us were ready in time to reach Sudhakanto babu's house quite early. Everybody was busy and the cooking went on at a remarkable speed. The infant was bathed and dressed in clothes dyed in turmeric powder. He protested in the usual way and refused to wear anything. The front porch of the teachers' quarters was decorated with alpana, mango-

leaves and painted urns filled with water. Rabindranath and Kshitimohanbabu conducted the service. The poet also fed the child his first meal of rice and named him Saumyakanto.

The poet was leaving for Calcutta by the afternoon train. He left early so that he could pack his luggage. The summer heat in Santiniketan, particularly in the month of Baisakh, is terrible—only those who have experienced it would understand. The food was still not ready and I did not wish to return home in that hot sun. We walked towards the poet's house, wishing to bid him farewell, as it would not be convenient later. The staircase was firey hot but we climbed it and found Rabindranath packing his books. Seeing us, he smiled and said, "So, you have come to say good bye?"

He stood and gathered his books together, so we stood beside him and chatted. We were amused to hear him say that Mr. Andrews was always restless and could never stay in one place too long. Rabindranath himself was not known to stay in a place for too long either. He praised the education system for women in Australia and asked me, "Why don't you go there and specialise in some subject? Do you wish to be a lady-doctor?" I humbly expressed my unwillingness.

Suddenly he asked, "Well, is the heat bearable here?" I said, "We have survived the Allahabad summer—which is much worse. This isn't so bad." The poet said, "It is not just the heat. A kind of desolation grips this place in the summer. The fields stretch endlessly before you in shimmering haze—there is no one about and everything is so still and silent. Even the sky above seems febrile and abandoned—the mood is altogether desolate. I don't really mind it, you know. The heat has never bothered me, so I don't

suffer during the summer. It always seems to affect you more, if you talk about it." He began to discuss his foreign-tour and travels and remarked, "I am wondering what I can leave with you as a legacy. Why not take my wicker seats? You can sit on them and chatter away." Finally, however, he did not give those away. Looking around his sparsely-furnished room, he noticed a pair of gaily-decorated hanging shelves, made of wire and rope. "These are very feminine," he said, "I don't have any spices or other ingredients to store in them—you might find them useful." He took them down for us. They were beautifully made and we used them for so many years, until they broke into shreds. He teasingly remarked, "If my ship sinks after a submarine attack—do remember that I left you gifts, howsoever insignificant!" He always teased us this way. Those who were fortunate enough to come near him,

could never possibly forget him—did he not realise that?

We started to go now, knowing that there were many waiting downstairs, to bid him goodbye. Rabindranath said, "The more I get ready for the journey, the more I feel that I shall not be going this time. I feel like staying back, but again wish to set forth. There is a certain magic, a charm, about this quiet, these open fields that seems to pull me and say, "This is so much better." But I shall have to tear through this magic veil." His eyes seemed to look beyond time and space, on to a further distance. He forced himself back again to return to us and said, "If I don't go, I shall rent a house near the Ganga—say, near Chandernagore—and may be, write a few poems. If you come to see me, I shall read them to you." It was time for our leave-taking, we realised. We bowed down and touched his feet and went downstairs with heavy hearts.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)



SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

10

Mazar-I-Shareef.

We halted for two days at Mazar-I-Shareef to take rest and make final preparations for the journey to the Soviet land. Here many friends, associates and acquaintances of the Maulana came and met him. This put him in very good cheer. We had a good look round the town and the famous carpet and Karakul markets. This was in addition to the visit to the world-renowned Mazar which has given the name to the town. When we went there, we disturbed the hundreds of pigeons, which were living and breeding safely there. They got frightened by the sudden invasion of so many persons, which was unusual in out-season. They flew around for a while but finding that we did not attempt any mischief, settled back in their abodes. When some grains were scattered, they flew down, ate them and in happiness gave a demonstration of their song and dance with spread out plumes. I knew the Hindus do not kill pigeons which take shelter in temples and I was rather agreeably surprised that Muslims also follow the same practice as the Hindus to the pigeons taking shelter in religious places. Maulana and some others said their prayers there devoutly.

There was an office of the Trade Commissioner of Soviet Russia in the town and we went there on invitation for tea and met a few Russians both men and women, who were office staff and spoke Persian quite fluently. They were dressed in Russian village style, not in European style and they mixed freely with the local people.

We had a little economic problem. The Indian people who came to see the Maulana usually stayed on for the meals, whether we invited them or not. It increased the bill for food, ten or twelve such people joined us in every meal and almost out-numbered us. It was discussed amongst ourselves but there was no remedy. Fortunately it was for two days only. The worst part of it was that many of them were not politicals at all.

Marketing.....

In the market, we did quite a lot of marketing, specially Dr. Noor. Md, who had enough money of his own. Karakuli Caps were bought by almost every one. I also bought one Persian Carpet, my bed size, which cost about Rs. 50/- there, about half of the Indian price. I also bought one Postin (skin). It is a skin of a whole sheep, tanned with all fleece but turned inside out. These are very warm due to the wool inside but it smells a little. I bought it in spite of the objection of most of the young friends in the party. But it gave me great service and comfort when I had to sleep in the open on the banks of the Oxus. All these marketing was because of the fear of no marketing being possible in Soviet land. We were not quite aware of the New Economic Policy, briefly called NEP.

Anyhow, two days passed well and we started again towards the Soviet land. By this time the apprehension of being interned, not to speak of being liquidated was completely off from the mind of even the most apprehensive. On the otherhand most of us were happy for being shown a shorter way, which

took us three or four days less, but also enabled us to follow the course of the Kabul river up to the very source and see the magnificent sight of miles and miles of multicoloured marble stone hills in their pristine glory. It was hazardous no doubt, but I had gone out, not for safe existence, but was game for all kinds of adventures. I had the pleasure of climbing the snow-covered Taskarun peak of Hindukush, which was hardly as high as half of Mt. Gouri Shankar, supposed to be the abode of Sankar (Shiava) and his wife, Gouri which was called Mt. Everest by Europeans.

The border, where we were to cross the river Oxus was at Patakesar only two days journey for the caravans from Mazar-I-Shareef. I learn that a beautiful matted road has since been constructed from Patakesar to Kabul, with the financial and technical help of Soviet Russia. Now by Bus it may be two days journey from Kabul to Patakesar (or Termez) the inland post on the other side of Oxus in Soviet Russia. By car it may be only one day or less.

Balk or Bactria

Our next and last stop in Afghanistan was at a Caravan Sarai in a very desolate and desert like place. We were told that somewhere there was the famous city called Bactria, which was known as the Queen of all cities about 2000 B. C., built by the Aryans. Zarathustra or Zoroaster the great religious leader was born there and flourished and spread his religion far and wide more than a thousand years before Christ was born. Throughout the middle East, his teachings are even now considered with great interest by the people and there are a few millions, specially amongst the Parsees, who still follow the religion propounded by him. He was indeed the pioneer in these ancient days. Greco-Bactrian civilization continued for a thousand years. Then

Buddhism and lastly Islam, about 1400 years from today. Nothing remains of Balk or Bactria, the Queen of all cities in those days, except a very few ruins of old monument.....

We halted for the night in the old Caravan Sarai near the queen of Cities. It was like the one in which I had lived the first night in Afghanistan near Dacca. The next afternoon we reached Patakesar, a river port on the Oxus, opposite the famous Inland port of Termez of Soviet Russia in Bukhara.

We were all elated that we had at last almost reached Soviet Land, which we could see indistinctly across the broad Oxus. Only the river stood between us. Before the Aryans came across the Indus and the Ganges, the river Oxus played a very big role in the history and progress of the Aryans. They were primarily agriculturists and naturally loved to colonise on the bank of rivers. Before the Oxus it was the Volga. Waiting and plodding through the mountains and jungles of Afghanistan, with fear in our hearts, we were at last through our arduous journey.

Emotional Parting.

The parting was really pathetic and full of emotion. The mule owners were paid off, with Baksish, including the price of the Mule that was killed by a fall from the peak of the Hindukush.

They were with us for only about three weeks, but in this short space of time we earned their affection, for our treatment, specially the Maulana's treatment of them was very friendly indeed.

Then was the turn of the four personal attendants of the Maulana Dr. Noor MD. Ahmad Hossain and Jaffar Hossain. The four horses were presented, one to each of them for looking after the animals. They were elated with this gift. They looked at the gift horses not in the proverbial why but in great

delight. The information of this undreamt of reward was kept a well guarded secret up to the very last. In addition, they were presented with most of the utensils, we were using on the way. This was also a substantial gift. Each of the four got about Rs. 1000/- Kabuli or Rs. 600/-Indian in cash and more in kind. But they were all weeping when they put our luggage and bedding etc. on the open Ferry Boat. This was their last service to us. They feelingly embraced all of us including myself, though I had known them only casually before I started on the journey. All of them assured that whenever we returned, they would come to serve their old masters. This weeping farewell moved me also very deeply.

I remembered the day I had left India and entered Afghanistan. My feelings were somewhat similar as on that day. I was most jubilant. But on this day I had just a little hesitation about what I might find in Soviet Russia. It may be disillusionment as it was in Afghanistan later on. But the prospect of going to Pastures new, drove away the hesitation and I was as jubilant as the other companions. For the Maulana, it was a great hope and he almost felt like released from imprisonment.

On the boat we had another round of embracing and the final farewell. The boat left the Afghan shore and started on Oars to cross the Oxus, but our men stood on the bank, waving their hands, and handkerchiefs as long as they could see us and we were also waving back. The horses also seemed to understand what was happening. The masters patted them farewell before getting on the ferry boat. They neighed and seemed to express their feelings at this parting. The boat sped across in full view of the men and horses which gradually became dimmer; and the Maulana and some others were wiping

their tears. I am less emotional, but felt at heart the pathos, though I did not show much outward sign.

Adieu Afghanistan

When we crossed the middle of the Oxus we were out of Afghanistan and were in Soviet Union, according to International Rules and Customs. The river Oxus there was much broader than the Ganges in Calcutta. When we could not see the men and horses on the Afghan shore, our minds turned towards the occupants of the ferry. They were mostly traders from Bukhara and there were also two Russian women of middle age, employed at the Russian Trade Consulate in Mazar-I-Shareef. We had met them there two days back. They spoke Persian well and also a little English. We learnt that they were going home on 2/3 months leave after one whole year in Afghanistan. After crossing half of the river, we were technically in Soviet Russia but none felt like it till we reached the shore and the ferry was anchored and we touched mother earth in Soviet Land. The ferry anchored at a place, which was marshy land full of *hog/a* weeds, where the feet would sink in the clay 3/4 inches. The actual Port was about 3 hundred yards from the water's edge where the ferry anchored. The Port shifted from place to place as the river water receded or advanced, according to the season. In summer the river is in full spate and the ferry anchored in the Port, where there is a small colony and also brick built shops, offices etc., which were a rarity in Afghanistan. The other occupants left the ferry boat one by one and made their way with their light luggage themselves over the planks, placed on the marshy bank. The Maulana was so happy that he almost jumped out of the ferry, to touch the Soviet land with his feet. It was deliverance for him. I was only half or a quarter as enthusiastic as the Moulana. The

first great handicap on alighting was that there were no porters there and we had to take the luggage to the shore ourselves. All our bedding and luggages big and small boxes or Chamandans were quite a load. The Servants who were handling the luggage, even making our beds, etc. were all on the other side of the Oxus, with the old civilization. The younger comrades, had to do this hard job and I too lent my hand ungrudgingly. The first lessons we learnt in Soviet Land was self-help and Dignity of Labour. Our first impressions on reaching Soviet soil, was positively disappointing. The New Economic Policy was already in full operation.

Ahmad Hossain, was apologetic for the failure of our reception and Jaffar Hossain went with him to the shore, to find out what happened and to make arrangements for porters etc., and also for a house or hotel for our stay. The Maulana, went to the shore with one or two others, to enjoy walking on Soviet Soil. Dr. Noor Md. had a colic pain and had to be left behind and I stayed with him as his companion. All the rest left one by one, with apologies to Dr. Noor Md. and me, and assuring they would be back soon. While crossing the Oxus, the sun was setting and the glowing rays of the setting sun made the water of the Oxus literally red and we entered Red Russia across, the Red Oxus, but when we were at Termez, it was dark and Dr. Noor Md. and myself were left on the desolate shore with only one or two of the boat men as our companions. The worst of it was that Dr. Noor Md. felt worse with his colic pain and started groaning. He advised me to take medicine and hypodermic syringe from his suit case and give him an injection. I hesitated a little but did as advised. I was my first and up to date the last injection, I had given to anybody. Before injecting I asked him three times, whether the medicine

and the dose were correct. Being sure, I acted as the doctor advised. Fortunately, for Dr. Noor Md, he had relief very soon. It was a great relief to me also. After about an hour or so, which seemed an eternity, Jaffar Hossain, came with a few porters and they carried the luggage to a place, where 2 small rooms had been hired for our temporary stay. Maulana was already there. Dr. Noor Md. managed to walk limping and leaning on the shoulders of Jaffar Hossain and myself.

Adieu, Afghanistan

When the Ferry Boat, containing about 50 persons, crossed the imaginary mid-line and we were in the Soviet Land (rather Soviet Waters) my thoughts were back in Afghanistan. For Maulana Obeidulla and his own group, it was a very great disappointment. He had stayed in Kabul for nearly 8 years, planning big things for a grand assault on British Imperialism in India. The plan to bring German Arms from Germany and Turkish Arms had failed, and the prospect of further attempts on that line also collapsed due to the collapse of the Kaiser; but the victory of the Proletarian Revolution, in Russia, under the leadership of Lenin, raised new hopes in the agile brain of Moulana Obeidulla.

In the Victory of Amanullah in the fight for Independence in 1919, in which Maulana and his colleagues actively participated, fresh vistas of not only continuing but also of deepening and extending the anti-British struggle opened up. It brightened up very greatly when through the agency of Ahmad Hossain, connections were established with Lenin and the Soviet Union and also through M. N. Roy who was specially instructed to explore all possibilities in this direction. Already some money, though rather in small quantities started coming, but the possibilities of getting huge quantities of arms and money

opened up and the Maulana's fertile brain and indefatigable energies were directed for this end.

It was at this time that his whole grandiose scheme was torpedoed by Amanulla, under pressure of the British. The Maulana was naturally sorely disappointed. But irrepressible optimist as he was, he decided to go to Russia, to explore all the possibilities of fighting the British with Soviet help. His plan was to stay on the Soviet side of the Oxus in Bukhara or Termez and direct the operations against the British after making all arrangements with the Soviets, by high level talks in Moscow. His contacts with India through the fiery freedom fighter Wahabis on the Frontier, were deep and enduring and he planned to get their help ungrudgingly and even enthusiastically.

The Moulana was irrepressible. Though his operations would be much handicapped, if he did not stay in Afghanistan, yet he thought he could carry on from Soviet land, if enough resources and money were available. As far as men were concerned, he had enough in India and Afghanistan. He also thought perhaps, the Provisional Government of India could also function better from Tokyo or Bukhara, instead of from Kabul. Frustrations did not frustrate him. I could read his thoughts in the twilight with Oxus waters draped in the red rays of the setting Sun, when both Afghanistan and Soviets were becoming indistinct from the mid-stream.

For Ahmed Hossain, also it was great tactical defeat to be ousted from Afghanistan. His only hope was, if Moulana could come to a big deal in Moscow. Maulana was rather unwilling to leave his strategic position in Kabul, even for high level talks in Moscow, but now he was compelled to do so, as the alternative was to be interned in Kabul once more under Ameer Amanulla, as it was once

before under Ameer Habibulla, father of Ameer Amanulla. It might have been liquidation also as Moulana had apprehended not without reasons.

For the rest also it was a disappointment to leave Kabul though it was a new venture. It was worth attempting, though they had been quite happy and comfortable in Kabul, and would not go unnecessarily for an unsettled life.

For me, I was happy to leave for the Soviets. My plan to smuggle arms to India, on a big scale from Kabul had not succeeded and I did not also make much serious attempts as a much more grandiose scheme, to work as an important executive of the new explosive and ordinance factory in Kabul had been in sight. When this hope was gone, I was restive and glad to leave for a new venture. My only regret was that I could not have an extensive tour in Afghanistan, Bamian, Balkh, Herat, Kandahar and specially Gazni, with which India's fate had a rather sad and much regrettable connection. These were however very minor considerations. I was therefore perhaps the happiest of the group. Others had spent in Kabul long eight years through stress and strain. For me it was about 8 months only and I had the best of both the worlds in Kabul. But as it was not the purpose, for which I had gone to Kabul, I was naturally happy, when much better prospects of pursuing my prime object, namely smuggling arms to India came to me suddenly, without asking or trying for it. In this state of mind there was very little talk amongst ourselves, and we bade adieu to Afghanistan.

Ancient Land with Modern Ways.

Afghanistan is now being described by the Afghans as an ancient land with modern ways, in the pictorial history of Afghanistan published by the ministry of planning of the Royal government of Afghanistan. It is no exaggera-

tion. Remains of stone age civilization are found in Northern Afghanistan in Aug Kaprak, Ladil etc, experts, claim that these are of 50,000 years before Christ was born.

Aryans came and settled as early as 3000 B. C. in Northern Afghanistan in Bakhtar and the towns Mazar-I-Shareef, Quatagan, Badakshan, Maimna etc. These claim continued history from those prehistoric days. The Aryans continued to advance from Afghanistan to the West to Persia, to the South and East beyond Hindukush to India.

A powerful kingdom of Aryans was formed about 2000 B. C. in Bukdhi or Baktria (or Balkh of today).

Here flourished Zarathustra (or Zoroaster) about 1000 B. C. during the reign of Gusthuspa. Zoroaster was a religious reformer famous in those days at the dawn of ancient Aryan civilization. His teachings spread in Balkh and the whole of Afghanistan and beyond.

Alexander came about 700 years afterwards and after 4 years of bitter struggle, conquered and occupied a major part of Afghanistan which was called Aryana then.

For two hundred years the Hellenic rulers, starting with Deodotus ruled in Balkh, but the advancing Cythians forced the last Hellenic king, Helleacles, to shift to Kapisa (Kapichi) South of Hindukush near Kabul and he organised a new kingdom there.

After another two hundred years Kajula Kadphises laid the foundation of Kushan Dynasty in Northern Afghanistan. About 50 years after Christ was born. Kaniskha, the Great, the third Kushan King, extended his sway far beyond the Oxus and far beyond the Indus, deep into India. Art and literature flourished. Bakhtari language which form the basis of modern languages of Afghanistan was also much developed in those days. The down fall of Kushans came in 300 years follow-

ed by the rise of Kaidasis or Little Kushans, They were followed by Yaphalites in about 100 years.

Buddhism was in the effulgence of its glory and from Kapichi (Kapasi) Buddhism spread to China and beyond to Vancouver and even to Mexico.

Towards the end of the ninth century the Muslim kingdom of Aryana was formed and was named Khorasan. Towards the end of tenth and beginning of 11th century Sultan Mahmud of Gazni, annexed Persia, most of India (including present day West Pakistan) and part of trans-Oxonia also. Since then the invasion of Mogol hordes, Under Chenghis Khan, Tamur Lane, of Nadir and Baber etc., are parts of modern and medieval history.

Thus Afghanistan has been the cross-roads of many civilisations.

It was also the ancient trade route between Russia in the North and the Indian Peninsula in the South, China etc in the East and Iran, Middle East and Europe in the West. It was also the usual route through which culture from different countries flowed backwards and forwards. Marcopolo, Iban Batuta and Huent-tsang are notable examples of the carriers of civilisation from country to country.

Switzerland of Asia.

Afghanistan is land logged and has no access to the Seas and hence, after achieving independence from the British in 1919, it has been the policy of its rulers to develop Afghanistan as the Switzerland of Asia. That country also has no access to the sea and is surrounded by France, Germany and Italy. There are other similarities also. Both are small countries of 250,000 and 150,000 Sq. miles respectively most parts of which are mountainous. The population of both are about one crore and half a crore respectively.

In spite of all the wishes and efforts, Afghanistan has not been able to progress

much in the direction of becoming comparable to Switzerland which is one of the most advanced and developed countries of Europe.

Absence of railways, in North, South, East or West is the greatest handicap. There was an attempt to start building railways fifty years back, but it did not extend more than five miles from Kabul to Darul Aman, the projected New capital. With the conquest of Kabul by Bachha-e-Sakao in 1930, all dreams and plans were set at nought and neither the railways nor Darul Aman, progressed much.

Under the present Ameer Zahir Sha, and Prime Minister Dand a Five year Plan is in operation and all round progress is noticeable, which could not be dreamt even, in

1922, when we left Afghanistan. Russia and U. S. A. have helped to build a modern air port in Kabul and Kandahar respectively. Metalled bus and truck roads have been constructed by both these countries in different regions. Germany is helping to build a University and France, a literary centre and a museum.

So, instead of Afghanistan, developing from the Camel and Horse age to Railway Age, it is actually going one stage further to automobile age, if not to air age itself, through Aryana, the Afghan Airline, in which I have travelled and which is quite up-to-date even with expert and efficient Air Hostesses, who are comparable to their European counterparts.



Current Affairs

Pakistan's Mental Condition.

The hijacking of the Indian Airlines plane and its subsequent destruction by two proteges of the Pakistan Government, naturally bring up in the public mind the question of the psychological back ground of the dastardly outrage. All criminal conduct of a political type have their origin in the mental condition of the community which breeds the offenders. Pakistan began its political self-expression even before its birth in August 1947, through murders, riots and sporadic crimes. To this was added their customary practice of brazenly denying their complicity with all crimes which they committed. Thus when the Pakistan Army discarded its uniform, put on the clothes of tribal Pathans and tried to occupy Kashmir, the Pakistanis kept up their denial of having any hand in the attacks, the rapes, plunder and arson their army-men committed in Kashmir territory for long months. Eventually, however they were forced to admit what they had done. The 1965 war too was woven into lies of a great variety. The Pakistanis deny their own crimes as a matter of course and do not feel any shame when forced to admit what they have done. When the Polish Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs was killed by a Pakistani truck driver in the Karachi Air port the Pakistanis tried to explain away the murder as an accident. This of course did not wash. Now the destruction of the high-jacked Indian plane in Lahore Air Port has become a part of Kashmir's War of Independence though why that war was fought in Lahore with the assistance of the Pakistan government was not explained by this shameless lie.

Pakistan has all along supplied arms to Indian terrorists in Nagaland, Mizo country and elsewhere. A large fifth column has been maintained in India by Pakistan, whose work is to create inter-communal tension and to instigate riots. We do not know how the Pakistan government hope to prove that their arms supplies to and their training centres for rebel Nagas are something utterly Islamic. The people are not even Muslims. Lack of Principles makes criminality easy. But, sooner or later, retribution comes. What has now happened in East Pakistan in the elections will have its repercussions on the great political bluff that Pakistan represented in the society of states.

The hi-jacking of the Indian plane was arranged by the Pakistanis. When the plane landed in Lahore the hi-jackers were feted and made much of by the Pakistan government men quite openly. The hi-jackers did not carry quantities of high explosives with them ; but these were supplied to them at Lahore to enable them to destroy the plane. If the hi-jackers were freedom fighters seeking political asylum in Pakistan, why were they allowed to stay in the plane after they arrived in Pakistan ? Why were they permitted to dictate to Pakistan government men as to their continued occupation of the plane ? Political refugees can not and do not order about government servants of the asylum granting country in regard to any matters connected with their stay in the host country. These two hi-jackers continued to occupy the plane and did not hand it over to the Pakistan authorities as they should have necessarily done had they been genuine seekers after

political asylum. Pakistan government, therefore, connived at all that these criminals did after they arrived in Lahore Air Port. Pakistan, therefore, was responsible for the destruction of the plane, by aiding and abetting the hi-jackers in their crime.

What goes on in USSR

There are many national, racial and culturally distinct communities in the USSR. Some of these communities have not yet been integrated into the greater political body known as the USSR, inspite of all efforts and arrangements for indoctrination, brain washing, punitive measures and all the rest of the political pressurisation that Moscow carries out to slowly wipe out the distinctive characteristics of the peoples, who at one time were subjects of Czarist imperialism, and are now kept within the USSR, not exclusively through love, friendship and common adherence to political ideals which the communist party leaders provide for all who belong to this super state. There are many disbelievers among the non-Russian communities. Ukraine, for instance set up a terrific resistance. Thousands were killed, deported and imprisoned in order to enforce the will of the single-party of the Moscow communists on the rest of the communities of the USSR. Apart from Ukraine, there are Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Georgia and several so-called autonomous Soviet socialist republics. The Russians of course outnumber all other nationalities and impose their domination over all others. In 1959 there were 114.1 m. Russians, 37.3 m. Ukrainians, 7 m. Belorussians, 6 m. Uzbeks, 5 m. Tartars, 3.6 m. Kazakhs. 2.9 Azarbaijanians, 2.8m Armenians, 2.7 m Georgians, 2.3 m Lithuanians, 2.3 m. Jews, 2.2 m. Moldavians, 1.6 m. Germans, 1.5 m.

Chuvashes, 1.4 m. Latvians, 1.4 m. Jadzhihs, 1.4 m. Poles, 1.3 m. Mordovians, 1 m. Turkmenians and some Bashkirs, Estonians and Kirgiz. The Russians have much more than an absolute majority and they know that the USSR are their empire. Those who defy the Communist Party leaders of the Kremlin are reported to spend their lives in concentration camps.

Apart from these subjugated nations of the communist empire there are other states which are not members of the USSR but have their own independent political organisations. But they cannot carry out any political or economic reforms of their own choice. Hungary tried to do so and was forced to toe the line by the Russians with a ferocity which was in no way softer than what the soldiers of the Czars could have displayed. Czechoslovakia was rapped on the knuckles in a merciless fashion when she tried to introduce a little individuality in her social-economic organisation. East Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria and others wait and watch the growth and development of Russian might. The hard core Russian attitude is similar to the Chinese variety of party tyranny. While the Russians remain true to their bigotry they will be friends of the Chinese, at least in spirit.

Railway Trains Run As They Can

Railway trains in India are seldom on time and those who travel by the railways can not make any finely cut time schedules. This certainly causes great losses to the public and should be remedied, if that is at all possible. A very potent cause of delays is alarm-chain pulling by passengers. Chains are pulled and trains stopped by irresponsible passengers to get off the trains at chosen places. They also pull chains outside the stations to avoid production of tickets which many passengers habitually donot procure. The railways therefore are considering the disconnecting of alarm

chains. This will have dangerous consequences, as passengers, at times require to stop the trains for reasons which are genuinely alarming. Fires occur at times, robbers enter compartments, molestations of women take place, children fall out, passengers fail to get in and out of carriages in time and stay hanging on to doors or windows precariously and other emergencies develop which demand immediate stopping of the trains. So that abolition of the alarm signal mechanism is not a very happy solution of the problem of misuse of the system. Some other preventive mechanism should be introduced by which miscreants may be prevented from gaining any advantage by stopping the trains. An electrical device to lock all doors when the chain is pulled may prevent the chain pullers from getting out of the coaches after the train stops. A red light may be automatically switched on outside the doors of the coach from which the signal has been sent by pulling the chain. This will assist the guard to locate the chain pullers quickly. Telephones may be introduced too for finding out why the chain has been pulled, before stopping the train.

Other reasons for the late running of trains can be found in the easy going out-look of the railway employees who operate signals, handle line-clear passes, render station service to the trains coming and going. A punctual running bonus may be introduced to reward the timely running of trains. Imprisonment for the offence of chain pulling without a just reason, may be introduced too. As things are now the total loss of train time per day all over India must run into thousands of train hours. And no one is doing much about it either.

Socialism of the Wrong Sort

Socialism which aims at the most gainful use of social resources, namely labour power, natural resources, capital instruments and aids; and distributes the national product in a

manner which assures the greatest good of the greatest number ; is the right sort of socialism. Dr. Niranjan Dhar, writing in *Swarajya*, says "The so-called socialism of our Prime Minister is essentially negative in character. It aims not so much at improving the lot of the common people as indulging in the politics of piracy. She thus does not strive for increasing the production of the country but strikes at the big industrial houses. She has faith more in a higher taxation rate than in higher production rate. The result is a crippled economy which in its turn means less revenue and more unemployment". The idea behind this is a short cut in economic reasoning. If any one is growing more affluent he must be exploiting those who are not growing rich. One does not stop to think when following this easy way to economic conclusions, whether the richer persons are more productive and the poorer relatively idle and unproductive. A mere examination economic life of the millions who produce nothing in India should convince the Prime Minister that these millions should be given work of a productive nature which cannot be arranged just by taxing those who are doing productive work, at a prohibitively high rate. There are many things that must be done for the fuller economic development of the country. These are road building for linking up the hundreds of thousands of villages which are now without road connection with other villages, towns and rail heads. Then there are railways that must be built, electrification that must be done, dwelling houses which should be constructed, labour intensive industries to be set up in the rural areas, intensive cultivation work, development of fisheries, poultry farms, dairies, piggeries etc. etc. As more men and women find gainful employment the demand for consumer goods will increase ; and that will inevitably lead to economic progress. Whether

that will be socialism or just a fair and just social organisation, should not give a headache to clear thinking persons. Political heads ache when propaganda fails. The Prime Minister pins her faith on the word "socialism" which appears to be a vague and general description of no clearly stated economic system but only of a line of propaganda aiming at economic justice achieved haphazardly without any definite plans or principles.

Britain sells Arms to South Africa

The Prime Minister of Great Britain has decided to sell arms to South Africa. This will add considerably to the military potential of South Africa in so far as Britain has highly developed industrial resources which will help the production of military equipment for South Africa. If Britain does not supply

certain arms to South Africa these will never be available to that country as South Africa would hardly be able to produce those arms by their own effort. So Britain is helping to strengthen the military might of the land of racialism and apartheid. Naturally this is not liked at all by the African nations. They feel that without this military aid from Britain South Africa would never be able to stand up against the combined strength of the African countries. This Arms sale therefore might break-up the commonwealth. What is significant is that Britain may lose more in trade by antagonising the African States than gain by her sale of Arms to South Africa. But Mr. Heath suffers from a special variety of cussedness which he likes to call "minding his own business" or sticking to his principles. The world calls it crude cussedness nevertheless.

We have received a letter from the Vidyasagar Bhavan Samrakshan Samiti which is being reproduced below. Needless to say we consider the aims and objects of the proposed organisation nationally important and necessary. We would appeal to the general public to render all assistance to the Vidyasagar House Preservation Society.

—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW

The Editor, Modern Review

Calcutta

Dear Sir,

It is presumed that you have read through the reports which appeared in different newspapers that Vidyasagar Bhavan Samrakshan Samiti in a memorandum to the Governor of W.B. Shri S. S. Dhavan, made an appeal to him to perpetuate the memory of Vidyasagar by preserving the house in Calcutta, where he lived for the last fifteen years of his life.

Vidyasagar built this house at Badurbagan (36 Vidyasagar St. Cal-6) in the year 1876, and here he set up a library which became famous for its rare collection of books.

In its memorandum the Samiti has appealed that this house should be acquired and converted into 'Vidyasagar Bhavan' where his library may be preserved and a research institute may be set up.

On behalf of the 'Samiti' I would request you to give us your full co-operation and voice our demand through the pages of your esteemed journal.

Yours faithfully

Santosh Kumar Adhikari

Secretary

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Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Conditions in the Coal-Fields

The Coal Fields are a hot bed of lawlessness and general insecurity, as will be seen from the following news item reproduced from the *Coal Field Tribune* :

Asansol, December, 15. The mysterious murder of Shri P. K. Roy has created a great consternation amongst the Mining Engineers.

Shri Roy who was the Superintendent of the collieries of Ms. Equitable Coal Co. was stabbed to death on December 9 on his way from his office to his nearby Bungalow at Methani Colliery in the evening by some unknown assailants. He was rushed to Sanctoria hospital where he was declared dead.

Indian Mine Managers' Association was rudely shocked at this murder. Shri B. M. Prasad, its President and Shri J. C. Ojha, its Hony. General Secretary condemned this brutal murder. They said that Mining Industry would be paralysed if no effective measures were taken to ensure safety of managerial staff.

Many Mining Engineers attended the funeral of Mr. Roy at the Dishergarh Ghat on December 10.

Coal Board Neglected by Government

The Coal Board of the West Bengal Coal fields appear to be totally neglected by the Government. Mining being a Central Government reserve and West Bengal being the favourite State of the Delhi Government ; one does not have to look for a cause of this penurious management of a highly profitable department of Central administration :

Coal Board, as it stands today, required, complete re-orientation and re-organization to keep pace with the increasing complex problems in the present day coal mining industry. Compared to the increase in coal production and multiplicity of mining problems, the Coal Board appears to be ill-staffed. The total number of cases are said to have been handled by Coal Board increased to 4664 during the year 1968-69 as against 678 during 1954-55. The assistance is said to have been paid in 1968-69 rose to about Rs. 80 million from about Rs. 4.88 million in 1954-55. These are some of the glaring instances of work—load shouldered by a handful of technical staff. Only 13 Inspecting Officers man the 13 Circles in the field with their Offices at Asansol, Dhanbad and Nagpur. Curiously enough, only one Deputy Chief Mining Engineer is in overall charge of the vast coalfield. These technical officers in the field are mostly engrossed in processing claims and find little time for more important technical exercises and inspections leading to scientific mining which they are meant for.

Recently, Coal Board came up to public criticism. But in view of its present set up, is Coal Board responsible for such criticism ? If criticism is to be levelled, Government's unrealistic policy is to be criticised. Manning, commensurate with work-load is the criterion for the efficient performance of an Organisation and for that matter Coal Board is the worst-staffed Organisation compared to any other in respect of the Mining Industry. Government's ill conceived policy is responsible for that.

Wages in Electricity Undertakings

We reproduce the following wage scales recommended by the Central Wage Board for Electricity undertakings from the Labour Gazette of the Government of Maharashtra.

The Board recommends the following 21 scales of pay for the different categories of workers and employees (both technical and administrative) in which all of them would be placed in the manner suggested hereafter :—

Technical

Sr. No.	Scale	Span
1. Unskilled	... 55—2(10)—75—3(5)—90	15 years.
2. Semi-skilled B	... 70—2(3)—76—3(6)—94—4(6)—118	15 years.
3. Semi-skilled A	... 80—4(10)—120—5(5)—145	15 years.
4. Skilled C	... 110—5(5)—135—6(10)—195	15 years.
5. Skilled B	... 130—7(10)—200—8(5)—240	15 years.
6. Skilled A	... 150—9(5)—195—10(9)—285	14 years.
7. Highly skilled B	... 190—10(6)—250—12(5)—310—15(3)—355.	14 years.
8. Highly skilled A	... 250—16(5)—330—18(5)—420—20(4)—500— (F. B.—after 10th stage).	14 years.
9. Supervisory C	... 250—16(5)—330—18(5)—420—20(4)—500— (E. B.—after 10th stage).	14 years.
10. Supervisory	... 300—20(4)—380—25(5)—505—30(5)—655— (E. B.—after 10th stage).	14 years.
11. Supervisory A	... 400—25(5)—525—30(4)—645—35(3)—750— (E. B.—after 10th stage).	12 years.

Administrative

1. Unskilled	... 55—2(10)—75—3(5)—90	15 years.
2. Semi-skilled B	... 70—2(3)—76—3(6)—94—4(6)—118	15 years.
3. Semi-skilled A	... 80—4(10)—120—5(5)—145	15 years.
4. Skilled B	... 110—8(5)—150—10(10)—250	15 years.
5. Skilled A	... 150—12(10)—270—15(5)—345 (E. B.—after 10th stage).	15 years.
6. Highly skilled B	... 190—12(8)—286—15(6)—376 (E. B.—after 10th stage).	14 years.
7. Highly skilled A	... 250—16(5)—330—18(5)—420—20(4)—500. (E. B.—after 10th stage).	14 years.
8. Supervisory C	... 250—16(5)—330—18(5)—420—20(4)—500. (E. B.—after 10th stage).	14 years.
9. Supervisory B	... 300—20(4)—380—25(5)—505—30(5)—655. (E. B.—after 10th stage).	14 years.
10. Supervisory A	... 400—25(5)—525—30(4)—645—35(3)—750. (E. B.—after 10th stage).	12 years.

Problems of Book Selling in India

M. N. Chatterjee writes in *Indian Literature* :

The problems of book publishing in India are largely symbolic of the socio-economic limitations and inhibitions which are an in-built feature of the structural framework of almost all developing economies. Broadly, they fall into categories such as (i) limited literacy, (ii) inadequate purchasing power because of low per capita income, (iii) lack of book-mindedness and reading habit, and (iv) absence of comprehensive and reliable data which can facilitate a purposeful evaluation of the existing situation with a view to suggesting remedial measures wherever necessary.

Only one-third of India's population is literate, though this marks an increase of about 9 per cent since the last census in 1961. A good percentage of this literate population reads books of necessity only such as text books and reference books prescribed for various examinations. Of the small fraction of genuine book lovers who would like to read for the pleasure of reading there are (i) some who can buy books but do not and prefer borrowing to buying and borrowing from friends and relatives to borrowing from libraries and (ii) some others who want to buy books but cannot because their living standards are on subsistence level and purchase of books are simply not possible. The sources of demand are, therefore, ultimately limited—apart from institutions and libraries—to those few persons who are interested in buying and can buy books for the sake of reading and knowledge.

How small a number these actual buyers might constitute will be evident from the fact that the average per capita monthly income in India is somewhere near Rs. 40.00 only. The purchasing power as well as the reading habit has to be developed if any significant

results are to be achieved. The ailments have to be sorted out and measures taken accordingly. But there are no satisfactory data on a wide scale to throw light on the detailed inter-relationships between literacy, economic progress and book-consciousness of the population, state-wise or on national level. According to the 1961 census, the State of Delhi has the highest percentage of literacy in India. But does it then follow that Delhi has the highest percentage of book-buyers or readers? We have no reliable figures to provide a definite answer. The thickly populated Kerala stands second in literacy but sale of books in the neighbouring Madras appears to be higher judging by the number of bookshops doing brisk business. However, this remains a guess. A number of wholesale booksellers' and publishers' representatives engaged in all India tours have told me that it is in Delhi that they generally secure the maximum quantum of business; next comes Bombay, third Calcutta and fourth Madras. We may, therefore, risk the conclusion that the high literacy figure is responsible for the most thriving book-business in Delhi. Bombay comes next because of the commercial and economic prosperity of the city, if not of the whole of Maharashtra.

A limited market acts adversely on the size of the print order which has to be small in spite of all the economic disadvantages of a smaller edition. Price has to be fixed high enough to cover the cost of production, and a high price reduces the number of potential buyers thereby narrowing down the area of demand. A multi-lingual population offering limited readership in each language contributes to the shrinkage of the already slender market particularly in respect of books in regional languages. The larger part of the relatively lucrative business in publishing has, therefore, to depend heavily on publications in English which can be normally expected to


command a national and sometimes even an international market. This partly accounts for the comparative neglect of publishing in regional languages. It is the prescribed text books and reference books and selected works of reputed authors which enjoy advantages of an assured market. The general reading suffers.

The position regarding children's books presents another picture of the publishing prospects caught in the vortex of limited market—small print order, lower market demand, higher price. In a survey carried out by the National Book Trust during the National Fair in Delhi in 1967, it was observed that 95% of the people were of the opinion that the maximum price for a book or children be Rs. 3.00 only. It is well known that books for children should be attractively illustrated, preferably in colour and should be well bound, which means higher cost of production while the prospects of marketability continue to be discouraging. There are quite a number of parents to whom buying of children's books for extra-curricular reading

is simply unthinkable. The publisher, therefore, has to turn his attention to the libraries for a steady market. But libraries for children in India are few and far between.

Libraries for adult readers are in no better state either. Free library services are highly inadequate. A working group of the Planning Commission on libraries informs that in 1965 there were 28,317 village libraries against a total number of 5,66,878 villages in India. Only 205 of the 327 districts in the country had libraries. Needless to say, a sizable number of these libraries are not well-equipped. The dearth of good libraries is keenly felt at the primary and secondary school levels also. Many students thus miss the opportunity to cultivate interest in reading at an early age. Institutions of higher education and training and those conducting specialised course and research, however, offer far better library services. The Indian Institutes of Technology and the Research Laboratories under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research are the

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outstanding instances in this respect. The University Grants Commission is rendering valuable services in the cause of library development by sanctioning financial grants to various university libraries.

Book publishing has to be considered an industry and not merely a trade so that the facilities accruing to industrial units may be available for the publishing industry also. The manufacturing problems mainly centre around lack of good quality paper at reasonable prices, want of well equipped modern book-binders, limited finance and lack of expertise. There is also a subtle personal element involved. A manufacturer or dealer in oil or coal need not have a fascination for his product. But for a publisher or bookseller it is a case of personal involvement if success and satisfaction have to be achieved. There have been cases of goldsmiths in India switching over to dealership in books at the time of Gold Control Order and then repenting over a sorry spectacle with all the capital doomed in wrong investment. That money is not the only requisite for success is a firm pointer to the need of financial assistance to those undercapitalized but enterprising entrepreneurs for whom finance is the only problem.

Such handicaps can be overcome by co-operative efforts as has been amply demonstrated by Israel. The Israel Publishers Association buys paper from a central pool created by its members, thus reaping the advantages of securing reduction in cost, by placing larger orders. A committee of the Association arranges finance for its members in need of it. Each member contributes a share of his saving to a common fund. The Association has also established a literary Agency to facilitate exchange of books between Israel and overseas publishers.

Jews in Russia

Jews in Russia are not in a good position as can be judged by the news reproduced from *News From Israel*.

"STRASBOURG (Reuter).—A four-point programme designed to improve the situation of Soviet Jews won the unanimous backing of the Council of Europe's assembly here Saturday.

The 140 parliamentarians from 17 West European countries recommended that their governments, in the course of contacts with Moscow, urge the Soviet government to implement the programme. Adoption of the four measures by the Soviet government, the assembly declared, "should contribute further to the improvement in East-West relations and understanding between the peoples of Europe."

The four-point programme called on the Russians to :

- * Allow Jews to leave the Soviet Union, to rejoin members of their families living abroad, especially in Israel.

- * Guarantee that no action will be taken against Soviet Jews claiming this right under terms of the universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

- * Grant the Jewish community cultural and religious rights guaranteed to all national and ethnic groups on a basis of complete equality under Article 123 of the Soviet constitution.

- * Prohibit anti-Semitic propaganda in the form of books or other publications.

M. K. Ishar Harari, addressing the assembly as an observer, noted that since the Six Day War Israel has not passed a death sentence for the most outrageous terrorist attacks. The Soviets, at Leningrad, had sentenced two people to death for only planning to hijack an airliner."

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Bulgaria's Progress

News From Bulgaria publishes the following resume of the progress made by Bulgaria.

In 1971 there will be 52 TV sets and 35 refrigerators for every hundred families in Bulgaria, and the sale of motor cars from 19,500 in 1970 will rise to 39,500 in 1971. This was announced by Tano Tsolov, Deputy Prime Minister of Bulgaria in the course of his speech delivered on 15th December presenting the plan for 1971 at the National Assembly.

During his speech Tano Tsolov made a brief review of the progress of the national economy in 1970 and outlined in some details the basic approach to the plan and its fulfilment during 1971.

In the past year the national economy marked significant progress and plan targets

were fulfilled. New successes were scored in the field of investment policy, the policy of concentration of capital investment in structure-defining productive lines. The volume of industrial production, in comparison with 1969, marked a rise of 8.6 per cent in place of the envisaged target of 8.2 per cent.

Significant successes were achieved in the field of agriculture during 1970, inspite of unfavourable climatic conditions. While production of most crops were maintained at the level of fair weather years, in some crops there was a marked increase in comparison with 1969, such as, wheat 400,000 tons more, fodder grains 430,000 tons more and oriental tobacco 25,000 tons more. The heads of cattle and their productivity also increased in 1970. Poultry farming recorded a big leap.



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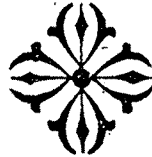
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NOTES

Indira Nationalises the Left

One of the most remarkable developments that have come about in Indian politics within recent times has been the nationalisation of left wing extremists by Sm. Indira Gandhi. The leftists have always sought inspiration from foreign radicals upto the time that Sreemati Gandhi started her campaign for socialism and tried to give material shape to her ideas by nationalising some banking institutions and by attempting to abolish the privy purse of the Princes of India. One reason why she wanted a mid term election was the judgement given by the Supreme Court of India against Sm. Gandhi's abolition of the privy purse payments. She wanted increased power so that she could amend the constitution of India in a suitable manner to give effect to her plans of economic reforms of a socialistic kind.

When Mrs. Gandhi wanted to prevent the concentration of capital in a few hands, to abolish spectacular standards of living as indulged in by persons with enormous incomes who possessed fleets of cars, large palatial residential houses and employed dozens of

domestic servants; people thought she was turning communist. But she insisted she was not becoming a communist; and was only introducing some socialistic reforms. Indulgence in a barbarous display of wealth could not be considered to be a part the human rights of civilised men. She only wanted that inequality in the sphere of incomes and expenditure should be toned down and made such in dimensions as would not be so conspicuously and obnoxiously noticeable. This might require control of incomes and also fixing ceilings for possessing house property, and certain other varieties of material wealth. In fact when Mrs. Gandhi wanted to lend money to rural borrowers who would use those borrowing in order to make individual profit, she certainly was not thinking like a communist. Growth of cottage industries owned by villagers cannot also be considered to be a communistic desideratum. The idea that differences of income and wealth should not be so glaringly iniquitous is also not communistic. But Mrs. Gandhi's support of the poor citizens' cause has a very strong appeal to the masses of India who have been

chasing communism in order to be less poor and to have larger individual possessions. The Congress, in the days of Mahatma Gandhi, wanted development of the rural economy; but Pandit Nehru broke away from Gandhian ideology and supported the capitalists who set up industries and commercial enterprises. This led to licence, permit, contract distribution by the political leaders of India and the Congress ceased to be the poorman's friend. In some states nepotism, influence, bribery and corruption reached such intensity as made things unbearable for the common citizen. The growth of political parties opposed to the Congress was a direct result of the anti-social activities of the Congress leaders. The growth of following of the communist parties also was clearly attributable to this same personal-profit hunting by the politicians.

So that when Mrs. Gandhi began to act in a manner which suggested that she was all for cleaning up the Congress stables and to make things easier for the common man, the public quickly responded to her call and she felt that the people of India wanted the removal of poverty and not a social revolution. Her assessment of the inner feelings of the people was correct and when she announced a mid term election, the majority of the people of India voted for her nominees in preference to those of the established left wing parties of India including the Russo-and-Sino-phil communist coteries.

Mahatma Gandhi's Congress was famous for its radicalism. The idea that the Congress was a conservative organisation was a later development. Now that phase of the public attitude towards the Congress is over and there has been a return to the Pre-Jawaharlal valuation of Congress ideals. The left has lost a lot of following due to this change in mass psychology and what is still there is not very likely to survive over a long period. The

international Communistic extremism will now have to yield place to a totally national type of radicalism in which economic justice and fair play will assume a new role under the guidance of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Left Politics in Action

China had been planning to help one group of Communists in India, particularly in West Bengal, to capture political power by a combined use of democratic methods and revolutionary tactics in which, if voting did not remove opposition, brute force would. This developed the cult of political murders and several politicians of good standing lost their lives due to attacks made on them by persons who were unknown in most cases. But one could guess that politics were at the root of these murders and also who the politicians were who inspired the murderers to commit their crimes. Long before all these acts of violence were beginning to be perpetrated in an organised fashion, certain political groups had been collecting arms from various sources, among which Pakistan played an important part by smuggling through Chinese arms and ammunition. Chinese money also had been coming through in a manner in which Pakistani and Nepalese communist, very likely helped actively. But the Indian Government, specially the police, employed many communist sympathisers who put their telescopes to their blind eyes when it came to detecting arms smugglers and money passers. So that both for democratic electioneering and for armed fights with political opponents Chinese money and arms were used quite lavishly during recent months. In the past the same Sino-phil politicians had been more openly and closely associated with the Chinese. They even planned out in detail how they were going to set up a communist state in certain parts of India and who would be their communist heads of government. This how-

ever had to be changed to secret methods and plans, as the Chinese made a tactical mistake at one stage by invading India and thus becoming an officially declared anti-Indian nation with which our politician could no longer have any open relations or negotiations. But pro-Chinese propaganda went on in full force and Mao-t'se-Tung became a prophet of "freedom and liberty" to all those who wanted to set up a dictatorial form of *raj* in India. Study of facts, sound reasoning and fanaticism never go together and large numbers of students, landless agricultural workers, low paid public servants and industrial workers continued to dream of a Chinese assisted revolution which would enable them to build their Utopia on the ashes of the underdeveloped economy of India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had failed to provide any alternative program for achieving freedom from want other than his panacea of industrialisation. Mahatma Gandhi never advocated urbanisation or the creation of crowded industrial areas. He wanted the villages to be self-sufficient and, for that, he supported the idea of setting up rural industries for supplying consumption goods to the rural population. Sreemati Indira has now gone back to the Gandhian idea of developing the villages. More intensive agriculture, minor irrigation schemes, market gardening, poultry farming, pisciculture, dairies, piggeries, spinning, weaving animal husbandry, horticulture and many other small scale undertakings would enable the villagers to pay for their machinery, implements, steel, coal, cement, dyes, fertiliser, medicines, bicycles, motor vehicles, pumps, tyres and so forth. The banks would open rural branches extensively and would finance the economic undertakings which the villagers would be associated with. The left wing political parties could not do much to assist the rural people, so

that when it came to really lending a hand to the helpless villagers, the people who could move the governmental machinery were in a much more effective position compared to the leftist politicians who could expound on rights and obligations without actually doing anything about the same. In the circumstances the left wing political parties could discuss the economic malaise and its remedies; but the actual treatment rested with the government.

The national governments so far have not been very active in removing want; but Sreemati Indira Gandhi has atleast taken up the task of *Garibi Hatao*, though she has not yet actually begun the work of removing poverty. The general impression that one is forming is that Mrs. Gandhi really means business and that a real effort will be soon made to provide gainful work to the unemployed, finance to those who need it and general aid and assistance to village dwellers everywhere. *Garibi Hatao* will not merely be restricted to *Amiri Hatao*.

Death of Pankaj Gupta

Pankaj Gupta, who died on the 6th of March 1971, was a remarkable person in the world of sports. He was the secretary of the Indian Olympic Association; but a study of his achievements in various fields shows that he was a sports journalist of great ability, a sports official of very good standing in Hockey, Football, Cricket, Athletics, Swimming, Badminton etc. etc., and an organiser and administrator of sports associations of unique distinction. We find Mr. Pankaj Gupta had been, during his long sports-life President, Vice-President, Secretary and committee member of numerous organisations some of which may be mentioned. He was council member of the Indian Olympic Association since its inception in 1938. He was Hony. Secy. of the same since 1960. He had been

President of the Bengal Hockey Association, The All India Football Federation, Hon. Secy. of the Cricket Association of Bengal, President Amateur Athletic Federation of West Bengal, President Badminton Federation of West Bengal and President of the Bengal Amateur Swimming Association. Mr. Gupta had been the Manager of the Indian Cricket teams in England in 1946, 1952 and in Australia in 1947, 1948. He was a full member of the M. C. C. (London). He went to many international meets as manager, assistant manager or official representative, among which the Olympic Games in Los Angeles (1932), Berlin (1936), London (1948), Helsinki (1952), Melbourne (1956), Rome (1960), Tokyo (1964), and Mexico (1968) should be noted. He was also a delegate in the Asian Games at New Delhi (1951), Tokyo (1958), Djakarta (1962), Bangkok (1970) and in the Commonwealth Games in Rome, Tokyo, Kingston and Edinburgh. Mr. Gupta was an authority on matters connected with sports and his knowledge and experience put him in a position which was incomparable. He was a great binding force in Indian sports which is unfortunate in having too many cliques and coteries. The central and states Governments too have a tendency to make things difficult for Indian sportsmen, who are, naturally fond of freedom and like to think for themselves as far as possible. Pankaj Gupta was champion of this liberty and freedom all his life and his death will leave the sportsmen of India helpless and undefended. The cliques and coteries are selfish and have little respect for rights and merits of sportsmen who do not belong to their limited groups. They also do not enforce discipline as it should be enforced. Thus, India's prestige and international position are damaged by the formation of these narrow and unprincipled bodies of power hunters. Pankaj Gupta considered Indian sports as

an expression of the sportsmanly spirit all along the line. His faith in liberty and freedom did not make him blind to the greater need of discipline which other dignitaries of the world of sports neglected to enforce at times in order to earn cheap popularity. The death of Pankaj Gupta has thus removed a very necessary restraining force which will be difficult to reestablish. It would also be very difficult to find a man who would be welcomed by his own personal friends in almost every country of the world as Pankaj Gupta used to be wherever he went as a sports representative of India or as a manager of our contending teams. The most remarkable thing about him was his complete impartiality and freedom from partisan feelings. He was fully Indian and had no sympathy with any clique or coterie. There were many references to the unique character of Mr. Gupta and to his services to Indian sportsmen, in various condolence meetings held after his death. Some wanted a road to be named after him or a stadium; and others suggested a statue. Mr. Gupta used to edit and publish a sports journal, the Indian Olympic News which was very dear to him. If the sportsmen of India made suitable arrangements to continue the publication of this journal and associated its name with that of the late Pankaj Gupta, that would be a better commemoration of the departed sportsman than street names or statues. This can be easily arranged by the Indian Olympic Association with which Mr. Gupta was closely associated.

Interneine War in Pakistan

There is interneine warfare in Pakistan. Though one party is using armed force and the other is resisting passively and in a non-violent manner, it is a civil war nevertheless. That being the case, other nations should keep off and not give any assistance to any

of the two groups. The United Nations Organisation should, however, discourage the West Pakistanis from their armed efforts to subdue the East Pakistan people who wish to set up a democratic form of government. They say the West wing of Pakistan wishes to make the East wing "a colony". The East wing has been exploited very badly since Pakistan was created by the British in 1947. This exploitation must stop. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who is a West Pakistani expert in organising political wrong doing has been trying to trip up the freedom fighters of East Pakistan by attempts at participation in the popular movement. His nature and habits are well known to the people of East Pakistan and it is expected that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the leader of the East Pakistan, will be careful not to play into Bhutto's hands. In any case where the people of Pakistan are trying to settle the affairs of their country in their own way, it would be very wrong for other nations to render assistance to the users of force in order to enable them to suppress the non-violent followers of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. The Anglo-Americans or the Sino-Russians habitually get involved in other peoples' affairs. These big powers should be reminded to stay fully neutral in the East-West conflict in Pakistan. For it is none of their business to settle the political future of the peoples of Pakistan. The more so when Pakistan is ruled by a military clique and not by any representative democratic government. The creation of Pakistan, to begin with, was engineered by the British imperialists, in a manner which was undemocratic. After that the Anglo-Americans as well as the Sino-Russians encouraged the military rulers of Pakistan to occupy parts of Kashmir by inducing India to hold its hand when it defeated the Pakistan army, on two different occasions and could have pushed all Pakistanis

out of the so called Azad (free) Kashmir. It is one of those high level political farces of the world that a despotic military dictatorship constantly cries for the "freedom" of the people of an area which is ruled by a representative democratic form of government. The farce becomes a worse expression of low hypocritical political humbug when several big powers; all alleged champions of popular freedom and liberty, line up behind the military junta and try to maintain it in its criminal domination over the peoples of a vast territory.

The present movement in East Pakistan is an attempt made by an oppressed and exploited people to set up a democratic form of government. The freedom loving nations of the world should feel sympathy for the Bengali population of East Pakistan and induce Yahya Khan, the dictator, to keep his promise of setting up a democratic form of government in Pakistan. They should also prevent him from assuming that an Islamic Republic means a despotism with Yahya Khan at its head.

Prevention of Violent Activities

Violent activities have been rampant in West Bengal since the CPM reorganised the police force of the state and inspired the youth of the country to start a revolution which according to their doctrinaire leaders was the only way to solve the country's unemployment, food shortage, lack of medical aid, housing and mass education problems. The result had been the development of a murder cult which claimed many valuable lives, including those of Sri Hemanta Bose and Sri Gopal Sen. Knife attacks were made on certain other people of position, for reasons which were not understood by the public. It was quite obvious right from the beginning that these criminal acts merely set in motion a crime wave which caused

breaches of the law of every kind ; but was not a revolution in any sense of the term. Shooting, stabbing, bomb attacks and robberies with violence increased in number and intensity ; no economic or social problems were reduced to lesser acuteness and the people's freedom and liberty did not increase. Rather there was less liberty in so far as West Bengal was ruled by officials nominated by the Central Government.

President's rule could not bring peace to the state. An Act was passed for the prevention of Violent Activities but it did not in any way prevent such activities. About 2000 persons were detained under this Act. We donot know who picked out these men and whether the Governor of West Bengal satisfied himself as to the involvement of these men in lawlessness before he ordered their detention. Judging by the effect of these arrests, we think these men did not form the core of the organisations that committed all these crimes. The Governor and his assistants probably worked on the assumption that politicians could not be criminals. But the general impression among the public is that politicians are the instigators, aiders and abettors of most of the crimes that have been and are being committed in West Bengal. Admittedly wagon breakers, bank robbers, professional bag snatchers etc. are not normally likely to be politicians ; but they can be protected by politicians and can be financial donors to political funds. It is believed that many criminals seek the patronage of politicians, and secure it too. Among the killers there are many who are the agents of political leaders and are not ordinary criminals. In the circumstances if political parties could be induced to keep clear of crime, that would naturally help the growth of respect for Lawful conduct among the people.

Ceiling on Urban Property

Sreemati Indira Gandhi has declared war

on poverty. In fact from recognisable symptoms she is determined to carry on warfare on individual wealth rather than on poverty. This will be, in her opinion, war on poverty in so far as restrictions imposed on the possession of individual wealth will increase the income the property of the poorer people. But when Government fixes ceilings on property and income for the wealthier people, that will hardly increase the prosperity of the poorer classes. If government nationalised banks the shares will accrue to the state and not to the common people. They can no doubt obtain credit facilities on easy terms ; but such credit would have to be utilised in a sound business like manner, or, the credit will not be available unconditionally. Cooperatives could not remove poverty ; nor will nationalised banks. If now Government wanted to acquire all large properties with a view to create a psychological atmosphere of a socialistic sort, large amounts will have to be paid as compensation to the present owners. This will have an inflationary effect on the economy. Moreover Government will not be able to earn a high enough return from these acquired properties and eventually, these will be a source of loss to the exchequer. So that this ceiling on urban property will not work well. It will certainly fail to reduce poverty.

The average annual income of the average Indian is about Rs. 300/-. Unless this is raised to atleast Rs. 600/-, poverty in India will not suffer even a scar by its encounter with forces of socialism. To double the annual product will require enormous increase in capital and that extra capital will not be available to the soldiers of socialism. India has become a debtor nation with heavy liabilities by borrowing Rs. 25000 crores. If the debts go upto Rs. 100000 crores as they are sure to do, if the nation's annual product

has to be augmented to work out at Rs.600/- P. A. per capita on an average ; India will hardly be able to stand the strain of having so much borrowed capital. The idea therefore should be to make the economic structure as fully labour intensive as could be possible. As many of the workless should be employed for road building, reclamation of areas to make them cultivable, tank clearance for pisciculture and similar work, *without use of machinery*, as found possible. Such work will begin to yield an income when finished and premiums (*selamis*) received for allotment of lands opened up by new roads should pay for much of the capital expenditure. Dairies, poultry farms, piggeries, animal husbandry, fruit culture, fish culture and general agricultural ventures should be encouraged and cautiously financed, so that larger bodies of workers could progressively join the ranks of the income earning members of society. President Giri thinks that rural electrification and allotment of building sites in villages to landless workers will help to remove poverty. Electrically driven machinery require large capital. So does house building. Electrification and allotment of building sites will therefore not be in much demand in the beginning. Hand operated oil presses, charkhas, handlooms, durry frames, basket weaving, making hand made paper, preparation of vegetable dyes, encouraging potters, metal workers, ivory carvers, stone cutters etc. by placing orders with them, should be found workable methods of reducing poverty.

The negative approach to the problem, by alienating all those who have any wealth, is therefore a wrong approach. Urban property owners may be induced to undertake some work of construction in the villages for which they will provide the capital. Industrialists too should be made to improve the villages which are within a 20 mile radius of their

factory premises, so that the workers can live in the villages and come to work in the factories by transport arranged by the employers. The villages can grow all the necessities of life required by the workers and their family members. This will put life into the new economic structure that will grow round the factories. The idea that poverty will be removed by legislation and departmental efforts made by government officers, is utterly unrealistic. We all know that whatever Government servants handle usually fail to move or develop. The only reliable psychological background of economic growth is ethically tenable 'self-interest' of the persons connected with such growth. Rural development too must be linked up with the enlightened self-interest of the public. This public, some of whom live in cities and towns and own much property there, have connections with the villages. They also have large numbers of poor relations whom they assist habitually in every possible manner. The government's taxation and control policy is slowly drying up this great source of help to the poorer people of the country. The government would do better to mobilise the economic strength of those sons of the villages who are now scattered all over urban India, rather than treat them as members of an undesirable criminal tribe.

Pakistan Breaks up

As we write West Pakistan's tanks, war ships and artillery are shelling and destroying the cities and ports of Eastern Bengal. The Pakistani Air Force is helping this work of mass destruction and genocide by dropping bombs on the University buildings of Dacca and Rajshahi and the port installations of Chittagong. This is the culmination of Yahya Khan's promises of restoring popular government to the people of Pakistan and of termina-

ting the tyrannical Martial Law Administration. Sheikh Mujibar Rehman, the leader of the Awami League which won the recent elections in East Pakistan by a one hundred percent majority has on his side the entire people Eastern Bengal supported by the Bengali sections of the Pakistan army, the police and the volunteers known as the Ansars. The total number of the lightly armed supporters of Sheikh Mujibar Rehman would be about 70000/80000 ; but he had millions of others who were fighting for the freedom of "Bangla Desh" with whatever weapons they can arm themselves with. Shot guns, home made muzzle loaders, bombs, knives, swords and choppers are being used by this vast army with much effect in their hand to hand encounters with the soldiers of the Pakistan army. This is evident from the fact that the finely trained and fully armed divisions of Pakistan stationed in the Eastern portion of the artificially created State, are cornered in the cantonment cities of the area and are being progressively pressed back into very limited defensive position from which they will have little chance of fanning out ever again to occupy any wider territories.

Psychologically analysed this revolt of the majority of the Bengali peoples of Pakistan destroys the very foundation of the Islamic Republic created by the British and the Muslim League in 1947. The two nation theory of M. A. Jinnah which was one of the greatest falsehoods of Asian history was no doubt believed in by only the British dikhards

and a handful of Jinnah's lieutenants. Every one knew from the beginning that Pakistan had racial groups in it like the Punjabis, the Pakhtoons, the Baluchis, the Sindhis and the Bengalis. The last named were in a majority but the so-called martial tribes of West Pakistan tried to impose an exploitative semi-colonial rule on the more civilised and peace loving Bengalis of the Eastern wing. This unfair, unjust and tyrannical arrangement was so blatant that even when the recent cyclone devastated wide areas of the riverine areas of East Pakistan, Islamabad took things in such an easy going manner that even the foreign press criticised the martial law administrators very, very strongly. This probably induced Yahya Khan to call for democratic elections in which his supporters were spectacularly defeated. But that did not open his eyes. He reimposed martial law and precipitated the present crisis. World opinion now assesses the chances of Pakistan's survival as a composite state as an impossibility. There is not even the faintest hope that the world powers will be able to patch up the wide cracks that have appeared in the basic structure of Pakistan. The soldiers of Yahya Khan have shot dead hundreds of thousands in Eastern Bengal including many intellectuals, high placed technical men, girl students and totally unarmed civilians. The atrocities that are now being committed in East Pakistan by the soldiers of Yahya Khan exceed any known acts of genocide and are only comparable to the Nazi killing of Jews.

C. F. ANDREWS AND INDIANS OVERSEAS

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In their biography, *Charles Freer Andrews: A Narrative*, Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes noted that it was in Fiji that Andrews was first called "Deenabandhu" or "Friend of the Poor." His work for overseas Indians stands high among the causes to which he devoted his life. Under the indentured labour system many hundreds of Indian men, women and children were taken to tropical colonies in Africa, the Indian and Pacific oceans, and the Americas, to serve as plantation labourers. Although many eventually became prosperous colonists, the system was accompanied by much suffering and degradation and left behind a host of political, economic and social problems, some of which still remain today. This paper will be concerned with Andrews' work for overseas Indians, particularly those in Fiji.

Just before the first world war Indians at home were becoming increasingly aware of the problems of their countrymen abroad. The work of Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Indian community in South Africa was widely acclaimed in India. Immigration restrictions in Canada and the United States were resented. Accounts were beginning to appear, particularly in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta, of ill-treatment of Indian indentured labour in the tropical colonies, especially in Fiji. The great national leader of that time, G. K. Gokhale, took up the cause before the public and in the Imperial Legislative Council. In 1911 the Government of India prohibited further indentured emigration to Natal which had refused to relax its restrictions on the rights of ex-indentured Indian settlers.

In 1912 Gokhale moved a resolution in the

Council for the total abolition of the system of indentured labour emigration from India. In a classic speech he analysed the system in detail and argued that it was based on fraud and maintained by force, that the safeguards imposed by government control were illusory, that it was accompanied by frightful immorality, and that it was degrading to the people of India. All the Indian members of the Council supported the motion, but it was defeated by the vote of the official majority. Government speakers admitted that there were abuses in the system but claimed that these could be remedied and stressed the opportunity the system gave the individual emigrant to better himself. But although Gokhale's motion was lost, the Government of India began to take serious account of Indian opinion which was now so clearly hostile to the system of indentured labour. The cause of Indians overseas was a question of national honour and pride as much as a humanitarian one.

C. F. Andrews first became involved in the problems of Indians overseas through his work with Indians in South Africa. In 1914 at the request of Gokhale, he went to Natal with an English missionary, W. W. Pearson, to join Gandhi and H. S. L. Polak in their struggle for Indian rights. He took an important part in the negotiations which led to the Smuts-Gandhi agreement. Although this was widely acclaimed at the time, it did not in fact provide the long-term settlement of the problem of Indians of South Africa that had been hoped for. For more than twenty years Andrews was to take a continuing interest in the deteriorating position of the Indian settlers

in South Africa and in East Africa which he also visited. East Africa had been a field of Indian enterprise for hundreds of years and Indians had done much to build up its economy. However, neither in East nor in South Africa could the Indians secure the equal position they aspired to. The Union of South Africa was fully self-governing and the British Government had no power there, but the denial of equality of the Indians in East Africa by the European settlers and the support these settlers received from the British Government were resented in India.

Gokhale died in 1915 and one of his last wishes was that others should continue work for the abolition of indentured labour. Andrews took up the challenge. He concentrated on Fiji which was then taking more migrants than any other colony and had already received the most publicity in India. In 1910 an Australian Methodist missionary, the Reverend J. W. Burton had published a book, *The Fiji of Today*, which gave a vivid account of conditions among the Indian indentured labourers in Fiji and concluded that the system was dehumanizing and degrading. A resume of this book, together with a moving letter from Miss Hannah Dudley, also of the Methodist Mission, describing how Indian women were recruited and how they lived on the plantations in Fiji, was printed in the *Modern Review* in March 1913. Another Methodist missionary, the Reverend Richard Piper published an article in the *Calcutta Statesman* in January 1914. Letters from Indians in Fiji, pointing to the existence of bad working conditions and grave social evils on the plantations, were published in the *Modern Review* and in the Hindi press of the U. P. There was, too, a book *Fiji Dwip Men Mere Ikkis Varsh* (My Twenty-One Years in Fiji Islands) which related the experiences of a former indentured labourer, Totaram

Sanadhya of Firozabad, Agra. The book had actually been written by Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, to whom Totaram told his story. This famous book was published in several editions in Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, and Marathi and a drama in Hindi was based upon it. It was very influential in arousing public opinion against the indenture system.

The Government of India was, of course, well aware of the mounting resentment in the country. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, was firmly opposed to the indenture system. Already the Government had sent a Commission to enquire into conditions in the colonies that were still taking indentured labour from India. This Commission comprised the Hon. James McNeill, I.C.S., and Lala Chimmanlal, a landowner from the U. P. Their report was published in 1914. On the whole they were favourable to the indenture system and pointed out that the majority of emigrants had bettered themselves economically by leaving India for the colonies. The report was incomplete in that it did not deal with social and moral conditions.

Lord Hardinge wrote in an official minute in August 1915 that he had hoped that the report would spell the "death-blow of the system." He continued: "In this I was disappointed, for the first impression produced on reading Mr. McNeill's report is that the evils of indentured emigration are not as bad as alleged, but a closer study of its details and a scrutiny into the causes of the immorality, and high rates of suicides and imprisonments, show conclusively that there are very serious moral and social defects in the system which is thoroughly bad."¹ After consultation with the provincial governments, the Government of India sent a long despatch to London on 15 October 1915 recommending the abolition of this "evil system". It observed that it was not the duty of the Government of India to provide colonies for the coolies, and drew

attention to the abuses inherent in recruitment, the high rate of suicide in Fiji, the vice in the labour lines on the plantations, and the taint of slavery about the penal sanctions used to enforce labour discipline. But the chief argument for change was political :

No matter how great might be the economic advantages, the political aspect of the question is such that no one who has at heart the interests of British rule in India can afford to neglect it. It is one of the most prominent subjects in Indian political life today, and its discussion arouses more bitterness, perhaps, than that of any other outstanding question. Few Indian politicians, moderate and extremist alike, do not consider that the existence of this system which they do not hesitate to call by the name of slavery, brands their whole race in the eyes of the British Colonial Empire with the stigma of helotry.²

The British Government readily accepted the recommendation to abolish the indenture system, for it regarded the Government of India as the best judge of the intensity of Indian opinion and of the political dangers. However, it proposed that there should be a period of grace of five years in which to set up a new system of Indian emigration to the colonies.

So far Andrews's role in the campaign against indentured labour had been a minor one. He had written to Lord Hardinge and to several provincial governors urging them to abolish the system, but the records show that the decision to recommend abolition was made by Lord Hardinge and the Government of India on the basis of their independent assessment of the strength of Indian public feeling and of the evils of the system, supported by the statistics given in the report of McNeill and Chimmanlal. But without Andrews' subsequent work the indenture system might well have lasted longer than it

did and it might have been replaced by another objectionable system of State-aided emigration from India.

In 1915 Andrews and the leaders of Indian public opinion could not know of these developments. It seemed to them likely that the indenture system might not be abolished if this depended solely on the report of McNeill and Chimmanlal. Andrews decided to go to Fiji to conduct an independent enquiry. The Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council were anxious for him to go and Lord Hardinge expressed his approval. His trip was financed from the South Africa Fund, which had been collected by Gokhale to fight for Indian rights in Natal. He was again accompanied by Pearson, whose fare was financed by the Anti-Indentured Labour League in Calcutta, a body in which the Marwaris were prominent. The merchants of Ahmedabad also contributed to the fares. Before leaving India Andrews and Pearson visited the emigration depots and sub-depots and enquired into the methods of the recruiters.

They travelled to Fiji via Australia where they talked to the management of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, the chief employer of Indian labour in Fiji. In his letters to Rabinranath Tagore, Andrews spoke of the goodwill he had met with in Australia, outside of the Company's offices. The Chairman of the Company kept asking for his credentials, saying that he recognised only the British Government's authority. But as Andrews wrote : "The whole strength of our position is that we are not accredited. It is this which gives us the confidence of the Indian people."³

Andrews and Pearson were well received in Fiji. Government officials and planters had been briefed to handle the visitors tactfully. They tried to impress upon them the reforms that were being made in the indenture system

and the advantages emigration to Fiji gave individual Indian migrants. Andrews and Pearson visited plantations and Indian settlements and they spoke to many of the immigrants. In their report, which was submitted to the government and planters for suggestions before publication, they acknowledged the new spirit displayed by the Government and employers and stated their belief that Fiji was a suitable place for the settlement of Indian families under civil contract. But they unequivocally condemned the existing indenture system with its fraud in recruitment and moral evils of plantation life. Before they left Fiji they had extensive discussions with Government officials, and Andrews prepared a paper for them describing Hindu life in India and showing how social evils had arisen from the decline of religion and family life on the plantations. Their final report was admitted by government officials to be fair and responsible, and generally can be regarded as the best statement of conditions during the last years of the indenture system. In their preface they stated: "This Report has been published immediately on our return from Fiji. It attempts to show, on the one hand, the serious nature of the evils which exist under the indenture system. On the other hand, it endeavours to explain what painstaking efforts are now being made by the Fiji Government to deal justly by the Indian settlers."

This was the first of three visits that Andrews made to Australia and Fiji. His temperate report reveals several qualities of the man. There was his industry and his willingness not to spare himself. There was his fairness and readiness to give credit where it was due, and to think the best of people. There was also his sympathetic identification with the problems of ordinary men and women and his understanding of Indian life. No one knew better than Andrews that the abolition

of indentured labour was not a story of heroes against villains. Decent and humane men had accepted the system for many years because they had not seen the evils involved.

In theory the system had something to commend it. The enterprising poor of India were given the opportunity to better themselves by emigrating to new lands, just as Europeans had gone to the Americas and to Australia and New Zealand. Paternal governments were to provide protection against abuses in recruitment, in transit to the colonies, and on the plantations; and after a period of five years service the Indian migrants were to be free to settle in the new land or return to India. Governors who were noted for their humane views were among those who had spread the system to new colonies. One such was Sir Arthur Gordon, the first Governor of Fiji. Gordon has seen Indian immigration in the West Indies and in Mauritius. He sponsored Indian immigration to Fiji because he believed it would be to the benefit of all concerned: the new colony which needed economic development to provide government revenue, the European planters who needed labour, the indigenous Fijian population which might otherwise have had to provide that labour at great cost in social dislocation, and the Indian immigrants, most of whom would settle down in the new land and become prosperous farmers and craftsmen. These results were achieved: today there are prosperous communities of Indian settlers in many parts of the world, including Fiji where they form a majority of the population.

However, the moral and human cost of the indenture system was very high and before Andrews it had been hardly noticed. One becomes conscious, when reading government files of the period, how blind the majority of officials in Fiji and India were to the human realities of the system they administered. As

long as immigrants were protected from the more obvious forms of physical ill-treatment and most of them were materially better off in their new homes than they would have been in India, the conscience of the officials were clear. They seem not to have noticed how their carefully drawn rules were breached in practice and how degraded was the life of the immigrants on the plantations. Andrews was able to see these aspects because he did not think of human beings in the abstract, as mere "economic men", but as individuals who belonged to a specific culture and had non-material as well as material needs. And he set out with patience and with goodwill to explain these realities to those who could not see them.

Andrews' and Pearson's joint report was published on 19 February 1916, a week after the British Government gave its approval for the abolition of the indenture system. The joint report did not, therefore, have any part in the British Government's decision to abolish indentured labour. On 20 March Lord Hardinge was able to accept a motion in the Imperial Legislative Council urging the abolition of the system and to announce that he had secured the promise of the British Government that this would be effected "in due course". Later in the year the news leaked out that the British Government had asked for a period of five years' grace in order to draw up a new scheme of assisted Indian emigration to the colonies. While Andrews was in Japan he received a letter from a high official in Fiji telling him that the planters were congratulating themselves on gaining a five years' respite. He wrote to the new Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford and, on receiving no more than an acknowledgement and promise of investigation, challenged the government in the press. Indignation swept India. On 9 January 1917 a great demonstration

to open a campaign against the continuance of the indenture system was held at Allahabad, presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru. H. S. L. Polak read a paper written by Andrews, who was ill at the time, recounting the life of the indentured Indian women in Fiji, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu appealed to the men of India to stop the degradation of Indian womanhood in the colonies. Andrews and Pearson lectured throughout India, and won wide public support. A deputation of prominent Indian women went to the Viceroy. Anti-indenture Leagues were formed in several places and the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay and the Marwari Association of Calcutta were particularly active. Andrews' paper was translated into several Indian languages and thousands of copies were distributed at the Magh Mela at Allahabad. Pamphlets were spread through the recruiting areas warning of the tricks of the recruiters. Mahatma Gandhi decided that the issue was suitable for Satyagraha and he announced that the ships would be picketed unless the system was ended. On 12 March 1917 the Government of India stopped all recruiting for the colonies, ostensibly in order to conserve labour for the war but in reality because of the pressure of public opinion. It was later announced that the indenture system would not be revived after the war.

Emigration under the indenture system was finished, but the British Government still intended to substitute some other form of assisted Indian emigration to the colonies. In their report Andrews and Pearson had not been against this idea. Indeed they had praised Fiji as a suitable field for Indian settlement.

However, during the agitation Andrews had "a complete change of front."⁵ He became convinced that any form of assisted

Indian emigration to the colonies would inevitably entail abuses in recruiting and moral evils in the colonies. He assumed a much more radical position, one identical to that of the leaders of Indian opinion, especially Mahatma Gandhi. He wrote: "Later experience has made me regret, on my own part, that I did not listen more patiently to the Indian point of view, before publishing the Report. During the interval since then, I have made a fuller study of the evils of the recruiting system and can see more clearly the dangers of reopening that avenue of fraud and deceit. I have, also, seen more plainly than before how very dependent the Indian villagers are on their surroundings, and how inevitably they would pick up the old vicious habits, if they were transplanted into the atmosphere of the present coolie 'lines'. It was Mr. Gandhi's presentment of the case that finally convinced me."⁶ He wrote a minute for an Inter-Departmental Conference in London opposing all recruited emigration for many years to come, and he decided to go out to Fiji again, this time alone. Once again he went with the encouragement and assistance of leading politicians and public bodies in India, and the approval of the Government of India.

Andrews' second visit to Fiji took place in 1917. His intentions were apparently twofold: to do something practical to help the Indians already there, and to discredit Fiji as a field of Indian settlement. This time he was treated with much more reserve and suspicion by the government and planters. Immigration had been stopped and the colony faced an acute labour shortage. The planters had agreed to many reforms in the labour laws and [they were reluctant to commit themselves to expensive improvements on plantations without knowing if immigration would ever be resumed. Andrews was believed

to be pursuing a campaign to damage Fiji for the interests of the Indian nationalist movement or as a weapon against Australia's exclusion of Indians. The wildest charges circulated. He was accused of being a paid agitator. The indignation against him was genuine, and it was fanned by the publication of his second report, which contained exaggerations and reflected much more impatience and moral indignation than the first. Andrews was shocked by the conditions he found in Fiji: the low wages and high wartime prices, the vice on the plantations, and the lack of education for Indian children. Ill and nervously strained, he listened, sometimes uncritically, to story after story of ill-treatment and family tragedy. Although he did secure a few concessions from the government and planters and started two schools, he left Fiji thoroughly dissatisfied with what he had seen and with the pace of reform. He wrote from Fiji: "I have had very great disappointments."⁷

Andrews returned to India via Australia. He was rebuffed by the old General Manager of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in Sydney, who had written him off as a seditious agitator with no influence on British or Indian Government policy. He decided to make a direct appeal to the Australian people. Andrews's letters show that he was very conscious of the fact that Australia's reputation was not of the best in India, because of its restrictions on the entry of non-European immigrants and visitors. In his speeches and published writings Andrews said nothing that would add to bad feeling between Australia and Asia. Throughout his life he was a builder of bridges, and he was deeply concerned with what he saw to be a growing racial estrangement in the world generally. He now wrote from Perth: "An opportunity has been given to break down the racial gulf which separates Australia from India."⁸ Andrews

travelled through Australia, speaking to church groups and to women's organisations and emphasising the moral evils in Fiji. Women's organizations sent messages of sympathy to the women of India and redress was demanded of the Fiji Government and C. S. R. Company. Two ladies with experience in India volunteered for work among Indian women in Fiji. The Governor of Fiji published a memorandum in which he called Andrews' second report "exaggerated and misleading", though he admitted that in some respects the criticism was just.⁹ In 1919, in order to obtain independent information, forty-six women's organizations in Australia and New Zealand sent Miss Florence Garnham of the London Missionary Society, Calcutta, to make an investigation into the social and moral conditions of the Indians in Fiji. Although less critical than Andrews in his second report she confirmed the existence of grave moral evils and recommended that all remaining indentures should be cancelled as soon as possible, as Andrews had urged. In September 1918 the Government of India, by accepting a motion in the Imperial Legislative Council, moved by Pandit M. M. Malaviya, agreed to negotiate for the early release of Indian labourers in Fiji. On 1st January 1920 the last indentured Indian labourers in Fiji were freed.

The problems of the Fiji Indians did not end with the abolition of indentured labour. In 1920 there was a serious strike, accompanied by riots. Alarming reports were sent to Andrews and published in the Indian press. In 1920 there was another strike and tens of thousands of dissatisfied Indians clamoured for passages back to India. The Fiji Government and planters were anxious that Indian immigration to Fiji should be resumed, but Gandhi and Andrews were firmly against the sending of more Indian labourers out to Fiji. In fact no new system of state-aided emigra-

tion replaced the indenture system. The problem was complicated by the unhappy experience of those emigrants who had returned to India but were unable to settle down in their home villages. Many of these ended up in the slums of Calcutta, where they lived in penury and wretchedness. Although a committee was set up to help them, the problem remained a distressing one for some years. In 1921 Andrews gave his approval to the return of some of these people to Fiji at the expense of the Fiji Government. He wrote to Gandhi that the whole affair had caused him the greatest anxiety; much as he did not want people to return to Fiji, he could not see them dying before his eyes. But he was publicly cursed in Calcutta by Sadhu Vashistha Muni, the leader of the 1921 strike, who had been deported from Fiji. He accused Andrews of being a coolie recruiter.¹⁰ Several times in his life Andrews was deeply pained by unjust accusations made against him by bitter or mean-spirited people who did not believe that an Englishman could be a real friend to India.

In the year after the war Indian public opinion became increasingly disenchanted with the British Empire. The Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, and Gandhi's non-co-operation campaigns marked a growing estrangement between Britain and India. Andrews shared in this disillusion. The Viceroy telegraphed to the Secretary of State for India on 2nd October 1920:

"Andrews in view of Kenya decisions and events in Fiji has definitely thrown in his lot with extremists who aim at Indian independence.¹¹ The Treatment of Indians in other parts of the British Empire was regarded by Andrews and by Indian public opinion generally as a test of the British Government's sincerity and resolve to make India a full partner in the Empire. Andrews' letters to

Gandhi and to Government officers in Delhi showed his disappointment with the limited progress made towards achieving a position of equality for overseas Indians, particularly in East Africa. He told Gandhi that he thought the race cleavage in the world was widening and that the goal of self-government within the British Empire was historically impossible.¹² He wrote to Mr. Ewbank of the Emigration Branch of the Government of India in Delhi: "The fact that I have learnt everywhere is, that the Colonies do not *want* Indians except in certain places as tame and servile cheap labour. They want to get all the advantages from India being in the Empire, but to give none. I know you think me a pessimist, but I have only been driven by hard facts, which Sastri too will discover some day, when he goes to the difficult places instead of the simple ones."¹³ Originally it had been proposed that Andrews be a member of the Government of India's Deputation to Fiji in 1922, then that he should go alone at the same time, but he was fully occupied with his work at Saniniketan, where Rabindranath needed his services to set up university classes, and with a visit to East Africa which seemed to be even more important than Fiji. Andrews continued his work for overseas Indians for many years but it was only one of his many services to the Indian people. After the early 1920s, the problems of overseas Indian took up less of the Indian public's attention. The Congress was preoccupied with India's own problems. A handful of workers gave attention to the overseas Indians, and the most notable of these was Benarsidas Chaturvedi.

Andrews' relationship with the Emigration Branch of the Government of India remained cordial throughout these years. With some officials it was particularly close. Andrews was not an easy man for officials to work with. He was busy and often difficult to

contact, and, like Gandhi, he changed his mind frequently, as circumstances changed and as his knowledge of each situation developed. He was inclined to be sentimental and uncritical and to believe too readily what he was told by those who asked for his ready sympathy. However, his sincerity, knowledge, concern, and courtesy, evoked the respect of successive British and Indian officials of the Government of India and he was a considerable help to them on emigration matters. His zeal helped to offset their customary official caution. It is not surprising, however, that the Government and planters of Fiji were more critical and his relations with the Colonial Sugar Refining Company were very bad indeed. Andrews' work hurt them financially and they could not comprehend how an Englishman could identify himself with Indian interests and with Indians agitating against British rule.

In 1936 Andrews went to Fiji again. He had been invited to conduct Universities' Missions in Australia and New Zealand and he had also been asked by the Indian community of Fiji to help them to ward off a threat to their political rights. The Governor, supported by some of the European and the Fijian leaders, proposed to revert to a system of nominative representation on the Legislative Council of Fiji. The Indians and some of the Europeans wanted the retention of elective representation. Andrews suggested a compromise, a combination of elective and nominative representation, with equal numbers of seats for the three main races, and such an arrangement was finally adopted. He also made suggestions on a variety of other problems facing the Indian community in Fiji. Andrews was given a very friendly reception by all the communities, and he was delighted with the new conditions he found in Fiji. He wrote: "The abolition of indenture has made such a change in the general condition

of the people, that it is hard to recognize the Indians of today as the same community which I saw under the miserable conditions of indenture in 1915 and 1917. The improvement, which has followed economic freedom, has quickened the whole life of the Indian people and made them independent in such a manner that they are now rapidly becoming peasant proprietors and tenant farmers. Above all, the home and family life of the Indian people has amazingly advanced."¹⁴ He wrote a book *India and the Pacific* (London, 1937), in which he recounted his experiences in Fiji and set its problems in the context of those of the Pacific, Asia and Australasia, and the relations between the races generally. The book was full of good sense, though its style was too sentimental and lacking in precise detail to suit all tastes. In Andrews' day the racial problem seemed to be one between Europeans and non-Europeans. He was somewhat over-sanguine about possible conflicts of interest between the Indian settlers and the indigenous peoples of the colonies, although he agreed that the latter should have preference. The sad experiences of Indian communities in East Africa and elsewhere have since belied this optimism. Let us hope that racial harmony will be maintained in Fiji which became an independent state on 10 October 1970.

In these days of complex, large-scale organisation and mass involvement it is easy to forget how much has been accomplished by dedicated individuals. It would be going too far to say that Andrews was alone responsible for the abolition of the system of indentured labour. Great achievements of that order are seldom, if ever, the work of one man. The man must receive support from the times if he is to be effective. But it can be said that Andrews did play a most important role in the campaign against the indenture system and in the resolution of some of the problems it left behind. He travelled to the major

areas of Indian settlement throughout the world, identified problems and showed people how to see old facts in a new way, he made grievances public, he had a significant influence on government policy, and he gave sympathy, encouragement and courage to the oppressed and dispirited. No one person could have done more.

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CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous issue)

These are tales of days which are long past. It was on one of those days that the land was made a gift of by Mr. Mathur Shaw. Mr. Gobinda Chakravarty, Chairman of the District Board gave money. Only Gour Bhattacharjee remembers those episodes of the bygone days. And Janardan, he knows too.

Janardan has been with the Pathshala right from the word 'go'.

Shibani was quite young then. She understood things in a hazy and incoherent manner. One day Gour Bhattacharjee rushed in and said in great hurry—give me that necklace of yours for a while, would you please—

—My necklace? What will you do with the necklace?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—there is shortage of funds it will have to be sold—

—Shortage of funds for what?

—The Pathshala building. The walls are up, it requires a sheet iron roof, and there is no money to buy the sheets with.

Shibani did not prolong the discussion. She opened her box and gave the Pandit Mashai her ten tola gold necklace.

Not only the necklace. All those few pieces of jewellery which Shibani had got at the time of her marriage went eventually to fill the empty coffers of the Pathshala. A pair of bracelets and earrings. Those had gone earlier. Afterwards Shibani had no ornaments

on her person. A pair of conch-shell bangles, she passed her life with only those bangles to adorn her arms.

Gour Bhattacharjee used to say—as if I am taking your ornaments away for good. Those can be remade. Is it not so?

Shibani's habitual reply was—yes, yes, you are very likely to have them remade—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—What do you mean; suggesting I will not have them remade? Just see, we have now got thirty pupils in the Pathshala—just wait another two years and you will see that I shall get a hundred and fifty, no less—then the Pathshala will become a school and nothing less—

Gour Bhattacharjee had gone from house to house, coaxing and cajoling, to get those hundred fifty boys. The chairman of the District Board, Gobinda Chakravarty Mashai had grown quite old then. Mathur Shaw also was very old. They were not capable to work hard for the school. But Gobinda Chakravarty Mashai had put his own son in the school. Mathur Shaw's son Nimai Shaw had also joined Gour Bhattacharjee's school.

Shibani could remember all that even now. In the early hours of the morning, Gour Bhattacharjee left home with his folded cotton wrap thrown over his shoulder. After that he could hardly think of his household food problems, shortage of kitchen stores, rice or

lentils and all that sort of mundane matters. Shibani would sit near the raised door way eagerly awaiting his return with her mind expectantly athirst.

Shambhu's mother used to come for her daily duties and was stupefied. She said—What is going on aunty, are you not going to cook the rice ?

When she knew why the cooking pot was not on the fire she would be dumbfounded.

—What sort of a mental condition is the Thakur Mashai in ? Must one starve in order to run a Pathshala ?

Then she went somewhere, put a couple of handfuls of rice and lentils in a pot to cook and arranged thus for food. When the man returned home in the evening he could hardly put his mind to anything. He would wash and sit down to eat. He said—Do you know, I admitted ten students to-day. It is not so easy to admit students. It took me a lot of effort to convince their parents and uncles and all others. Wait and see, our school will surely earn some scholarships this time—

Shibani could not maintain her patience any longer.

She said—If your school-boys got stipends would that fill my stomach ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You do not understand at all, if those boys grow up into well trained men, you realise how that will benefit them. Think of them at least once ! They had been stupid like animals so long, could not even write the Devanagri script properly—

* * * *

All this is a description of how things were in those days. You were not born then, nor I, and you might not know all this but that would hardly matter. You go straight there

and ask Janardan—is Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai in ?

That would be the same Janardan.

He has been acting as a gate-keeper right from the foundation of the Pathshala. In fact he is not a gate-keeper. He is a peon. That is to say, a head peon. But, though a head peon, his job has been to watch the gate. A room was built adjoining the gate for him by Gour Bhattacharjee's instruction.

He said—You will have to guard this gate Janardan. When the boys come late, do not admit them. As soon as the bell rings, you shut the gate—

Where the buses now stop and wait at the Balarampur Gunge, that shop of Mathur Shaw's still stands. But Mathur Shaw is no longer alive. It is Nimai Shaw now. Nimai Shaw is now President of the committee in place of his father. And Gobinda Chakravarty's son Naren Chakravarty has become the Secretary, they are both Gour Bhattacharjee's pupils. They have experienced physical punishment at the hands of Gour Bhattacharjee in the past.

And there is Bhabaranjan. Bhabaranjan Mukhopadhyaya.

When he was young, the boy could hardly dare open his mouth, he was so shy !

Once Gour Bhattacharjee had stopped Bhabaranjan at the gate for coming late. He had come after ten thirty.

—Here ; why are you so late ?

Bhaba was on the verge of tears—Pandit Mashai, this will not happen again, sir—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—That is as it would be ; but why are you late to-day, tell me—

—My clothes were not properly dry to-day.

—Clothes not dry, what do you mean ?

—Mother washed my clothes by boiling them last night and they remained wet—

—Not dry, then how could you come now? Let me see if they are wet?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai stuck his hand outside the gate and felt Bhaba's clothes. They were dripping wet!

Go, go home and change into other clothes. You will get fever if you stay in these wet clothes. Go and change your clothes.

Bhaba's face showed signs of a break-down.

He said—I have no dry clothes, Pandit Mashai—

—Then go home. You are let off to-day. You need not attend school to-day. First your health and then studies, go, go—

Bhabaranjan had a holiday. He went back home with a tearful face. To-day Bhabaranjan Mukhopadhyaya is the Head Master of the Balarampur High School. He has got his M. A. degree, passed his B. T.—But he dares not answer back the Pandit Mashai even now. He has not the guts to act contrary to what the Pandit Mashai issues as an order.

It is remembered that Bhabaranjan, the small boy, had gone straight back home that day. In the evening when his mother was placing the lamp at the base of the Tulsi stand, suddenly the voice of Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was heard outside—Bhaba, Bhaba, are you there—

He jumped up and rushed to the front door and found the Pandit Mashai standing there in person.

—Pandit Mashai, why you?

Gour Bhattacharjee made an angry face and said—Pandit Mashai, why you! Stupid animal! You would go to school in wet clothes and I should not look you up to see what happens to you? Who do you think you are?

Bhaba's mother was a widow. She pulled her veil and came up—

She said—Come in please, Pandit Mashai—

Gour Bhattacharjee came into the courtyard with his pile of books and papers clutched in his hands. By that time Bhaba's mother had placed a low wooden seat for him on the door-way. Said—Please sit down Pandit Mashai, please—

—No, no, I shall not sit down, not in your house, I shall not sit down—so saying he thumped down on that seat. Then he brought his knees together and said—what sort of brains do you have Bhaba, you have not five or ten sons but only one. How could you send him to school dressed in wet clothes? If he had fever and illness? What would have happened then? It would then have been my duty to arrange for things. I am alone and I have so many boys to look after, how many could I take charge of and how many things would I control?

That Bhaba, the same Bhabaranjan has now become the Head Master of the School. It is Gour Bhattacharjee who had helped him to become a graduate, get through his training course, get married and grow a family. That old widow his mother died one day. After that he saved money from his salary and had a house built in the North Zone. On the day of house warming he invited everyone and treated them to a feast. Pandit Mashai also was there.

He shouted from a distance—Bhaba, where is Bhaba? May be the Head Master now, but he was his pupil at one time. As soon as he heard the Pandit Mashai he ran out and touched the feet of his preceptor.

—No, no, stop it, stop it—

Bhaba said—No Pandit Mashai, you must not object to my touching your feet on a day like this—

Gour Bhattacharjee said, Oh well if you

think that will do any good to you, touch my feet by all means—

Nimai Shaw was also present there. Son of Mathur Shaw ; quite a fop in his pleated dhoti and crinkly sleeve panjabi shirt. He had pumps on his feet. He was the President of the committee. A fully established President. While the school lasted he would remain a member, Nimai Shaw would. He was the sole proprietor of the Balarampur Variety Stores which stands in the Balarampur Gunje. Then there was Naren Chakravarty, Advocate, son of the Chairman of the District Board, Gobinda Chakravarty. He was secretary of the school. Then, one has to mention Sasadhar, Anilesh, Sisir, Balaichand, Kalidhan ! All, one time pupils of the Pandit Mashai. Nimai was puffing away at a cigarette, held between the middle and third fingers of a closed fist, through the opening between the thumb and forefinger. He respectfully stopped smoking and stamped the cigarette out with his shoe.

They all stood up in honour of the Pandit Mashai as soon as they saw him.

—Oh, you are all here ! Sit down, sit down—

They all sat down when the Pandit Mashai was seated.

Pandit Mashai said—Good, very good, your house is excellent Bhaba ! I am very pleased. Our Bhaba is a man of action and achievements ; don't you think so, Naren—

Bhaba said in great humility—You must not speak like that Pandit Mashai ; all that has come through your goodwill. Had you not been here, we never would have had a school in Balarampur, not could we have received education—

Pandit Mashai interrupted and stopped Bhaba. He said—You stop your dissertation ! No one can make a man out of anybody. You have enjoyed the fruits of your Karma by virtue of your Karma-Yoga—

Secretary Naren Chakravarty said—no, Pandit Mashai, in fact it is you. I have heard everything from my father—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No my dear boys, all is Karma Yoga. He who engages in action with total detachment, and unsullied by personal desire, is always rewarded by the fruits of his Karma ; for Karma never fails in objective fulfilment.

* * *

These are of course, all tales of olden days. You were not born then, nor your publisher. That small Pathshala slowly grew into a high school in an imperceptible manner, and nobody remembers exactly when. That means, nobody cared to remember.

You will ask Janardan—Please tell me where the Pandit Mashai has his room ?

Janardan will answer—There, there the first room under the stairs—

But you will not find Gour Bhattacharjee when you get there. For he would be right in the Head Master's room.

Bhabaranjan was hard at work, he lifted his head and seeing the Pandit Mashai, straightened up in his chair.

—What is going on here Bhaba, you do not take notice of anything. Everybody is coming late to the school, doing exactly what they like ! When I used to look after things nothing like this happened. Everyone came to school on time. I caught Anilesh coming late and also Sasadhar—

Bhabaranjan said—Anilesh told me his wife was ill—

—Oh, he told you ? Then he told you about this ?

—Yes, he told me he might be a little late in coming for a few days—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—That is very good. If he informed you it should be all right. But see how Sasadhar behaved ! When I tried to point out to him, he wouldn't even listen to me. Said, never you mind, none of your business—

—Really ? He spoke like that to you ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You donot look after anything and that is why he dared speak to me in that reckless and foolhardy manner.

Bhaba said—You please go after your own work, I shall call Sasadhar Babu and make him understand—

Gour Bhattacharjee would not give up so easily. He said—Well, you were all students of this school at one time, did you see such lawlessness then ? Did I allow late comers to enter the school ? When Chakravarty Mashai was secretary could any one have the temerity to behave like this ?

If he starts talking, Gour Bhattacharjee recites all this ancient lore in a smooth flowing and non-stop fashion to all comers. How and when Mathur Shaw Mashai made a gift of his garden land, how one day when there was no money Gobinda Chakravarty, the Chairman of the District Board, dipped his hand in his own pocket and saved the situation. He recounted these tales.

Bhaba said—Please donot get excited, Pandit Mashai, I shall call for Sasadhar Babu right now—

Saying this he rang the bell and called out—Dinu—

Dinanath is the Head Master's peon. As soon as Dinu arrived the Head Master said—Go and see if Sasadhar Babu is in the Common Room. Ask him to come to my room—

Dinu went off.

Gour Bhattacharjee said as he walked out—You should admonish people when they are in the wrong. Otherwise they begin to believe

in the impossible and the unreal. If you slacken they will also discard discipline—

He did not stop after this. He crossed the first floor verandah in a straight line, went down the staircase and came to the courtyard. Looked all round. Whether everything was shipshape. One corner was reserved for the boys' refreshments. Clean drinking water was kept in a large earthen pot. The pot had to be kept clean so that the boys did not suffer from any ill effects of drinking water stored un-hygienically. Pandit Mashai looked into the pot—no, it was quite clean, the water was evidently fresh—

Then when he reached his own room he found an unknown man waiting there. He appeared to be waiting for him.

He said—Who ? Who are you ? What is it you want ?

You should, namaskar, him very respectfully.

Gour Bhattacharjee would examine you—up and down, fully and thoroughly, then say—Come in, come inside—

You will follow the Pandit Mashai into his room.

* * *

—And then ?

Grand Ma said—Then, my dear, one day I came over here with your Grand Papa in a bullock cart, all the way from Mobarakpur. To this Balarampur—

Rani asked—Did you have any fairs in Mobarakpur, Grand Ma ?

—It is an utterly unimportant village darling ; who would hold fairs there ?

Then Grand Mother would continue—And how long had I been there anyway ; when I got married I was only eight years old—

—My goodness Grand Ma, eight years !

Rani could hardly stop laughing. Shibani was married at the age of eight. A new home of her in-laws, new uncle-in-law, new aunt-in-law. She understood almost nothing at that age. And she came off to this new place with Pandit Mashai within a few years of her marriage. And was this Balarampur anything like what it is now at that time? Do you know how frightened I felt when I had to go to the tank side of an evening? You rush up here when you like, taking no notice of the evening darkness or of late hours when you want to have a long chat with me. You could never have come and gone like that in those days!

Gobinda Chakravarty, Chairman of the District Board, in his old age, used to come right inside the house. To discuss school affairs with the Pandit Mashai. They talked till it got very late at night. That raised platform where the Pandit Mashai gives lessons to his pupils now; they used to sit and talk there.

Gour Bhattacharjee used to say—You must get another two hundred rupees for me Chakotti Mashai—I can not pull on.

—Chakotti Mashai would say—Why? What do you need two hundred rupees for, so suddenly?

—Yes sir; I need fifty more benches which I have to have made—

—Well, I have jack-fruit trees, some of the trees have reached ripe old age, they donot even bear fruits any longer; why not make use of those. Only the few rupees for hiring carpenters should have to be paid.

Shibani was quite young. She used to feel hungry. She worked the whole day and got aches and pain in her limbs and joints. She could hardly keep her eyes open, even when it was barely evening. Those heads of organi-

sations would go on and on with their never ending discussions.

—Oh, you are here? And I am going all over the place looking for you.

Shibani used to smile. She would say—Bouma, donot scold her now. The poor child had been sitting here and listening to my tales.

—Tales?

Basanti, wife of the Secretary Naren Chakravarty, was a town bred young woman. She had arrived personally to the Pandit Mashai's house in search of her daughter. She said—Why should I scold her Auntie; but she should have told me that she was meaning to come here.

Shibani would affectionately put her hand on Rani's shoulder and say—Rani is a daughter of this house, Bouma, she has only been born in your lap, that is the only distinction—

Bouma would say—Then let her stay here, let her sleep with you here, we shall go home, have our dinner and go to bed—she would be grabbed by the ogres—

—Oh, Bouma, don't get angry, listen, take Rani home. Go darling, go home, come again tomorrow—

Suddenly one could hear the voice of Gour Bhattacharjee—Where are you, Shambhu's mother, please open the door—

—There, there is Grandpa—

As she made this announcement repeatedly she ran up and unfastened the bolt of the front door.

Pandit Mashai was astounded to see all those people within.

Rani said—Dadu, why are you so late to return? Didn't you promise to me that you would come back before the day was almost over?

Pandit Mashai said—My little mother, you are so young, how can you ever understand how much work I have to do?

Rani said—Oh, your work! It is all rubbish, you will just sit on a chair, make the boys read and write and then make them fail in tests.

Pandit Mashai would look at Rani's mother and say complainingly—You heard Bouma what your daughter said? She only finds me trying to make the boys fail in examinations—

Then he looked at Rani and said—You there, haven't you seen Binu go to the Sadar Town, to study with a scholarship? Don't you know that his stipend amounts to thirty rupees a month?

Bouma said—Uncle, you are at the root of her impertinence; you spoil her and make her more unbearable than ever before. She does not listen to anyone but you. Will you give her a good scolding?

Pandit Mashai put his hand under her chin and asked; well Rani, my dear, shall I give you a scolding? Should I do what your mother said?

Rani said, I can scold too, don't you know that? I shall also scold you—

—Oh, my goodness! Just listen to her! Don't you know how to talk to your superiors?

Then Basanti caught Rani by the hand and started to drag her home.

She said, come home, I shall have you thrashed to-day, just come home first! And hurry up!

Rani put her arms round Grandpa—

—What is all this, come away at once—

Rani was defending herself behind Grand Papa's knees. And the Pandit Mashai was smiling greatly amused by Rani's antics.

Shibani said—Leave her here Bouma, you go home. He will reach her home later on, there is nothing to worry about—

Pandit Mashai said—Your daughter is very clever. You see how she is hiding her face? She thinks no one can see her—

Shibani said—Don't you worry at all, Bouma! If your husband says anything, tell him your uncle did not allow Rani to go home now—

What could Basanti do or say! She went out through the front door exactly as she had come in.

* * *

In those days, in Balarampur, Gobinda Chakravarty was what people called a well-to-do person. His forefathers had come and settled down in this non-descript village when it was utterly undeveloped and rustic. Then they practised law, earned a lot of money and became known to all and sundry as respectable men of position of Balarampur. Towards the end of his life, when the first District Board was constituted, he was made its Chairman. Not merely in money, but in name and fame, he was in the forefront of the local community.

Naren was one of his sons. Naren Chakravarty also qualified as a lawyer in due course and began visiting courts. He also was one of those who took their first lessons and all schooling from Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai. Naren passed out of the Balarampur High School one day and went therefrom to the Sadar College for higher studies.

The houses were nearly adjoining. Whenever Naren saw Gour Bhattacharjee he would put out his cigarette as a mark of respect.

Gour Bhattacharjee would ask—How are you Naren?

Naren would answer—Quite well, Pandit Mashai—

So saying he would stoop down to take the dust of his teacher's feet as he was bound by

custom to do, and carry that dust to his own forehead : so to speak, by touching his forehead with his hands.

—How is Bouma ? How is Sushil doing with his studies at home ?

Naren used to say—The teachers are there ; they supervise things.

—Whom have you kept ?

—Whom would I keep. I have asked Sasadhar Babu to look after the mathematics, Bankim Babu has been appointed to coach him in English ; Geography and History are handled by Kanti Babu, and.....

Gour Bhattacharjee would ask—And who teaches him Sanskrit, tell me that.

—But Sir, I dare not approach you, how can I ?

—Why, is it because I have grown old ?

When Gour Bhattacharjee lost his temper, people began to feel frightened. He would say—Why, haven't I taught you ? Who has taught all these lads of Balarampur their Sanskrit, tell me that ? You see, me dear boy, I can not tolerate any one reading Sanskrit all wrong. When I was at Navadvip studying at a Tol, I could not keep count of all the caning I got from my Guru Mashai, do you know ?

Then began the recounting of the tales of those days. They all stood on the road listening to these stories, forgetting their own work and important duties.

Suddenly the Pandit Mashai would startle everyone by asking Naren—Wouldn't you be late for the courts my dear boy ?

Naren would answer in great humility—Yes, Sir, I had a lot of important work at court which I should finish as early as possible—

The Pandit Mashai would then wake up and announce repentantly—Now, see ! You should have told me that much earlier ! I wouldn't then have wasted so much of your

time, not realising the significance of what was happening—

* * *

Naren was quite late in finishing his court work that evening. He went back home to find Basanti waiting anxiously for his return. She said—Why are you so late ?

Naren's face had a grave and serious expression.

Basanti said—What is the matter ? Have you lost in your case to-day ?

Naren did not answer that but asked—Where is Rani ? Basanti said—She came back from school and went to Aunt's house—

—Went there at a time like this ? Couldn't she find any better time ?

Basanti was mystified. She asked—Why, doesn't she go there at this time ? She habitually goes at this time.

Naren could find no answer to this factual statement.

Basanti felt a great curiosity. She asked—What is the matter with you ? Tell me, have you been having a scuffle in the School Committee again ?

Naren was taking off his professional lawyer's clothes, he said—What peculiar ideas you have ; I am the school secretary ; why should I have any quarrel with anybody ?

Basanti said—Why do you deny ; you do have quarrels in the School Committee, don't you ?

Naren couldn't keep the news to himself any longer. He said—Listen, I am rather upset over what I have heard—

—What is it that you have heard ?

Basanti moved up closer as if in great fear of what she might hear.

Naren said—Pandit Mashai has lost his daughter—

—What is that ? What is it you said ?
Our Abanti ?

Naren said—Yes—

Basanti asked—How did she die ? What happened to her ? Who gave you the news ? What a shame ! How pitiful ! Aunty had that one and only daughter, there is a grandson too.....

Naren had changed into other clothes. He said—I must go over to Pandit Mashai and see him ; will you come with me ?

Basanti had not got over her sorrow.

She asked—Tell me, where did you get this news ?

Naren said—I had gone to the school from Court; the telegram arrived while I was there.

—Then ?

—Then, Bhabaranjan, the Head Master, was hesitating to give out the news. But I said, that news could never be suppressed. So saying I went to the class where Pandit Mashai was teaching. I gave him the telegram outside the class. He read it.

—Then ?

—Then he said—Wait, let me go and finish the lesson—and he went back to his class to continue his teaching.

When the bell rang, Bhabaranjan went to the Pandit Mashai and said—Pandit Mashai, you go home now ; you must not hold classes in the circumstances.

Pandit Mashai stood there with his face slightly trembling.

He said—But Bhaba, I have two more classes—What about those ?

Bhabaranjan said—I shall arrange about those Pandit Mashai. Don't worry about those ; you go home—

Pandit Mashai said—How can that be ; she who has gone, has gone, she cannot return ; but the boys will lose a valuable day.

Then he turned round while going back.

He said—You better do one thing Bhaba, send that telegram to your Aunty by some one. Such news should not be held back ; but should be passed on, inform her that our Abanti is no longer—

Saying this he went towards his class.

Naren said—Having heard all this I came along, I know nothing more.

Basanti said—I should go at once to Aunty now ; what do you say ?

—Go along—

So saying Naren also went to get ready himself.

* * *

People at Balarampur still recollect clearly what happened during those early days. She was the only daughter that the Pandit Mashai had. They all remembered when she was born. Pandit Mashai had affectionately named her Abanti. She was also married off after a very, thorough and careful consideration of the bridegrooms merits. Gour Bhattacharjee had no resources whatsoever when this marriage ceremony was performed.

Gobinda Chakravarty had given a good Benares Sari and four gold sovereigns.

He blessed her—Be happy for ever, my little mother—

Mathur Shaw Mashai did not stint at his generous contribution either. He called Gour Bhattacharjee and made enquiries. He asked—How much will you have to spend for this wedding, Pandit Mashai ?

Gour Bhattacharjee answered—I have no idea, Shaw Mashai, I have never arranged for any marriage ceremonies before this—

Mr. Shaw said—Yes, yes, that is so. But you surely have some idea of what expenses you will have to incur or what you can afford ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said simply—I have no

resources, Mr. Shaw. In fact I am totally impecunious. The only property we had were a gold necklace weighing ten tolas and a pair of gold bangles of about three tolas ; but I sold those when the Pathshala was set up. Now I have nothing to call my own—

Mathur Shaw Mashai was a large hearted person.

He said—Still, how much money, do you think, you will need ?

The Pandit Mashai said—A length of vermilion coloured string should serve in place of ornaments. I shall cut the string in two pieces and tie the pieces on her wrists.

Mathur Shaw smiled in amusement.

He said—That does not work, Pandit Mashai. You may do that ; but what about your daughter ? She may have some desires and expectations.

He thought for a while. Then said—It is all right, you go home, make all other necessary arrangements, we shall undertake between us all responsibilities of your daughter's marriage. You are the Pandit of the Balarampur School, your daughter's marriage means our daughter's marriage. Now go home and assure your wife and ask her not to worry—

So saying, he sent Gour Bhattacharjee home.

That daughter was now dead ! As unexpected, and as heartbreaking. Gour Bhattacharjee took all his classes at school and then slowly went back towards his house. By that time his wife had come to know of this and had lost consciousness. The news had spread and a number of people had turned up at the house. They looked at the face of the Pandit Mashai when he entered the house.

And said—Why were you at the school, so long, Pandit Mashai ? There is no one here to look after Aunty.

Pandit Mashai got on to the landing, sat

down and said—A cosmic Maya or fundamental illusion pervades everything, Naren. God has pronounced in the Geeta, only Brahma the Great Spirit exists, material objects and natural phenomena are only false appearances, they have no fundamental reality. They are non-existent and I achieve nothing by exercising my mind or by shedding tears. Good words full of sound wisdom. Nothing could be better.

Naren asked in a slow whisper—What happened, and how ?

Pandit Mashai replied—My son-in-law wrote that the daughter was not keeping good health. I thought I would go over and bring the daughter and the grand-son over here. But the ideas did not take any material shape. I had not managed to go—

Mathur Shaw's son Nimai Shaw had also come.

—Would you be going over there now ?

Pandit Mashai said—What use would it be, my boy ? My going would not bring my daughter back.

Naren asked—Who are there at your son-in-law's house ?

Pandit Mashai said—They were only the two of them in their family. And the grand child. Now things would be totally lonesome. If the grand-son is brought over here, the son-in-law would be quite alone—

Basanti was weilding a hand fan sitting by the side of the prostrate lady of the house.

She brought her mouth near her ear and said—Aunty, get up and lie on the bed—

Rani appeared to have become utterly speechless by witnessing these happenings. That atmosphere of great sorrow and funereal quiet had sealed up her young mouth since the early afternoon.

She said at last—Ma, will Fatik come over here ?

Basanti said admonishingly—You shut up !
There is no need for you to talk !

Shibani stirred at last. As if she heard what was said. She suddenly wailed loudly and drew Rani into her lap with her outstretched arms she said—Do not scold her Bouma. Does she understand anything ?

Then she clasped Rani into her bosom and went on weeping silently.

* * *

The Balarampur school did not stop functioning on account of the death of the Pandit Mashai's daughter. The reason for this was that the Pandit Mashai would not allow any such cessation. Nothing stops anybody in this earthly set up. The Pandit Mashai had turned up for at the school the following day.

Janardan too was amazed.

Janardan said—Pandit Mashai, you might have stayed away from school to-day—

Anilesh had rushed up to Bhabaranjan's room.

—Head Master, the Pandit Mashai has come to school even to-day !

Bhabaranjan quickly went over, having heard about this. He found Pandit Mashai in a complaining mood—What about the bell, Janardan, why have you not rung the bell ?

Janardan would have rung the bell. But the Pandit Mashai was, as was his habit, in a great hurry.

—Shut the gate, shut the gate, Janardan—

As soon as the gate was closed, all the boys of the school assembled in their own classes and began chanting—

Jagadudbhava Palana Nashakarang.....

Pranamami Shivan Shiva Kalpatarum.....

This Sanskrit Verse in praise and adoration of God, had been regularly chanted at the

start of school work since the foundation of the institution. When Naren was young, he recited it, so did Nimai Shaw, Bhabaranjan, Binu's Mother's son Binod who is now a magistrate. This has been a compulsory practice in this school.

Pandit Mashai used to say—It is good to read out this you know, one should commence studies by taking the name of God—

The chanting of the sacred verse was going on in the classes and the Pandit Mashai had gone over to the main gate.

—Here you, why are you so late ? Why so late ? Is this half-past-ten by your timing ?

One of them said—I had fever sir, yesterday—

—Fever ? If you had fever yesterday, why did you come to school to-day ?

—You would scold me if I did not come.

Pandit Mashai said—Let me see, your forehead—

He stretched, his hand out through the gate and touched the boy's forehead. It felt hot.

He blew up the boy. Said—You still have fever ! Go home, no school for you, go ! You must save your life first, then do your studying. If you die you can not learn any lessons. First health, then lessons—

The boy was not allowed to come in. He bowed his head down and went back home.

—Next, you ? Why are you late ?

This way, he cross questioned each late comer and then let any one come in.

Then came that Sasadhar. Sasadhar Sarcar was late also that day.

He said—Shame Sasadhar, you come late everyday. If all of you come late in this manner in front of all students, whom will they emulate ?

Sashadhar had no shame. He came through the slight opening of the gate and Pandit Mashai said—I have to keep my head down in shame before the students because you all come late ! What is the matter with you ! If you come a little earlier to school, would that nullify the basic facts of the Mahabharat ?

As he went inside into the Teacher's Common Room the Bengali Teacher Girish Das said—Well, Sashadhar Babu, Pandit Mashai caught you, did he ?

Sasadhar Babu was standing under an electric fan then, trying to get dry after his hot journey.

He said—Oh stow it ! Pandit Mashai spoke and I heard, there it ended. His daughter died yesterday and he came to school right on time to-day ! A lunatic at large ! What intoxication, my god ! A dipsomaniac can forget his drink for a day ; but the Pandit Mashai excels all confirmed drunkards—

Pandit Mashai had gone straight up to Bhabaranjan's room. He put down the names of all late comers on a sheet of paper and filed it with the Head Master saying—Here you are ; these are the late comers. You call them up and ask them to explain—

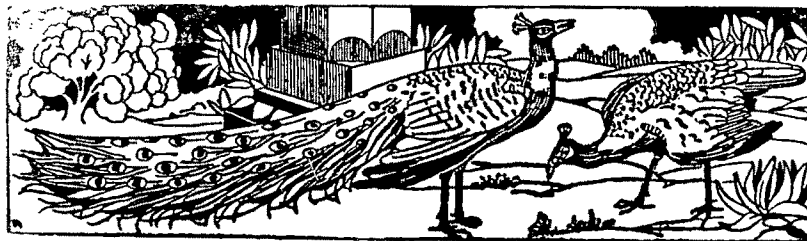
Then he added—Unless you do this, you will not be able to run the school, Bhaba, when I was Head Master I did the same with you all ; now you are Head Master, you will have to do the same. And if you do not then this school, which I built up with great difficulty, will go to rack and ruin ; I tell you—

Bhabaranjan picked up the paper and kept looking at the face of the Master Mashai for a while and then said—There is so much trouble and sorrow in your house, why did you come to school to-day Pandit Mashai—

But all those words hardly entered the ears of the Pandit Mashai. There was much left to do. It will be necessary to refill the great earthen pot perhaps, he will have to check up. The attendance book will have to be examined to see which teachers, if any, have not come to work to-day. Pandit Mashai has a lot of work. Anything that he did not examine and investigate personally would be likely to go wrong.. ..

He had left the room, by then.

(To be continued)



RISE IN THE BANK RATE

N. KAMARAJU PANTULU

Better late than never. The Reserve Bank of India has at last raised the bank rate from 5 percent to 6 percent on 8th January. While announcing this important decision at a press conference in Bombay, the Governor of the Reserve Bank told the newsmen that this decision is taken after a careful review of the present monetary and price situation in the country. The rise in the bank rate, is, in fact, long over due. We must heartily congratulate the Government of India for taking this very bold step just before the Mid-term poll. The increase in the bank rate will undoubtedly displease the cross section of the community—the business man, industrialists and the consumers as well, as the immediate effect will be a rise in the cost of borrowings from the commercial banks, which may, naturally be passed on to the consumers in the shape of a rise in prices. Whatever the warnings, assurances and safeguards announced by the Reserve Bank in preventing this shift of rising costs to the purchasers, it is the only inevitable outcome in the present situation. Undeterred by the increasing pressures from various angles, the Government has at last come down to face the realities of the economic situation in the country and has exhibited, once again, its earnest desire to curb the inflationary tendencies, the undue expansion of credit by the commercial banks, the speculative activities which have reached their unprecedented heights and to regulate the flow of the limitedly available funds in the banking system to the desired channels, the preferred sectors of the economy. The primary objective of the rise in the bank rate seems to be to check the

undue expansion of credit, curbing inflation and to encourage further mobilisation of deposits. The selective credit controls have obviously failed. The Reserve Bank of India is left with no other option except to raise the bank rate.

The Governor of The Reserve Bank has announced a series of other measures also, to achieve the desired results. The minimum net liquidity ratio has been raised by one percent, from the present level of 33 percent to 34 percent. The interest rate on the savings Banks deposits has been increased from 3.5 percent to 4 percent. The interest rates on a number of other short term and long term deposits have also been raised simultaneously. The Reserve Bank has announced that it would provide refinance facilities to the priority sectors like exports, small industries, farmers, cereals and food procurement agencies at the existing rates only.

Anybody who has the least concern for the relentless rise in prices and its effect on the common man will not question the necessity of raising the bank rate. The index number of the wholesale prices of food articles reached a level of 201.8 and the commodity price index rose to 200.7 on 1st January, 1971. There is a rise of 7.4 percent in the index of the wholesale prices during the year ended 1970. The money supply with the public also rose by 12.4 percent during the year from 6086 crores to 6839 crores on 1st January, 1971. The bank credit of the scheduled commercial banks rose by nearly 21.6 percent during the preceding year i.e. from 3637 crores to 4495 crores during the calendar year 1970. The borrow-

ings of the commercial banks from the Reserve Bank during the current busy season, similarly rose to Rs. 192 crores as against Rs. 58 crores during the last busy season. The credit expansion by the commercial banks during the current busy season rose to a level of 182 crores as against Rs. 124 crores in the last busy season. The undue expansion of credit by the commercial banks is responsible to a very large extent for the steep rise in prices. We need not blame the commercial banks for the soaring prices. It is the liberalisation of the credit policies, and the new postures in the lending operations, that emerged as a result of the nationalisation of the fourteen commercial banks last year and the avowed policy of easing the flow of cheap credit to low income groups, the self employed persons, the small industrialists, artisans, and the small farmers etc. and the overgenerous policy of the Reserve Bank of India to these new classes of borrowers irrespective of their creditworthiness, repaying capacity and the productivity of the loans that are to be blamed for the havoc, of the inflationary spiral we are witnessing to-day in the country. It is good that the Reserve Bank of India has also realised the utter futility and the virtual ineffectiveness of the selective credit control measures exercised by it from time to time during the whole of the preceding calendar year. It is also evident that the Government of India has at last heeded to the advice of the Reserve Bank of India, to restrain the inflationary spiral at the earliest moment.

The more pertinent point or rather the greater relevant issue to be discussed at the present critical juncture, is not the propriety of raising the bank rate, but the degree and extent of its effectiveness in curbing the inflationary spiral in the country ; regulating the flow of the limited available funds of the commercial banks to the needy, desirable and

preferential channels and sectors of the economy of India ; preventing the flow of easy money to the undesirable and anti-social activities of people, and promoting the deposit mobilisation at a vigorous pace. The high priests of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the prophets of gloom, frustration and despair have already rushed to the press with a plethora of statements expressing doubts on the effect of the rise in the bank rate on the price level. The Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Shri S. Jagannadhan himself admitted that the credit control measures have limited effect in our country. The leaders and the chief spokesmen of the industry and trade in the country have also expressed their deep concern over the possible adverse impact of the rise in the bank rate on the acceleration of the productive activity in the country, capital formation, new investments and the rise of equity capital etc. Grave doubts have also been expressed over the effectiveness of the new measures in deposit mobilisation on a larger scale ; checking the rise in prices and discouraging dealers and manufacturers from hoarding and building up large inventories. It is also feared that the new measures will make it more difficult to some industrial units even in the preferential sectors to secure the necessary credit and will slow down the growth of production of the commodities also. The new measures, it is suspected, will make it harder to narrow the gap between supply and demand and there is a possibility of further rise in the prices on account of the new pressures and strains on the economy emerging as a result of the rise in the bank rate. A lower rate of investment, suspected to emerge as a consequence of the raising of the costs of borrowing will only add to political and economic strains in the country in the coming months.

It is true that the mere one percent rise

in the bank rate is not going to curb the inflationary spiral totally. Its impact on the price situation is only likely to be marginal. It may not prove any more effective than the measure taken a year ago. In an under-developed and backward economy like that of India, where there is a vast unorganised money market ; large sums of hoarded and unaccounted wealth in the hands of a few rich and influential businessmen exist ; the margin of profit is so high that businessmen pay least attention to a scanty one percent rise in the interest rates ; no effective liaison between the organised and the unorganised sectors of the money market exist ; profiteering, black marketing, hoarding and other anti-social activities prevail on an extensive scale, no co-operation and co-ordination on sound lines exists between the different units in the banking system of the country and all other monetary fiscal and administrative policies have proved to be quite unsuccessful, we cannot expect any spectacular results from the rise in the bank rate from 5 percent to 6 percent in checking rising prices and regulating the flow of bank credit to the needy and preferential sectors of the economy etc.

The rise in the bank rate will be effective and successful and bring forth the desired results only if there is good co-operation and understanding and sympathy with the pressing needs of the economy among the different constituents of the banking structure and organisation in the country. There should also be a proper and effective implementation of the policies and decisions already arrived at both in letter and spirit. The commercial

banks should pay increased attention to the needs of credit planning on sound and scientific lines and exercise the greatest restraint in their lending operations. The increased cost of credit should not be passed on to the consumers ultimately by the borrowers through raising prices. This can be ensured only through keeping a constant watch over the price level and its movements and taking timely, appropriate and effective measures in preventing a further rise in prices. The increase in the bank rate must be accompanied by a series of selective credit controls simultaneously. The fiscal policies should also be suitably modified in order to give adequate support to the rise in the bank rate. Strong administrative action against the profiteers, blackmarketeers, and hoarders is also called for. Every possible step must be taken to unearth the hoarded and unaccounted for money ; an effective liaison must be established between the organised and unorganised sectors of the money market and the economy of the country. It must be admitted that the lasting solution for curbing inflation lies only in the improvement in the supply position through larger inflow of crops and greater productivity of the industrial and agricultural fronts of the economy of the nation. Let us not be pessimistic. However, slight is the rise in the bank rate announced on 8th January, it constitutes nevertheless a step in the right direction. Let us pray that this step in the right direction will bring the necessary and desired effects on the economy. As suggested by Mr. S. Jagannadhan, the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India "we have to set the ball rolling".



TITLE MAHATMA WAS CONFERRED ON GANDHI 55 YEARS AGO

KAILASH NATH MEHROTRA

The epithet, Mahatma, a Sanskrit word meaning a great soul, is not unknown in India, since time immemorial. But now it signifies a new meaning and specifies a single man who is known all the world over as MAHATMA

In 1893, a young Barrister-at-Law, Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi sailed from Bombay for South Africa on a private assignment. But destiny made him a social worker and soon he became a leader of his fellow-Indian community of settlers, who were living under many social and political handicaps.

The Gandhi story in South Africa is an important chapter in the History of the freedom movement in modern times. South Africa was the nursery for Gandhi's future greatness. But a few Indians understood him rightly at that time, though he returned to India after about 21 years' unique struggle with glittering success.

Of course a section of our people believed that he would fulfil the mission of a Deliverer, so hailed him as a budding Hero, and lovingly began calling him Mahatma.

The following story may throw some light on an obscure aspect of GANDHI's life.

The story is told that while engaged in his struggle for the freedom and rights of his fellowmen in South-Africa, Gandhi felt a dire need for money and appealed to the people of India for handsome contributions. His Private Secretary Gaurishankar Pandya, also wrote to his uncle, Vaidyaraj Jivaram Kalidas Shastri, Rajvaidya to the royal family of Gondal, a native state in Saurashtra, for money.

In response to this call the Maharaja of Gondal, Bhagvatisingh, sent to Gandhi a sum of Rupees 35,000, which was of great help to him in the non-violent struggle.

On arrival in India in 1915, Gandhi went to Gondal, to offer thanks to the Maharajah, personally for his munificence.

Ranchoddas Vrindavandas Patwari, the Dewan and Vaidyaraj Jivaram Kalidas Shastri received prior information of his impending visit to Gondal. The Dewan promptly informed the Maharaja about this visit. Then His Highness instructed him to make arrangements for his reception.

On January 24th, 1915, on his arrival at Gondal, Gandhi was accorded reception in a befitting manner by the officials and the people of the State.

Next day, he paid a courtesy call on the Maharaja. There he met the State Officers and the prominent persons of the State.

On January 26th, he had dinner with His Highness and the members of the Royal family. In the evening he addressed a public meeting which lasted more than three hours.

On 27th January, in the early hours, it was announced that a public meeting will be held in the Rasashala Aushadhashram premises and the Vaidyaraj Jivaram Kalidas Shastri would accord reception to Gandhi on behalf of Rasashala Aushadhashram and present an address and give the title of Mahatma to him.

By nine O'clock, more than five thousand people, including about a thousand women, gathered in the Rasashala compound. At 10 A.M. Gandhi arrived with his family

members, and the audience stood up in reverence to receive him.

The Maharaja and the prominent people of the State were also present at the function. Dewan Ranchoddas Vrindavandas Patwari presided at the meeting. Vaidyaraja, now known as Acharya Shri Charantirth Maharaj read out his address thus :

"My lord Krishna and Shiva do good unto you :

First I express my deep gratefulness to you and to Kastur Ba for the great honour accorded to us and especially to Ayurveda by this gracious visit to Rasashala. I do not wish to deliver a long speech. The minute observation and perusal of your glorious character shows that you are another link in the galaxy of venerable heroes of Ancient India, Harishchandra, Ram Krishna, Maharaja Pratap, Shivajee Maharaj and the like, about whom Indians have sung and praised.

Your life and character are being extolled nobly in all quarters of the country, and have

gained reverence for you in every country of the world. How can I do justice to your qualities in the course of such a small address ? It would be fitting to say that the whole India is indebted to you.

Your good qualities of head and heart have inspired me to sing your praises in Sanskrit and as a Brahmin, offer my blessings to you."

The address ended with the words "Inspired by your good deeds, I, on behalf of this institution (Rasashala Aushadhashram), present to you this Address, containing the title "Mahatma"."

The Address was handed over to Gandhi in a silver casket. With the concluding speech of the president, the meeting dispersed and the people went their way amidst shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai."

After this public appreciation, Gandhi became known as Mahatma Gandhi throughout India.



ON SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIAN PRINCES

R. S. MACHALPURKAR

Occasion for the above arose because of the overpowering progress of the East India Company in the territories of India and the equal relations sought to be established with the Indian Princes, as sovereign powers of their respective territories vis-a-vis the areas taken by the East India Company under its control in the beginning for trade establishment and further transformed into Company-administered units along with agreements and treaties for a common control of defence, communications and foreign relations.

The first legislation concerning the above matters we find in the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1858 and thence we have the gradual progress and process of confirmation and transformation through the various legislations viz. Government of India Act, 1861, Act of 1915, Act of 1919, Government of India Act, 1935, Provisional Constitutional Order, 1947, Extra Provincial Jurisdiction Act, 1947, Indian Independence Act, 1947 and (1) the administration of Indian States Order, 1948, (2) the States Merger Order, 1949 and (3) the Constitution of India, 1950.

In all the above legislations, 'it is fully apparent that in India, there has been the "System of dual sovereigns" well recognised and well framed.

The provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, along with the Government of India Act, 1935, stand as basis for our constitutional set-up of to-day and the position of both the Acts have been very well expressed in A. I. R. 1950, All. 11 :—

"It seems.....that there is a case of

'legislation by reference' and the Government of India Act, 1935, has been in substance incorporated in the Independence Act. At any rate, it may be said that both The Independence Act and The Government of India Act, are enactments of the same constitutional nature and the two are therefore supplementary to each other.

"The Government of India Act, 1935 as amended by the Governor-General and the Independence Act, 1947, are inseparably connected with each other and must be read together."

Thus the Government of India, Act, 1935, commands a special attention for appreciating the system of suzerainty in co-operation to the Federation of India, as it existed prior to 1935 Act and also thereafter to this date.

Section 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935 defines the terms (a) India, (b) British India and (c) Indian States, as under :—

(a) "India" means British India together with all the territories of the Indian Rulers under the suzerainty of His Majesty, all the territories under the suzerainty of such an Indian Ruler, the Tribal Areas and any other territories which His Majesty in Council, may, from time to time after ascertaining the views of the federal Government and the Federal Legislature, declare to be part of India :

(b) "British India" means all territories for the time being comprised within the Governors' Provinces and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces :

(c) "Indian States" include any territory,

whether described as State and an Estate, a Jagir, or otherwise—belonging to or under the suzerainty of a Ruler who is under the suzerainty of his Majesty and not being a part of the British India.”

This makes it clear that the territory under the Indian States was under the suzerainty of the Ruler thereof while the Ruler himself was for some specified matters—under the suzerainty of His Majesty and both were sovereign powers for respective purposes. Thus the theory of dual sovereignty is fully established.

Section 47 of the Government of India Act, 1935, further upholds the above theory :

“Whereas certain territory (in this Act referred as “Berar”) is under the sovereignty of his Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, but is on the date of the passing of this Act, by virtue of certain agreements subsisting between His Majesty and His Exalted Highness, administered together with the Central Provinces :”

“Whereas it is in contemplation that the agreement shall be concluded between His Majesty and His Exalted Highness whereby, notwithstanding the continuance of the sovereignty of His Exalted Highness over Berar, the Central Provinces and Berar may be governed together as one Governor’s province under this Act by the name of the Central Provinces and Berar” :

“Now therefore (1) while any such agreement is in force (a) Berar and the Central Provinces shall notwithstanding the continuance of the sovereignty of His Exalted Highness, be deemed to be one Governor’s province by the name of the Central Provinces and Berar : (b) Any reference in this Act or in any other Act to British India shall be construed as a reference to British India and Berar and any reference in this Act to subjects of His Majesty shall except for the purposes

of oath of allegiance, be deemed to include a reference to Berar subjects of His Exalted Highness.”

Sections 5 and 6 of the Government of India Act, 1935, provided for the establishment of a Federation of India as under :—

Section 5 :— “There shall be united in a Federation under the Crown, by the name of Federation of India (a) the Provinces hereafter called the Governors’ Provinces, (b) the Indian States which have acceded or may thereafter accede to the Federation : (c) There shall be included the provinces hereinafter called as the Chief Commissioners’ Provinces.”

Section 6 :— “A State shall be deemed to have acceded to the Federation..... by the Ruler thereof, where by an instrument of accession, the Ruler for himself, his heirs and his successors—(a) Declare that he acceded to the Federation as established under this Act, with the intent that His Majesty the King, the Governor-General of India, the Federal Legislation. The Federal Court and any other Federal authority established for the purposes of Federation, shall by virtue of his Instrument of Accession, but *subject always to the terms thereof and for the purposes only of the Federation, exercise in relation to his State such functions as may be vested in them by or under this Act.*”

And sub-section (2) further made it specific that.....“An Instrument of Accession shall specify the matters which the Ruler accepts as matters with respect to which the Federal Legislature may make Laws for his State and the limitations, if any, to which the power of the Federal Legislature to make Laws for his State, and the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation in his State, are respectively to be subject.”

Sub-section 5 : It shall be a term of every Instrument of Accession that the provisions of

this Act mentioned in the second Schedule thereto may, without affecting the accession of the State, be amended by or by authority of the Parliament, but no such amendment shall unless it is accepted by the Ruler in a Supplementary Instrument, be construed as extending the functions which by virtue of the Instrument are exercisable by His Majesty or any other Federal Authority in relation to the State.

It is also provided by sub-section 3 that : "A Ruler may, by a supplementary Instrument of Accession executed by him and accepted by his Majesty, vary the Instrument of Accession of his State by extending the functions which by virtue of that Instrument are exercisable by His Majesty or any Federal Authority in relation to his State."

And it is in these circumstances that a State which acceded to the Federation is referred to as Federated State and the Instrument by virtue of which a State has so acceded is construed, together with any supplementary Instrument if executed, as Instrument of Accession of that State.

Thus it appears that the Scheme of Federation enunciated by the Government of India Act, 1935, proceeded on the basis of common welfare and better administration by delegated authority of two or more sovereign powers to a common control. Plainly enough, this common control was confined to the limited objects and specified subjects, it was not at all directed to wipe out or abolish the suzerainty of any State as such. This view is fully corroborated by the provisions of sec. 101 along with secs. 125 and 122 of the Government of India Act, 1935 :

Sec. 101 : "Nothing in this Act shall be construed as empowering the Federal Legislature to make Laws for a federated State otherwise than in accordance with the Instrument of Accession of that State and any limitations contained therein."

"Sec. 125 : Notwithstanding anything in this Act, Agreements may and if provision has been made in that behalf by the Instrument of Accession of the State, shall be made between the Governor-General and the Ruler of the Federated State for the exercise by the Ruler or his Officers of functions in relation to the administration in his State of any Law of the Federal Legislature which, applies therein."

Sec. 122 (3) : "Without prejudice to any of the other provisions of this part of this Act, in the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation in any Province or Federated State, regard shall be had to the interests of that State or Province."

And it is in the light of the above controlling provisions that sec. 204 was inserted in the Act to safeguard the rights and the obligations of the Sovereign powers contemplated to proceed under the Federation.....

Sec. 204 (1) : Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Federal Court shall, to the exclusion of any other Court, have an original jurisdiction in any dispute between any two or more of the following parties i. e. to say, the Federation, any of the provinces or any of the Federal States if and in so far as the dispute involves any question—(Whether of Law or fact) on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends.

And thus the respective rights and the Sovereign powers of the respective units stand proclaimed and recognised even to the extent of agitating and vindicating the same through a Court of Law. To this State of affairs existing prior to the commencement of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, a recognition is also given by sec. 19 (4) of the latter Act.

Reference to the Government of India Act, 1935, include reference to any enactments amending or supplementing that Act and in particular, reference to the India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946 :

"India" where reference to a State of affairs existing before the appointed day or which would have existed, but for the passing of this Act, has the meaning assigned to it by Sec. 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935 ;

Sec. 7 (b) of the Indian Independence Act, 1947 proclaim only with this aspect very emphatically that :

"The Suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States—lapses and with it all the treaties and agreements in force at the date of passing of this Act between His Majesty and the Rulers of the Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to the Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards the Indian States or the Rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority and jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to the Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise and

(c) and the lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of passing of this Act between His Majesty and any persons having authority in the tribal areas and obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas and all powers rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable at that date by His Majesty in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise ;"

"Provided that : Notwithstanding anything contained in paragraph (b) or (c).....

effect shall as nearly as may be continued to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as is therein referred to which relate to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs or other like matters, until the provisions in question are denounced by the Ruler of the Indian State or person having authority in the tribal areas on the one hand or by the Dominion or Province or other

part thereof concerned on the other hand or are superseded by subsequent agreements."

Further we find the position again recognised and proclaimed through the Instruments of Accession as also the Preamble of the Covenants executed by the Indian Princes with regard to their States on one hand and the United Kingdom and the Government of India the Union of India as the case may be, on the other hand.

The preamble of the Instruments of Accession reads as follows :—

"Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that from the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall set up an Independence Dominion known as India and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall with such omission, additions and modifications as the Governor-General may by order specify be applicable to the Dominion of India."

"Whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adopted by the Governor-General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof ;"

"Now therefore I..... Ruler of..... in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State, do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and.....

A N D the Covenant proceeds with the declaration that—

"We the Rulers being convinced that the welfare of the people of this region can best be secured by the establishment of a State comprising of territories of our respective States, with a common executive, legislature and judiciary....."

"A N D having resolved to entrust to a constituent assembly consisting of elected representatives of the people, the drawing up of Democratic Constitution for the State within the frame-work of the Constitution of India, to which we have already acceded to and of this Covenant :"

"DO HEREBY, with concurrence and guidance of the Government of India, enter into the following Covenant....."

Thus it will appear that there existed a special form of suzerainty in India. It was based on the treaties and engagements between the two sovereign powers i. e. the Indian Princes on the one hand and the East India Company, His Majesty, United Kingdom or the Government of India on the other hand. The general concept of the suzerainty could not be applied to it. Under the treaties and engagements, the East India Company, the British Crown His Majesty, had accepted the responsibility for external relations, defence and communication while the Indian Princess had full sway in the internal affairs and administration. Thus both were sovereigns in respective spheres.

Here it will be worthwhile appreciating the fine and material distinction of the relevant term.....

(a) Procured and secured Suzerainty

A N D

(b) Acquired and delegated sovereign powers.

It was a secured suzerainty of the Indian Princes and a delegated sovereign power for the British Crown ; it was not procured suzerainty and not an acquired sovereign power, for the latter.

The set-up of the above type had given a secured suzerainty to the Indian Princes for their territories while the responsibility as to the external relations, defence, etc. had passed to the British Crown under various treaties and agreements as well defined and delegated on basis of equality and not as procured. Similarly the Scheme was not of acquired Sovereign powers but of delegation of specific powers for specific purposes.

It thus means the Indian Princes continued to hold their sovereign powers of administra-

tion and prerogative—rights as Rulers and masters of their territories with full scope as to external relations and defence and communications delegated to the British Crown on specific terms and when the British Crown quitted India declaring by virtue of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, Sec. 7 (b), that the Indian States were free to join any of the two Dominions—merely as an option or to continue even as Independent Unit without any imposition or restriction what so ever, the delegation has returned back.

The position of the Indian Ruler at the commencement of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, was of a suzerain power fully independent and free to join any dominion or strive as a separate unit. Sec.2 Indian Independence Act, 1947, declared...., "the territories of Indian shall be the territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty which immediately before the appointed day, were included in British India except the territories which under sub. sec 2 of this sec. are to be the territories of Pakistan....."and Sub-sec. 4 provided :—

"Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of sub-sec. 3 of this sec. nothing in this section shall be construed as preventing the accession of Indian States to either of the new Dominions."

This was on the back ground of the express statement of recommendations by the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy in 1947, in regard to the basic form of "Constitution for India." We recommend that the Constitution should take the following basic form :

(1) There should be a Union of India embracing both the British India and the States which should deal with the following subjects—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

The recitals from the then Home Minister of India, Hon'ble late Sardar V. Patel, as published in the book White Paper on Indian States, further clarify the position :—

"The so-called lapse of paramountcy was a part of the plan announced on June 3, 1947, which was accepted by the Congress. We agreed to the arrangement in the same manner as we agreed to the partition of India..... While there was recognition in the various announcements of the British Government of the fundamental fact that each State should link up its future with that Dominion with which it was geographically contiguous the Independence Act, released the States from all the obligations to the British Crown. In their various authoritative pronouncements, the British spokesman recognised that with the lapse of the paramountcy, technically and legally, the States would become Independent. They conceded that theoretically the States were free to link up their future with whichever Dominion they like."

The situation was indeed fraught with immeasurable potentiality of disruption, for some of the Rulers, did wish to exercise their technical right to declare Independence and others to join the neighbouring Dominion. If the Rulers had exercised their right in such an unpatriotic manner, they would have found considerable support from influential elements hostile to the interests of this country."

"It was against this unpropitious background that the Government of India, invited the Rulers of States to accede to three subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Communications. At the time, the proposal was put forward to the Rulers, an assurance was given to them that they would retain the status quo except for accession on these subjects. It had made clear that accession did not imply any

financial liability on the part of the States and that there was no intention either to encroach on the internal autonomy or the sovereignty of the State or to fetter their discretion in respect of their acceptance of the new Constitution of India.....There was nothing to compell or induce the Rulers to merge the identity of their States."

"If the Rulers had elected to stay out, they would have continued to draw heavy civil list which they were drawing before and in a large number of cases they could have continued to enjoy unrestricted use of the State Revenues. The minimum which we could offer to them as QUID PRO QUO for the parting with their ruling powers was to guarantee them Privy Purses and certain privileges on a reasonable and defined basis.."

This very line of thought, this very basic principle of Federation has been adopted and carried further by the Constitution of India in Art. 2 and 73.

(2) The Parliament may by Law admit into the Union or establish new States on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit."

Art 73.....Subject to the provisions of this constitution, the executive power of the Union shall extend.....

(a) to matters with respect to which Parliament has power to make Laws ; and

(b) to exercise of such rights, authority and jurisdiction as are exercisable by the Government of India by virtue of any treaty or agreement....."

That the Indian States had become completely independent and sovereign on the 15th August, 1947 and it was so contemplated, accepted and admitted by all the concerned highest authorities at the relevant time, will be apparent from the following recitals as well :

(1) "The rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and.....all the rights

surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States. Political arrangements between the States on the one hand and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them. "(Memorandum dated My 12, 1946, issued by the Cabinet Mission sent by the British Government of India)."

(2) "The paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the New Government." (Cabinet Mission's Plan announced on May 16, 1946.).

(3) "His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that.....their policy towards the Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of 12th May, 1946, remains unchanged". (British Government's Statement of June 3, 1947, which was accepted by both the Congress and the Muslim League and formed the basis of the method of transfer of power to the successor Governments.).

(4) "The States have already accepted the basic principles that for defence, foreign affairs and communications, they would come into the Indian Union. We ask no more of them than accession on these three subjects in which the common interests of the Country are involved. In other matters, we would scrupulously respect their autonomous existence." (Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's statement on July 5, 1947.).

(5) "Withdrawal of paramountcy would enable the States to regain complete sovereignty.....Now the Indian Independence Act releases the States from all their obligations to the Crown. The States have complete freedom—technically and legally they are independent." (Address of Lord

Mountbatten, the Viceroy of India, to the Chamber of Princes on July 25, 1947.).

(6) "Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State or save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority or rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State." (The Instrument of Accession which the Indian States signed when they acceded to the Union of India prior to August 15, 1947.).

(7) "The Indian Independence Act, 1947, released the States from all their obligations to the Crown. It was evident that if in consequence the Indian States became separate Independent entities, there would be a serious vacuum not only with regard to the political relationship between the Central Government and the States, but also in respect of the co-ordination of all-India policies in the economic and other fields. All that the Dominion Government inherited from the paramount power was Proviso to sec. 7 of the Indian Independence Act, which provided for the continuance until denounced by either of the parties, of agreements between the Indian States and the Central Government and Provincial Governments in regard to specified matters, such as customs, Posts & Telegraphs, etc." (White Paper on Indian States p. 32).

The legal position stands well recognised by the Bench of seven learned Judges of the Supreme Court in the case of State of Gujarat Vs. Vora Fida Ali and others, A. I. R. 1964, S. C. 1043 :—

"The Native Indian Rulers were undoubtedly sovereign in the territories under their jurisdiction; and they parted with their sovereignty in stages, first on accession, then on integration and finally by what has been falaciously termed in the White Paper on Indian States as" Unionisation i.e. by the States territory becoming part and parcel of

the territory of the Union of India which meant the complete extinction of their separate existence, as individual sovereignty and of their States as separate political Units." (per B. P. Sinha, C. J. and Rajagopala Ayyangar, J. Under sec. 7 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the suzerainty of the British Crown over the States lapsed, with the result that the Sant State became a full sovereign State. (per Subba Rao, J.) The former State of Santrampur (also called Sant State).....was an Indian State and the Ruler attained independence and sovereignty on August 15, 1947 on the ceasing of the paramountcy of the British Crown." (per Hidayatulla, J.)

"This State along with other ruling States in India became an independent sovereign State in the year, 1947 when the Dominion of India and Pakistan were constituted." (per Mudholkar J.)

"The first question to consider is whether there took place either in Law or in fact. It takes place in Law, when there is a judicial substitution of one State for another. It takes place in fact when there is (a) annexation (i) or, (b) cession (ii), or (c) fusion of one State with another (iii), or (d) entry into a federal Union (iv), or (e) partition (v), or (i) separation or secession (vi). It will be seen that on the 26th January, 1950, there was no succession in fact because none of these events took place."

"In this sense, though the people of India gave themselves a Constitution, there was no State succession in so far as the people of the Sant State were concerned. For them, the State succession was over some time before. No doubt, when the Dominion of India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic, there was a breaking away from the British Crown, but that there was a State succession in a different field. We are not concerned with the succession of India from the British

Crown but with the State succession between the Sant State and India and there was no second succession in 1950. Whatever had happened already happened in 1948 when the Sant State merged with the Dominion of India. The Act of State which began in 1948, could continue uninterrupted even beyond 1950 and it did not lapse or get replaced by another Act of State. The Constitution no doubt guaranteed the rights of the citizens."

All this goes to prove beyond doubt the indisputable position that right from the days of the East India Company to the present working under the Constitution of India, there has been in India "the system of two sovereigns" well preserved and well framed, well recognised and well followed; the Indian States recognised as sovereign powers and the East India Company and His Majesty, the United Kingdom, the British Parliament and then the Federation of India attending to the specific administrative matters, under delegated authority may be through treaty, agreement or engagement or may be through instrument of Accession or Covenants all meaning and leading to and contemplated for one result viz.—better administration under common control.

As specifically referred to above, the glaring fact that by virtue of the Merger Agreement what the States have done is that the States have ceded, in fact entrusted their territories to the Union of India, fairly and squarely with the sincere and honest intention of enabling a better administration and welfare of the public as a whole, under a democratic Scheme of one Rashtrapati and one Parliament, a common legislature.

It is thus that the so-called paramountcy of the Parliament of India, in fact flows from the suzerainty of the Indian Princes through the medium of the Instruments of Accession, the Covenants, the Merger Agreements; it

is neither procured nor acquired one. It stands on the conception of existing sovereignty with States and not on the principle of abolition thereof.

True, it has been held in 1950 All. p. 11 that there can be only one Sovereign in the Country but it has to be respectfully submitted that it is distinguishable in so far as it does not proceed on the consideration of the above material aspect of the political set-up.

The aforesaid factors are not only material but are of a decisive nature and it is on the background of the above set-up, the aforesaid system of dual sovereignty, that the problem of existence and continuance of the Privy Purse and special privileges as also the continuance of the Indian Princes in the political set-up of India, will have to be appreciated.

P. S. :— And now

The *Majority Verdict of the Supreme Court* further corroborates and strengthens the above position of the Indian Princes by the *findings* :-

1. Article 291 gives rise to an obligation to pay the Privy Purses independently of the Covenants and agreements. The Constitution imposes upon the Union Government a directive to pay the Privy Purses.
2. Article 291 of the Constitution in terms recognises and accepts the obligations of the Union to pay the Privy Purses to the Rulers. The words clearly raise an obligation of the Union to pay the Privy Purses,
3. The rights given to the Rulers by Article

291 of the Constitution do not relate to the Covenants or agreements and hence Art. 363 does not bar the jurisdiction of the Courts.

4. An order merely derecognizing a Ruler without providing for continuation of Rulership which is an integral part of the Constitutional Scheme is plainly illegal.
5. The claim that the President could by exercise of a Political Power or a Sovereign power or an act of State derecognize the Rulers finds no countenance from the Constitution.
6. The power and authority which the Union may exercise against its citizens including the Rulers are strictly circumscribed by the Constitution and cannot be supported under the shelter of Paramountcy.
7. Article 363 does not bar a claim to any rights or privileges granted to the Rulers under the Statutory provisions and enactments.

Thus the status of Rulership and the obligations to pay Privy Purses to the Rulers under Article 291 along with the continuance of the special rights and privileges stand duly recognized by the Supreme Court and are under the Constitution nothing but absolute and even the right to claim the same when due, subsists in each Ruler,

And a thought contrary thereto is both neither desirable nor deserving and much less justifiable on any count.

U THANT'S PEACE PHILOSOPHY

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The United Nations and its subsidiary institutions, e. g. WHO, FAO, UNESCO, etc., symbolise the hopes and aspirations of all mankind for lasting peace on earth, based on social and economic justice to all men. It is fortunately headed by U Thant as Secretary-General. He is respected for his political and moral integrity, and courage to speak out on vital issues. As a Buddhist he symbolises the Buddha's concept of compassion (*Karuna*) and loving kindness (*Maitreya*).

U Thant recognises further that the way of establishing peace on earth is not through force and compulsion, but through making man's heart the fountain of compassion, not of hate. Thus he recognises the need for man to study and practise the ways leading to extinction of hate, greed and delusion. The Buddhist law (*Dharma*) shows the way of destroying evil, and Emperor Asoka has shown man that by accepting the law of the Buddha, war, sorrow, greed, hate and destruction can be avoided. Asoka (3rd century B. C.), realising this law (Buddha Dharma), gave up warfare after victory to dedicate the rest of his life to the welfare not only of the citizens of India, but of all mankind, to become one of the greatest, if not the noblest monarch in the annals of history.

Violence and Hate

U Thant, like the Buddha, recognises the

folly of trying to settle the difference among men through violence, because violence always begets hate and hate makes both those hated and hating unhappy. Justice to mankind cannot be brought about under the influence of resentment, anger, ill-will and hateful retaliation.

As the Buddha has said :

"Through hate, by hate overwhelmed, fettered in mind, one leads an evil life in bodily deeds, words and thoughts, and understands neither one's own welfare, nor the welfare of others, nor the welfare of both sides, according to reality. If however, hatred is overcome, neither in bodily deeds, words or thoughts does one lead an evil life, and according to reality one knows one's own welfare, the welfare of others and the welfare of both sides."

According to the *Samyatta Nikaya*, politics should be advanced "without killing, without hurting, without conquering, without making sad, only by complying with the law (*Dharma*).". Thus to the secular world they advocated the ideal of the realisation of peace.

When Ajatasatru, the son of Bimbisara and patricidal King of Magadha, wanted to attack the Vejjis, his neighbouring State, and sounded out the opinion of the Buddha through his minister Vassan Kara, he admonished him not to wage war (*Mahaparinirvana Sutta*).

USA and the UN

When President Nixon visited the United Nations headquarters as President-elect of America in January, 1969, and assured the Secretary-General, U Thant, of America's co-operation in bringing peace to the world through the United Nations, it was a great occasion for mankind and the United Nations. The Super Powers have been flouting the United Nations Charter by their selfish activities in Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Vietnam, and even in the Middle East.

The Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference is continuing its work in Geneva. On one hand, its work will be strengthened by the US Senate ratification of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, while on the other hand capped by the recent announcement by President Nixon to deploy a thin ABM system in the USA. It is said a "thin" ABM system would not enhance the nation's military security, and might well diminish it. The system would not be fully operational until 1973. By that time Communist China is likely to have more sophisticated weapons which could penetrate an ABM defence. No one disputes that the Russians already have the offensive power to break through Sentinel.

Therefore the decision to deploy an ABM system in the USA is most discouraging, as it would place her at a disadvantage and rather tend to escalate the arms race. Besides, the 8 billion dollars to be spent on this ABM system is badly needed to help the US ghetto people and the underdeveloped peoples of the world.

The Vietnam War

U Thant has made several proposals to end the Vietnam war. He called it the most barbarous war in history. He also stated that

the Vietnamese are fighting for national liberation and unification of their country. He believes it is nationalism not communism that animates the resistance movement in Vietnam. But the war goes on and on, destroying cities, villages, and killing and maiming people with endless hate. Not only are the Vietnamese people getting massacred: the cream of American youth is getting killed and wounded in battles over Vietnam. U Thant, other world leaders and Hindu and Buddhist Asians ask for peace, but this terrible war seems endless. Karma seems to taking a heavy toll of life, causing miserable living conditions to millions of the old and the young. Pictures of women destitute, with children around them, appear frequently in magazines and newspapers around the world.

Peace in South-East Asia is essential for her social and economic development. The United Nations cannot initiate peace discussions here as both Vietnam and China are not members of the UN.

Free elections based on the 1954 Geneva Conference on Vietnam, its neutralisation and mutual troop withdrawals of both North Vietnamese and American troops, are all essential for peace and stability in this region.

The Middle East

Waves of change in Asia have been stirred by nationalism and not by communism. America or any other Power should not become the Policemen of Asia, where more than half mankind lives. The Great Powers should support legitimate aspirations of the Asian people rather than support *status quo* and reactionaries.

U Thant recognises the need for peace in the Middle East. A home for Jews should be assured, but should this be at the expense of the Arabs? What U Thant has in mind is

no narrow Jewish or Arab nationalism. Today, Jews live in Israel surrounded by a sea of Arab and Moslem hate and vengeance, and nearly four million Arabs ousted from their homes live in abject poverty and cruel misery. Jews who have suffered for long years in Christendom should recognise that they should extend their goodwill, charity and benevolence to the Arabs.

Perhaps it is these facts of life that were brought to the attention of the Quaker Congress in New Jersey, when it was stated by U Thant that the sovereignty of the individual is greater than the sovereignty of a State. The audience was reminded that there cannot be peace in the Middle East without providing adequate compensation to the Arabs ousted from their ancestral lands by the creation of a Jewish state.

Duty of Great Powers

Middle East tension is not a private affair between Arab and Israeli. It is a danger to the whole world, and of legitimate concern to the whole world. And this world has both the right and the duty to protect itself against this tension getting out of hand, through the UN and the Great Powers.

The "Big Four Powers" of the United Nations Security Council (France, Soviet Union, United Kingdom and the United States of America) have agreed to initiate talks on the Middle East.

Under the United Nations Charter, U Thant said in a statement, the permanent members of the Security Council operated effectively in a crisis situation like that prevailing in the Middle East. In his view, the Council could perform its functions in the Middle East only with the involvement of the Big Powers and the co-operation of the parties directly concerned in the conflict.

This is welcome news to mankind, and with the assistance of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Big Four Powers could bring peace and stability to the Middle East, based on the 1967 Security Council resolution.

China's Isolation

The non-admittance of communist China to the United Nations is another threat to world peace. China, which represents one-fourth of mankind, is one of the greatest civilisations of mankind. In her isolation she has become paranoid and bitter. Those who act to keep her isolated do so in fear, hate and greed ; consequently there is tremendous tension in the Far East as manifested in wars in Korea and Vietnam.

Professor Reischauer states on China : "America should be less negative and defensive. America's attempt to isolate China has cost her dearly. America should respect Chinese nationalism and pave the way for China's entry into the world and UN."

U Thant feels that narrow nationalism is one of the prime obstacles to world peace and he chastises the members of the United Nations for jealously guarding their sovereign rights to the detriment of the common good of the international community. "*It is not the Charter of the United Nations that has failed the international community,*" he said once. "*It is the international community that has failed to live up to its responsibilities under the Charter.*"

The United Nations has no sovereign status over selfish national States. To some extent it has become a debating society and is sometimes manipulated unjustly for the selfish ends of some powerful States. This is a dangerous situation when man is living in the shadow of the all-destructive Hydrogen Bomb.

Men of Peace

U Thant states that world leaders, to have an honoured place in human history, must

appear as men of peace and not as mere victors in war. This fact has been amply proved before, when the Buddhist Emperor Asoka gave up warfare after victory and was the only monarch in history to do so. H. G. Wells writes of him in his "Outline of History": "Amidst the tens and thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone—a star. From Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India though it has left his doctrine, preserve the traditions of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne."

Racial Conflict

The Buddha said 2512 years ago that :

No man is noble by birth

No man is ignoble by birth

Man is only noble by his own action

Man is only ignoble by his own action.

Therefore, the racial conflict in South Africa where apartheid is practised is a threat to world peace. It denies to the native black African the basic human rights. He is relegated to an inferior place due to the pigment of his skin, and in consequence fraternity, freedom and human dignity are denied to him. U Thant is deeply concerned, as the United Nations has always demanded equal justice to all humanity.

U Thant stated to the United Nations Decolonisation Committee:

"In Particular, it is a source of grave and general concern that the colonial problems affecting the southern part of South Africa have increased as much in difficulty as in gravity; they do indeed present the most serious challenge to the collective will of the United Nations to ensure the elimination of

the vestiges of colonial rule. For this is a situation where millions of dependent peoples are denied the most fundamental human rights; their desire to exercise freely their inalienable right to self-determination is being stifled through the use of repressive measures by the authorities concerned, who would seem to be acting in collaboration with one another and with the acquiescence and assistance of certain powers. It is my view and confident hope that the Special Committee can, by following up the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, by reviewing the situation regarding these problems, and by recommending further action as necessary for the attention of States and the competent United Nations bodies, make a constructive contribution to the application of effective solutions."

The great roles played by UN subsidiary organisations to world peace should be stressed, such as FAO, UNESCO, WHO, UNICEF, indeed the whole UN Development programme. UN forces have helped to bring peace and stability to Congo and Cyprus. The United Nations needs a permanent peace and police force, to help to keep peace in troubled areas and help mankind in natural disasters.

The growing economic gap between the industrialised and developing nations has been the deep concern of U Thant and the United Nations. As prices of manufactured goods become dearer, and the prices of primary agricultural commodities fall, rich countries consequently become richer and poor lands become poorer. U Thant has at all UN economic conferences emphatically demanded a world-wide synchronised economy. The poor nation demand redress primarily in three economic fields :

- (1) Trade relations with rich lands,
- (2) Prices for primary goods,

- (3) Economic aid without strings attached.

When there is poverty in one area of the world and opulence in the other there is tension.

In the Buddha's words, if there is to be a victory, all sides have to be victorious. This is true today if we can solve all human problems, and bring peace and plenty to all mankind.

Albert Einstein, with the foresight characteristic of a genius, had this to say at the dawn of the Nuclear Age: "*The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our ways of thinking.*" Thus we are drifting towards a catastrophe beyond comparison. We shall require a substantial manner of thinking if mankind is to survive, says Professor Charles Csgood of England.

A visit to the United Nations Security Council meetings would indicate that man has not changed from his primitive time. He lives today with far more fear, hate and greed.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, yearns for peace on earth and strives hard to change the thinking of mankind. But as a Buddhist he is fully aware of the difficulties that confront him in this search for peace.

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THE QUINTESSENCE OF LITERATURE*

SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKER

Is there any need for any literary theory? The first reaction would be to deny the same. The logic behind this denial is that theories are never perfect and they never remain unchanged. Therefore they can never serve any useful purpose. Yet a little reflection would expose the fallacy in the argument. Theories are an intellectual effort to comprehend the reality. If the reality changes as it does, theories cannot remain unchanging. On the other hand the very fact that theories do not remain static but are always willing and capable of taking into account changes in reality shows that theories can serve as an invaluable aid to a fuller understanding. Dr. Nagendra's account shows how the theories of *rasa* in Indian literature have undergone modification and a wider transformation. In as much as the nature and the content of literature have changed and literature itself has undergone a revolutionary transformation in size and diversity, it is only proper to expect literary theories to be changing much in the same manner as the scientific theories are changing in response to new knowledge gained in course of time. Theories are the preoccupation of a cultivated mind and develop as culture develops.

The danger lies in the fact that sometimes theories refuse to change even when a change is indicated by developments. The theory then becomes a dogma and tends to stifle all intellectual development. It is the phenomenon of dogmatism, which seeks to sanctify a

particular theory as a cover for the protection of some vested interest, that is to be decried and not attempt at generalization that the theories represent. We may illustrate this point from an example from Bengali literature.

Rabindranath Tagore was initially very much critical of the literary qualities of Michael Madhusudan Datta's epic poem *Meghnadbad Kavya*. Tagore made a painstaking study of the poem to make his criticism and gave copious argument in favour of his stand. Nevertheless the moment he himself came to the realization that he had not been wholly correct in his appreciation of *Meghnadbad Kavya* he never hesitated to make his point clear to all. Again and again he referred to the positive aspects of *Meghnadbad Kavya* in his various essays and addresses (I am afraid Dr. Nagendra refers to Tagore's initial criticism of *Meghnadbad Kavya* but does make no mention of Tagore's later revaluation of the epic.) In Tagore we can see a truly constructive literary critic and theoretician.

What is *rasa*? There are many definitions and Dr. Nagendra has discussed them in detail. Perhaps it would not be out of place to mention here what one of the greatest of modern poets has said on the subject. Rabindranath Tagore writes: "What is *rasa*? It is what is revealed to our hearts in one way or the other; that which is revealed only to our mind is not *rasa*. But is every *rasa* relevant in literature? I do not think so. The happiness that is generated by a sumptuous meal is not matched in its widespread appeal to mankind by any other *rasa*; it reigns supreme over the young and the old alike. Yet the pleasure of the gratification of the palate has made itself a laugh-

* *Rasa Siddhanta* by Nagendra. Translated from Hindi into Bengali by Indranath Chowdhury. Bharati Bhavan, Govinda Mitra Road Patna-4. 1970 pp vii,ii,417 Rs. 25.00

ing stock in literature by clinging to the courtiers. The majesty of this *rasa* is not to be found in lyrical poetry, it is frowned upon in the society of epics. Yet a secret investigation would not disclose even the enemy of poets as saying that the poets are inept in the art of eating or are in any way averse to the pleasure to be derived from a good meal. There is a reason. The pleasure of eating almost exhausts itself in the process of filling the stomach. Nothing much of it is left afterwards. The *rasa* that does not spill over (after serving its immediate purpose—SCS.) never experiences the eagerness to express itself. The rain that is wholly absorbed by the earth can never flow as a current. For this reason the sufficiency of *rasa* does not make a literature; it is the overflowing of the *rasa* that creates the literature.....The *rasa* that seeks an outward expression after meeting all the general needs of mankind is the *rasa* of literature. What is more than is needed is called wealth. Literature is the wealth of the human heart“(From the article “*Sahitya sammilan*” [Literary gathering] written in Falgun 1331 BS—over sixtyfour years ago. Translated from the original Bengali by the present reviewer).

A study of the evaluation of the theories of literature may reveal the evolution of the human mind and understanding, as a study of the history of science or philosophy does. From this point of view, Dr. Nagendra's *Rasa Siddhanta*, originally written in Hindi, is a major intellectual work. I advisedly use the word “intellectual”; for here we see an example of creative scholarship. The author has used his vast knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindi literatures to illuminate rather than to obfuscate. For a Bengali with a smattering of knowledge of the Hindi language, like the present reviewer, Dr. Nagendra possesses an excellent style which facilitates understanding

of a very complex subject. Indeed I am very biased in favour of such genuinely critical writing which—alas!—few of our modern academicians are capable of, or even interested in, producing. While going through Dr. Nagendra's volume I am again and again struck by the similarity of some of the ideas—particularly with reference to the evaluation of Rama in the Ramayana—of Dr. Nagendra with those of Tagore, who died nearly a quarter of century before *Rasa Siddhanta* was published. I wish in particular to refer to Tagore's article entitled *Sahitya Shrishti* (creation of Literature) written in 1314 B. S. sixtythree years ago. Of course Tagore's ideas are spread over many articles written earlier than 1314 BS and after that time as well. But Dr. Nagendra, having started with the purpose of writing a treatise on the subject, is more thorough and comprehensive in his treatment of the subject. Dr. Nagendra's conclusion is that so long as literary creation can never transcend the bounds of humanism (whatever form it may take from age to age) *Rasa Siddhanta* i. e. the theory of literature is bound to remain relevant and necessary. There would be general agreement with this observation of Dr. Nagendra, although the particular *Siddhanta* that one may adopt may differ from the one adopted by another.

The translation of Dr. Nagendra's work into Bengali is an event of some importance. Every year a number of translations appear in Bengali. But not every year is the Bengali literature enriched by the addition of such a major intellectual work. I suppose there is a need for observing some caution in translating books. While a rich literature like English can afford to be careless about what is being translated, since there would be in all probability one or more books on the subject to which the translated work may relate, the

same degree of carelessness exhibited by translators in a literature which is not as well developed as English may cause great harm. For, following the law that a person would generally prefer to read first the books available in his own mother tongue, the members of a literature may be tremendously influenced by a translation of a book which may be dealing with a theme which has not been dealt with before in that literature. Therefore if a wrong book is selected for translation it can do incalculable harm which it could not do in its original literature where it might be competing for public favour with a dozen or a score of other books on the subject. At the moment when the craving for knowledge is great and when the desire of a few to dominate over others is very acute a translation of a wrong kind of book can do great harm. Viewed thus the translation of Dr. Nagendra's very scholarly and illuminating book would be widely hailed for its solidity and sagacity.

The translation is an excellent one. It is difficult for those who have never undertaken a translation to imagine what are the dangerous pitfalls with which a translator has to contend. We see persons committing grave errors even in translating a novel which, after all, never contains many sentences with complex ideas. But a work of theory is nothing, if not full of complexity of ideas. Properly so, because theory helps us to refine and

sharpen our intellect. While it is not even easy to commit to memory the theories it is less easier to translate the same into a language in which there have not been written many books on the subject. Considering all the factors, Dr. Indranath Chowdhury, the young translator of this volume, calls for our unstinted praise and admiration. We should hope that he would contribute further to the Bengali appreciation of the highly dynamic and fast growing Hindi literature by translating many such works of merit from Hindi into Bengali.

A book becomes meaningless unless it can find readers. And the difficulties of an author to find readers—particularly of works of serious criticism—are legion. They are not so much due to the fact that there are not good readers—undoubtedly they are there—as due to the difficulties of finding a publisher capable of, and willing to publish the book and arrange for its proper distribution: Few publishers in this country have an idea of designing publication to suit a particular book. There is a wide difference in the readership of a novel and a serious work of criticism. The two publications deserve two different treatments from the publishers. Hopefully enough in Mr. Mohit Mohan Bose of Bharati Bhavan, Patna we seem to have such a perceptive publisher in Patna. Speaker after speaker was praising him the other day when the translation of the book was presented to Dr. Nagendra at a function in Patna.

SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

Termez

It was early December and a bit cold, but we were warmly clad. After I had accompanied Dr. Noor Mahammad and he lay down for rest in one of the two rooms on the ground floor, which had been rented for us, I started out for a little walk in the streets. Maulana Obeidulla was already back in the room, after loitering in the streets lighted by electricity for a while. The brick built houses, mostly one storied, and the numerous tea-shops well lighted with crowds of people sitting there and drinking rounds and rounds of green tea and gossiping endlessly, were sights which must have reminded Maulana of Delhi and Lahore, which he had left long eight years back in 1914. Termez was a small town of 10 to 15 thousand only, but it compared favourably with Kabul, as brick-built houses and shops were rare in Kabul.

Tea Shop

I went out with two of the youngsters who had accompanied the Maulana and they volunteered to act as my guides as they had come to the town about an hour before me, after getting down from the ferry boat, when I was waiting at the river bank with Dr. Noor Md., suffering from colic pain. We entered into a small shop, where Maulana had also taken tea and snacks. It was crowded with people sitting on chairs and benches, with their tea-pots and cups on the table. We found a place in a corner and ordered tea and snacks. There was no difficulty in talking, with the youthful shop assistants who spoke a dialect of Persian which I could understand and also speak. The people in the shop, the tea

drinkers spoke in Persian and I could follow their conversation. The dresses were of the same type as in Afghanistan with loose shalwars, shirts and turbans. They seemed to be better dressed, at least more clean, than in shops in Kabul or Mazar-i-Shareef. The attending boys were cleanly dressed. We spent some time in the shop, watching people and nobody seemed to be in a hurry to go home. Tea etc. were properly and promptly served, but we took them leisurely. We were talking in Urdu or Hindusthani, but that did not attract anybody's attention, at least nobody showed much curiosity to enquire who we were etc. Termez being an International Traders Town on the frontier, they were naturally accustomed to see people of many countries including India frequent these shops.

I Become Multi Millionaire !

When we asked for the price at the time of payment, we were astounded by the demand of some astronomical figures—a few millions ! We had Afghan Silver coins, which they accepted gladly and gave as change fifteen or twenty million roubles of paper money. The price was reasonable. By paying a Kabuli rupee, I became a millionaire immediately in Soviet Land, where they had liquidated all millionaires mercilessly. A cup of tea cost 2 million roubles and an egg ten millions. Fantastic ! We went back after a little stroll in the streets. I reported to Maulana that I had become a Millionaire ! He usually did not handle any money. His nephew or some one else used to do it. I showed him a few million rouble paper bills. They were dirty by much use and also crumpled by careless handling. I opened up one and unfolded it and showed

Moulana, 1 Rouble followed by six Zeroes. The rest was printed in Russian and I could not understand what was printed on it. I presented a ten million Rouble bill to Maulana and transformed him also to a multi-millionaire! He was amused but he knew about this development from the news papers, he had read. I had also read about it but reading was one thing and to have in your pocket ten million or a crore of Rouble Bills was quite another sensation.

Inflation

Soviet Russia had no gold backing for the Rouble (about a rupee & a half), but to meet the expenses, specially of the War, they went on printing Rouble Bills and naturally there was inflation and the price of the Rouble fell continually and precipitously. It had started even when the Czar was on the throne and continued, throughout the Kerensky period, and price of the paper rouble was about one-tenth of the Silver rouble at the time of October Revolution. But during the next five years, the fall in the price of paper Rouble was about a million times! Fantastic. It is said that Lenin once said in joke that in Soviet Russia, not only every body had become a millionaire, but even a multi-millionaire and billionaire. He also advised that as Zeroes had no value the Zeroes after the numeral 1, could be cut out and this was done afterwards. Instead of million rouble bills, they were printed as one rouble bills. Thus, the prices stabilised at a million times the original price.

German experience

It was not in Soviet land alone that inflation became a nightmare, but in post war Germany, it was much worse. There the inflation was a billion times, compared to million times in the Soviets. From monthly wages, they changed over to weekly wages and then to daily wages also, even then the workers

suffered, as the prices in the morning and evening, were often two or three times more. Ultimately, they had to revert to "Commodity wages". From Germany, I had sent a Mark Bill of two billion Marks to my wife, which was then worth only two pice or a cup of tea. But if the Mark ever got back its original price, it would be worth 2000 crores of rupees. Astronomical figure! I explained to my wife, that if our family lived as economically, as my parents used to do, this sum would last our family for a million years, if of course the prices remained stable. Prices of Mark continued to fall and ultimately Germany knocked out ten zeroes from the Mark Bill, following what Lenin had done to the Rouble Bills by wiping out six Zeroes.

Black Bread

When we came back to the Flat, we found that neither the food nor the bed was ready. I unrolled my bedding, tied tightly by a rope. Hold-alls were not very common in those days. But my bedding, tied round with a Satrinchi, was in fact a hold-all, though not in name. I had all my articles of daily use, like towels, clothes, shaving set etc in the bedding. I tried to open up the bedding, in the room where Maulana and other elders were to sleep. I was not accustomed to make my bed, at least for months that I had been in Kabul and weeks, we were en route to Termez. The servants used to do it., but they were on the other side of the river Oxus and preparing to go back to Kabul. This service, we used to take for granted. But now I tried to help myself. One of the youngsters came forward to help me, but I declined the help at first, but on the insistence of the Moulana, I had to take the help.

We were sitting on our beds and I was comparing notes with the Moulana. We started talking of our first impressions. We were generally agreed on our first impressions

and they were good. The clean roads, brick-built houses, tea-shops and restaurants with electric lights, the clean dwelling houses, etc. gave a good impression of the town, which was after all only a small frontier town, having its main importance, due to the ferry service, with Afghanistan.

But when food was ready and served, both of us changed our opinion, very considerably. Food consisted of a meat soup, in which there was very little meat, black-bread and some boiled vegetables, with some fruits. It was a typical European meal of three courses, meant for the workers or poorer section of the people. We had been accustomed to rich Eastern food in Kabul and during the journey also. Whatever might have been the other hardships, the quality and quantity of food was quite good and above the ordinary, generally cooked by our own servants, who were well acquainted with our tastes. But the food served in Termez was quite new. We could manage the soup and vegetables anyhow, but the black-bread defied all of us. We had heard of the distasteful and uninviting black-bread, but we could never imagine that it was so very bad. Others revolted and refused to take it. Only Moulana, Ahmad Hossain and myself, bravely tried to tackle the slices of black-bread served to us. Moulana usually did not take much food and Ahmad Hossain had previous taste of it and had anyhow to make a brave show of eating the food of Russia, his newly acquired Father Land. The bread looked uninviting, though not quite black. It was deep brown, which to the white Europeans looked black. It smelt sour and tasted more sour. They are baked into solid cubes about 1 square foot with six inches thickness. The hard black crust was very difficult to cut through. It weighed also at least four times more than the baked bread we were accustomed to in India and Kabul.

The owner of the house was also to give us food and he gave quite a basketful of black-bread in thick slices. I managed to gulp down the bread with the soup, showing no outward sign of displeasure or repulsion. But at least three fourths of the slices given for our consumption, remained untouched in the basket or half-eaten on the plates. The arrangement for food with the owner of the flat had been made in haste. Immediately after the meals, unanimous decision was taken to change this arrangement and take our meals in the Restaurants or eating houses. There also, the black-bread was unavoidable, as no White-bread was available any where there. But we could get rice preparations as fried rice or biriani or Pillaow though at a much heavier price. These are common amongst the Muslim population, all along the line, from Calcutta to Delhi, Lahore, Peshawar, Kabul, Termez, Bukhara, Tashkend and even in Moscow and beyond. Along with Haluwa, Pillaow of some kind was the symbol of cultural conquest of the East. However, these were thoughts and plans for the morrow. All of us went to bed, half-hungry and naturally not in the best of moods.

Two First Nights

Lying on the bed, where I tried to sleep with half empty stomach, sleep eluded me. It was unusual. After my supper, I generally fall asleep in two or three minutes. People say mischievously that I am already half asleep, when I am half through the supper. That night I had a bit of retrospection. I was comparing my first night in Afghanistan and also in Soviet Land in Termez. Both were unpleasant to a degree. At Dokka the first night halt in Afghanistan, everything went on very well. Both Moqbul and myself were accorded a very warm welcome by the Commander of Dokka. We were given tea and fruits also. But after we returned to the Caravan-sarai,

a fierce dust—storm overwhelmed us for hours. After it subsided, I could not find any food easily and took some bread with tea and lay down to sleep, with half empty stomach. It was a natural upsurge and I had to put up with it. I consoled myself with the thought that the atmosphere of Independent Afghanistan, perhaps tried to test my endurance and determination and see whether I was tough enough to live there. This also reminded me of the old practice in Sparta, to leave the new-born child on a hill for two three days, to test the stamina of the child.

But in the case of Termez, there was no such consolation. This was all man-made or comrade-made. The arrangements were made in a hurry. Otherwise we could have taken our accustomed meals in the Eating houses, perhaps at a higher cost. The New Economic Policy, which threw us to our own resources, might have been responsible partly to this hasty but cheaper arrangement.

Contrast with Previous Receptions

There was another very solid and strong reason for our disappointment. Two members of our group had been to Soviet Land before with the Mahajareens. They had been given grand receptions, with garlands, bands and gun salutes, describing them as Indian Liberation Army. But they were ordinary religious refugees or Mahajareens. We had heard of several other reports of the same kind of reception to Indian Mahajareens. Naturally, we had expected a much better Reception, than we actually received. It was also quite different from what we had received from the Russian Embassy at Kabul or even at the Russian Consulate in Mazar-I-Shareef. We were real Indian Revolutionaries, fighting for the Liberation of India and moreover, we were Fraternal Delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Third Communist International-

al where Communist luminaries from all over the world, dominated by the German Communist Party, which was the 'second biggest in the World, the first, was of course, the Russian Communist Party. On the top of all these, Moulana Obeidulla was the Home Minister and the De Facto Prime Minister of the First Provisional Government of India, headed by Raja Mahendra Pratap. Moulana's name and fame had spread throughout the world as the author of the famous Silk Letter Conspiracy Case and other Conspiracies with Germany and Turkey and then Russia. All these and the high hopes raised by Ahmad Hossain, about our, specially of Moulana's reception in Soviet land, all fell to the ground. We were treated like any other caravan coming from Afghanistan for personal trade or commerce. (Our big and numerous Chamandans or Sanduks another name for big boxes) might have led the people to suspect us as such. In any case it was quite inexplicable to me and shapes of things to come, worried me and others also. Some had spoken out and Moulana kept a smiling face outwardly, but his worry must have been the worst. It was like a leap in the dark, on the glowing assurances of Ahmad Hossain, the only real link with Soviet Russia. He tried to explain, that information about Moulana's coming to Soviet land, had not somehow reached the Customs and other Officials of Soviets in Termez. Moreover, it was late evening and the responsible Officials could not be contacted. However, we expected, better treatment next day, and suppressed our disillusionment as best as we could. The net result was that the First night in Soviet Land was indeed, tormenting, physically, but much more so mentally. What had actually happened, whether it was due to the New Economic Policy or some one had bungled, I never knew up to the end.

Sikh Receptionist

On behalf of the Soviet, only a Sikh comrade had come to welcome us. He was in Red Army Uniform. He had no beard or moustache, nor long hair. But he had his Kara or iron bangle and his medium sized Kripan or sword, dangling by his side. He was coarse in his behaviour and was more amusing to us than helpful. His antecedents, he did not disclose and we thought it prudent, not to ask many questions about him. He tried to show his authority by shouting slang abuses in Russian and Persian. He used one expression "Shalta, Balta" very profusely, but I never could know the meaning, either from him or from anybody else. It was neither Persian nor Russian and was perhaps coined by himself. Anyhow, his Khichuri language of Punjabi and Urdu, was very helpful to me at least.

First Dawn in Soviet Land

As is usual with me, I got up at about 4 a. m. though, I had slept very late, quite refreshed by a few hours of sleep. I went to the Lavatory and I was agreeably surprised to find that the Lavatory, was of flush system. It was a real improvement to the Kabul system, not to speak of easing oneself in the fields, as is still prevalent in lakhs of villages in India, Afghanistan and also in Eastern Russia. It was some consolation to find signs of modernisation, at least starting from the Lavatory. I went out alone for a walk. The others were still fast asleep; even the Moulana who usually got up early was delayed that day, to say his morning prayers at Dawn. It was a little unusual. I was keen to have a second look at the town of Termez, the first piece of Soviet Land I was destined to see. The look at night was, under adverse circumstances of strain of both body and mind.

The shops were already open and I had two full cups of tea, in rapid succession and

some snacks, spending a few more million roubles (paper). The shops were yet mostly empty. Even the young shop assistants were not all, fully awake. However, I felt quite refreshed and in very good spirits. The morning walk in the crisp December dawn, after two cups of steaming tea, made me more fresh. With the rising of the Sun, I felt still more fresh and buoyant in spirit and the gloom of the "first night" completely vanished and I was ready to face any adventure with patience and determination. The town looked more clean and inviting. The chirping of birds, was welcome and even the cawing of crows, did not seem very jarring. I kept to the main streets or Bazar, avoiding the lanes and by-lanes. The rows of brick-built houses, mostly one-storeyed seemed to be more properly arranged than it appeared the previous night. Most of the houses were brick houses, white washed and with good doors and windows. The dress of the people was just the same as in Afghanistan, on the other side of the Oxus. If not told, one would not know that one was from ancient Afghanistan and the other was from modern Soviet Land.

After an hour or so, I returned and found Moulana up and ready, but some of the youngsters were still in their beds.

We had tea in the shop near by and also boiled eggs, Shami kababs and biscuits (avoiding black-bread, which was as dreadful yet, as imaginable) and had a good breakfast. It was actually my second, the first one was by myself and a light one. After breakfast, we all went out. Ahmad Hossain and Jaffar Hossain to contact the Soviet authorities to make arrangements for our journey to Moscow and to make a little better arrangements for our stay in Termez. Moulana, Sadai, the School teacher and myself formed the elderly group and went out in one direction. The younger ones, went out in another direction, to

see the town. We advised them to find out the condition of the Railway and River transport, for we knew that both these forms of travel were available before the Revolution. Dr. Noor Md had fully recovered from the colic pain, under his own treatment, assisted by my injection (?) possibly. But he remained in the Flat for taking complete rest.

We went out and walked at random, but we were interested in seeing, the market place, as also the office of the Soviet Govt. Police out post, Office of the Communist Party etc. and specially the Ferry station, where we had landed, the evening before. We found some of them, but cannot remember any of them, as they were nothing extra-ordinary, and what struck me most was that there were few Russians around. But the Port or the Ferry Station impressed me much. There were a large number of boats, mostly open boats. There was also the Steamer Ghat and the Office, but no sign of any Steamer. We learnt that the Steamers did come and passengers embarked and disembarked, but they were very, very irregular. Sometimes no steamer, either up or down, came for days or weeks and then two or three steamers come one after the other in a day or two.

Russian Fishermen

But the most interesting sight for me and others, was a large number of Fishermen, about one third of whom were Russians, numbering about two dozens or more. They were mostly old with grey beard, with wrinkled brow and skin on their half bare bodies, their milk-white slav skin turned by Sun's rays to deep red or even copper hue. They had been plying this trade for generations and were expert fishermen with long experience and also with better nets equipment etc. they used to make a good living there. While most of the Russians had left Termez, they continued to

stay and ply their hereditary trade of fishing in the Oxus. Some of the boats were catching fish in the river, while the others were anchored at the Port, drying and repairing their nets. Their womenfolk also tanned like the men, came to take the catches of fish home or to the market. A few children, still milk-white in complexion also accompanied their mothers to the boats of the Russian Fishermen. Their chubby faces and blond hair, made a cheering contrast to the other children assembled there. In Termez, rarely any Russian was left, except these fishermen, who decided to stay on after the Revolution, for they thought, they could not make anywhere else, as good a living as they were making there. They were mixing freely with the non-white fishermen and one could not find any difference between the two sets, except their complexion and better physique. No other Russians were visible anywhere in Termez, except the Fishermen and their families. I wondered, how long they themselves could manage to continue to stay there and ply their trade. We read in the newspapers, that the Termez Port has been lately developed into a very big and up-to-date Port, able to handle huge quantities of merchandise and also Motor Cars and heavy Motor Trucks and big machinery with the help of powerful cranes. We tried to buy some fish from the fishermen at the Port, but these were not available. The Port was a good one and much used. The landing place, shifts, up or down, due to the change of seasons. I wondered, why we were left, last evening, in an out of the place, an isolated corner, which also had caused much of my depression. We could see the Afghan shore and the houses and trees, across the Oxus, where we had our tea etc. served by our own servants, only about 12 hours back. I do not think, anyone of us cast any wistful look behind to Afghanistan, even the Moulana, in spite

of all our difficulties and disillusionments. We had our lunch in eating houses, according to our choice and retired at noon to our residence to find out whether there was any news for our journey onwards. There was none. We learnt that, urgent messages had been sent to Bukhara and Moscow about our predicament and no news was expected, at least for 24 hours more. We decided to stay for another full day at Termez. We learnt also that Railway travel was out of question. The Ry. Station was there no doubt, but only the shed and that also in a battered condition. No rolling stock and even the Ry. lines were torn out and thrown helter skelter. Each retreating army, either of Revolution or Counter Revolution, destroys the Rys., so that advancing army following them, may get the least help of the Rys. to follow them. It is the time-old practice and also good common sense. For miles there was no trace of the Ry. lines even. Repairs had started from Tashkend southwards, but were still far away from Bukhara itself, about 150 kilometers off.

For three nights we lived in Termez. Amongst the orthodox Hindus, there is a belief that one must live at least for three nights in a religious place to get the full effect of the pilgrimage. We stayed in Termez for three nights and two full days, not for getting the full effect of the pilgrimage in Soviet Land Termez, but circumstances, so conspired that we had to stay there for that period, to get a final reply from Bokhara. But as no reply came either from Bokhara (or Moscow), we decided to proceed to Bokhara and find for ourselves, what the position was.

Communism in Termez

We had spent about 60 hours in Termez and naturally, I wished to see for myself, how Communism functioned and how the Soviet system differed from Capitalist system, which

operated in India and Afghanistan. I could not see any difference at all, nor could Ahmad Hossain show me or Moulana any difference whatsoever. The mode of living and attitude to life were absolutely the same, as in other countries, we knew. We found, the same cut-throat competition, the same master and servant relation, the same shameless exploitation of young tea-shop boys, some of whom were mere children under 10 or even 8 years, working 14 to 16 hours a day. It was exactly the same as in India or Afghanistan.

We could not see any signs of Communes or Communistic living anywhere. The few Communes, which had been started under War Communism in the hey-day of Communist expansion had been dissolved on the advent of New Economic Policy. There was very little expression of Communist Theory or Practice in Termez in those days of Communist transformation or confusion. Unless one was told that he was living in Soviet Land, he would not know it at all, as there was not the least difference with the Capitalist land. It was the same story, when eating in the hotels or making purchases in the market. It was also a sad disappointment for me, as I had expected something different, a spirit of comradeship, common living, may be even of a poorer standard, but these were non-existent, at least I could not discern anything in that line. Our difficulty was further aggravated, as we could not ask these questions to anybody except Ahmad Hossain, who was our Friend, Philosopher and Guide in the Communist World. He was indeed a good and brave fighter, but did not seem to know much about Communist Theory or Practice. Moreover, he was most of the time out to try to make arrangements for our journey to Moscow. Putting inconvenient questions to anyone else, not belonging to our group, might lead to suspicion, and might be worse,

in the form of arrest etc. Ahmad Hossain would say, please wait, till we go to Moscow, where all questions could be discussed freely. He only pointed out that at Termez it was not a real Soviet. It was only a National Soviet under Faijulla Khoja, who had only driven away the Ameer of Bokhara with the help of the Red Army. The economic changes, as redistribution of land to the landless or land-poor peasants, living wage to the workers, work or relief to the unemployed, house to the homeless etc. would come in due course. Bokhara was after all a poor country, with primitive agriculture and cottage industries, with no heavy industry at all. People must wait for big results. This was like—"you will eat the pie, in the sky, when you die" kind of stuff. But I was however, pleasantly surprised to learn that there was no Russians bossing over the Uzbeks and they were free to read or write in their own language, Persian which had been taboo; under the Czars. The proportion of the highest and lowest pay had been reduced to ten to one, from hundred or more to one. This was a substantial achievement, but it meant really, sharing the poverty. Still it was a grand achievement. But I had been dreaming of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality, specially in the economic sphere. Hence I was disappointed to a degree. It was much more painful, than the cold reception given to us, specially to the Moulana. However, I kept my queries in my mind, to be used for clarification, till I found some one who could satisfy me.

Journey by Boat

As the journey by Railway or Steamer was ruled out, we decided to proceed towards Bokhara by boat. The plan was to go by boat to Kirki Fort and from there to Kirshi by hackney carriage. We learnt that, we might get Railways to travel from there, to Bokhara. The Railway had been repaired

up to that point, about 30 or 40 kilometres from Bokhara. The other roads were not safe due to the inroads of the Basmachis or Turkoman Religious rebels against the Soviet State.

We had hired an open boat, with a very small shed as an apology, which could give shelter to barely two or three persons, from the Sun's rays. It did not rain there usually, in winter. Our luggage was brought by porters and placed in the boat. We also got in and the boat started early in the morning. There were four oarsmen and a helmsman. All were Turkomans or Uzbeks, as the Republic was called Uzbek Republic. In Bengali, a fool is called an Uzbuk. I do not know, whether there is any relation, between these two words. At least the Uzbeks are no fools, by any standard. The owner of the house who had lent his flat to us was an extra-ordinarily clever man.

An Oarsman Myself

I felt quite at home in the boat, which started early in the morning, after our heavy breakfast, which was to see us through to lunch. We took some provisions, including black-bread, from which there was no escape, as white-bread was not available in the market. We were going down the stream of Oxus or Amu Daria, which pours herself into the Aral Sea. It is really a lake, but because of its huge area, it is called Aral Sea, by courtesey. From the boat, we could see Soviet Uzbekistan on one side and Afghanistan on the other. We had been following the river Oxus, from its very source in the Hindukush. The river is not very deep there and the boat, followed the main stream, which was some times on the Soviet side or Soviet waters and some times on the Afghan side or Afghan waters. When the boat went on one side, we could see clearly the villages and the villagers carrying on their agricultural

occupation or grazing the sheep. There was absolutely no difference in their appearance, dress or activities, on either bank. The river is no doubt a natural boundary, but the different demarkation of the countries was absolutely arbitrary, but it is bound to remain, till we have created "One World".

After we left the Port and town of Termez, I had a childish desire to outshine others as an oarsman, as I had shown my agility as a mountain climber, while crossing the Hindukush. I requested one of the elderly oarsmen to hand over the oar to me, so that he could take a little rest. He was rather reluctant to do so, fearing, I might fall overboard. But when I insisted, I was allowed a trial. I immediately showed, that I was no novice and I was allowed to ply the oar, which I did in absolute unison or rhythm with the other oarsmen. Moulana, was a little apprehensive, but finding me an expert, watched my performance with evident delight. I had learnt to handle a boat, while very young, in my East Bengal home in Khulna. I had kept up the habit, even when I was a student in Calcutta University, by becoming a member of the rowing Section of the University Institute, in College Square. I knew swimming also very well and had actually crossed the Ganges at Chinsurah, while a student of Mohsin College, Hooghly. I found, however, I could not continue to row for more than an hour at a single stretch. I induced the youngsters in the group to try their hand and they also managed the oar fairly well, with an occasional, misfire, causing mirth to all others.

Night Guard

The whole day the boat plied forward either on oars or on sail. Our lunch as that of the oarsmen was managed on the boat, without stopping. The water of the Oxus was our inexhaustible source of drink. In the evening

our boat anchored at a market place or gunj, along with many other boats. It was for the sake of safety and security. Pirates from both sides of the river, could attack and take away the boat itself with all the goods or luggage, sometimes in connivance of the oarsmen themselves. We had four powerful revolvers, and four of us guarded the boat by turn, two from the boat and two from the shore. Lying on the shore was also dangerous. A river, usually and naturally, breaks the bank on one side and builds up on the other. If the bed was spread on the breaking bank, it might collapse, entombing the bed and the occupant under several feet of earth and sand. This would be not a very welcome experience, which might prove even fatal. There was the other danger. The Russian bears frequent these regions, and if some of them found a human being encroaching upon their hereditary habitat, they could be very nasty and dangerous too. Keeping night watches was an extra precaution but fortunately, nothing untoward happened.

Village Market

For two days, we plied between Afghanistan and Soviet Uzbekistan. On our way we found a village market, on the Soviet side. It is the same practice as we have in Indian villages, where weekly bazars are held. Out of curiosity, we anchored and went up to the market. We were relieved to find that about four or five Red Army men in Uniform had come to guard the market, where a few hundred people had gathered, both males and females in Borkha busy making purchases. We were told that people from five or six miles distance come for marketing there every week. Even some from the other side of the river, i.e. from Afghanistan also come for marketing there. How they managed the passport problem was anybody's guess. We bought some fruits, eggs etc and found them very cheap compared

to the prices in the usual markets. These weekly or bi-weekly markets had been also stopped, under War Communism, but they were thriving again under the New Economic Policy.

The Sacred Thread Thrown into the Oxus.

When I left India, I had the so-called sacred thread on my shoulder and I still had it when I was travelling by boat in the Oxus. I was not superstitious; in fact' when I studied science I had become an agnostic, but the thread continued to be on my shoulder. While in the boat on the Oxus, a brain wave came to me. The Aryans, my ancestors, are believed to have come to Bengal originally from these regions of Central Asia and they had carried the system of wearing the Sacred thread, from these regions with them, wherever they went. Why carry the senseless thing still further and why not consign the same into the region, whence it was brought. I was in Soviet land (rather in Soviet waters) and I decided to consign my Sacred thread to the Oxus and I did so in the name of my forefathers. In Soviet land, deluged by Materialistic Philosophy, any artificial sign of difference between man and man, would be an anomaly, if not an ideosyncrasy. Hence the sacred thread went down the turbid and turbulent waters of the Oxus, floating for some time and then sank. One mere superstition discarded, I reflected.

Hunger is the Best Sauce

This is an age-old proverb, which we rediscovered in this boat trip on the Oxus. We used to stay at night in a Bazar or Gunj, take our meals there in a leisurely manner and also buy our provisions for the next day. One day

the men in charge forgot to buy the food. Next day the boat started early, before the shops opened. Boat journey is always pleasant in the morning. At about noon, the mistake was noticed and there was no edible in the boat. Somehow, Dr. Noor. Md, felt particularly hungry at lunch time. He searched for something to eat, but not a morsel of the condemned black bread even, was in the boat. He searched the bread-bag and collected a few crumbs of stone like crusts of black-bread. He collected some of them in a cup and soaked then in Oxus water, and started eating the same with a pinch of salt, which was fortunately available in the boat. He took it with great relish too. He asked others also to taste it, but none agreed to do so. Ultimately finding him forsaken and forlorn, I joined him, saying "Hunger is after all the best Sauce" Dr. Noor. Md., was usually the most fastidious about the taste of food, but this day was an exception.

Test of Communism

The river Oxus was full of shoals and the boat would often get caught in the sandy shoals and would not move. Oars failed and the long poles failed to extricate the boat. The oarsmen would jump into the cold water even in the dark and push the boat out of the shoal. I noticed it several times and asked Ahmad Hossain, what would happen, if the boat belonged to the State and not to the boatmen. They would rightly report, that the boat could not be extricated and was left at such and such place. He fumbled some reply, but did not convince any of us. I know the full and convincing answer now, but at that time I was a very hard critic and this simple problem which proved a stumbling block to my accepting Socialism or Communism.

Current Affairs

The Rolls-Royce Muddle

Mr. Edward Heath, Prime Minister of Great Britain does not appear to be as great an economic wizard, as he promised time and again that he would be. The trouble over maintaining the Rolls-Royce organisation in sound health, and without obtaining urgent financial blood-transfusions from the United States of America, has shown up the failure of the new conservative government of Great Britain to really do something about anything that badly needs to be done. Lockheeds apparently were ordering many engines from Rolls-Royce which according to British experts would cost about four times as much as it would bring in dollars from America. It was therefore not considered to be a very profitable arrangement. Lockheeds thought American concerns were in a position to build the required engines at about $\frac{1}{4}$ the price that Rolls-Royce asked for. Worker's wages being much higher in the USA and other expenses too being, generally speaking, higher; this seems somewhat like propaganda. Moreover, if Rolls-Royce could sell engines to the USA before this, they must have done so in the face of American competition. Why, have they now become incapable of selling, excepting at a 400% higher price compared to the price quoted by American competitors? There is something seriously wrong with the state of Great Britain. What is it? Not Mr. Heath we hope.

Polish Workers Becoming Dictators

Communism always asserts that communist states are ruled dictatorially by Workers,

Soldiers and Peasants. In fact communist states are ruled by the communist parties of different states and the workers, soldiers and peasants have little to do with the governance of the states. The communist parties, being single parties, without any competitors, their power is quite tyrannical. This had been the political order in all countries in which dictatorship of the proletariat prevailed; but, of late some countries had tried to break this tyranny and to introduce some public opinion into governmental plans or policies; but without much success. The first country which tried this was Hungary. Russian tanks, however, soon suppressed the Hungarian people and reestablished the tyranny of the communist party of Hungary. When Czechoslovakia tried to modify political methods and habits, the aforementioned tanks appeared in the streets of Prague and public opinion had to yield to the armed might of the Warsaw powers. But now the challenge has reared its head in Warsaw itself. Gomulka the ex-Prime Minister of Poland had to resign, because the workers of certain Polish cities started bread riots on account of the rising price of consumer goods. Gierk (Edward) the new head of the state, is or has been a labour leader. People say he instigated the campaign against Gomulka. But after the overthrow of Gomulka, Gierk did not try to give more power to the workers. The tyranny of the party was maintained in full force. Gierk made use of the workers to get rid of Gomulka; but not to establish a worker's *raj* in Poland. He wanted to be the head of the communist party of Poland

which ruled the country absolutely unopposed in a tyrannically despotic manner. The workers wanted higher wages and cheaper prices. They continued their agitation even after the resignation of Gomulka and Gierk tried to suppress them by force. He offered higher wages to the lowest paid labourers ; but the higher paid workers wanted their wages to be increased too. So, the situation remained unsettled and, although Gierk made scape-goat of one or two ministers, that did not appease the workers. The circumstances are therefore full of possibilities. Whether Russian tanks will appear in the streets of Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin is anybody's guess. There are workers' organisations in Szczecin and Gdansk which had never been known to have been formed in the Iron curtain countries during their period of communist existence. If workers are allowed to express their opinion freely and fully, very soon all people will demand the same rights. And that will be the worst type of revision of the communist Absolutism.

West Bengal Politics

When the 14 party United Front ruled in West Bengal their solidarity was broken by want of rigid attachment to political principles and by changes in loyalties as expressed through floor crossings in the Assembly. To-day the number of parties which have any strength is not so many and no party has as yet begun to forsake their old associates. But the two groups, the Congress and the Communist Marxists, have not yet been able to come to any settlement with their supporting teams, so that neither of the groups have been able to form a government. The Congress (R), supported by the CPI, the Bangla Congress, the Congress (O), the Gurkha League, the Muslim League and other parties appears to be in a strong enough position to form a government. They will most probably do so

within a few days with Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee as the Chief Minister. They will, however have too many parties supporting them and will suffer from the natural weakness that develops when there are too many contributors to a vague and indefinite program of national progress. Sm. Indira has declared war on poverty. The West Bengal government too will take part in this war. Whenever there is a war one tries to discover and precisely locate the enemy. Sm. Indira's camp will naturally name some enemies and launch attacks on them. Will there be full agreement among the attackers as to the identity of the enemies ? Is there any chance that an enemy named by the Congress camp may be called a friend by the CPI or the Muslim League ? If some such thing happens will there not be a possibility of a breach ? Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee is a great puritan and a seeker after ethical solutions to all problems. There are people in the Congress who are known to be not so strictly and ardently attached to the moral aspect of things. How will that affect the solidarity of the United Front that the Congress will build in West Bengal ?

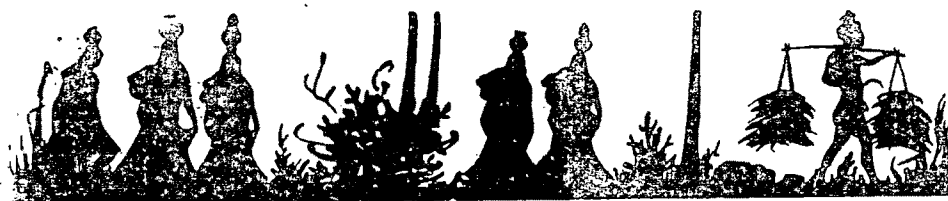
Then there is the question of the Communist Marxists continuing with their "revolution" or "guerrilla warfare" as they like to call their program of violence against party opponents. Will the new government take proper action against those who instigate murders and murderous assaults ? If they do not, what will be the image of the government before the public ? If they do, will they not be making martyrs of persons who do not deserve any such distinction ? These are matters which require careful and mature thinking. For, propaganda for or against a government, help greatly to establish or depose the people who form a ruling body. The Governor of West Bengal, under President's rule, has been rather lenient with those who

have carried lawlessness to greater heights than ever before ; and the backlash of that generosity of outlook will have to be suffered by those who will now try to reestablish law and order in this state.

British Help West Pakistanis

The British base of Gan in the Maldives is allowing Pakistani military aircraft to land and refuel there and proceed on to Dacca. In this way West Pakistani soldiers, armament and supplies are reaching the Martial Law administrators who are trying to suppress the Awami League freedom movement led by Sheikh Mujibar Rehman. It is well known to the British that the Awami League not only obtained a near cent per cent majority in the elections recently held in Pakistan ; but they have an absolute majority among all Pakistanis too. In the circumstances Yahya Khan's attempt to deny democratic rights of self-government to the people of Pakistan by setting up a military government is politically uncivilised, despotic, anti-national and destructive of all accepted ideas of human rights. The British cannot, therefore assist Yahya Khan in his act of brigandage without lowering themselves in the eye of world humanity.

The Indians and the Ceylonese have tried to make it difficult for the Pakistani general to put down the people of East Pakistan by the sword. The British have no business to allow their Indian Ocean base to be used politically by one national body against another. It was the fear of such interference by the British which prompted India to object to their building any bases in the Indian Ocean. Mr. Edward Heath is very conscious of what is Britain's own business and what is not. Why does he then try to curry favour with a military gang of the Indian sub-continent against a race of people of the same area who are trying to set up a democratic government ? This part of the world is certainly not Britain's business. Also when the British-Americans try to justify building bases in the Indian Ocean, they use arguments which involve alleged attempts by China and Russia to gain power in South Asia. In this case, the West Pakistanis are the allies of China and Russia and are believers in absolutism. Then, why does democratic Britain poke its highly logical nose into the affairs political groups which are utterly Un-British. If now, India demands the removal of British-American bases from the Indian Ocean, would not that be a very highly correct and just demand ?



IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

We returned to Sudhakanto babu's place for lunch. I was feeling rather unwell after roaming about in that terrible heat, but as the assembled girls started to chat, I completely forgot my illness. Baroma informed Shailabala that a solitary Cheetah had appeared from somewhere, within a village near Bolepur. The agitated villagers had summoned Santosh babu to calm down the stricken panic people. Santosh babu used to keep a gun in those days and we had seen it several times. Shailabala was going to Calcutta that day and seemed quite upset after the news. She asked for more details but none was available.

Rabindranath left for Calcutta that afternoon. We could not go near him as there was quite a crowd around him. We stood at Dinubabu's balcony and watched him go, feeling very sad at the thought of not being able to see him again before he left for his foreign tour.

Later in the afternoon we were sitting at home and wondering how to spend our time, when Mulu rushed in to inform us that the cheetah-story was now a cruel fact. Two injured villagers had just then been brought in to the school hospital. They had been attacked by the animal, but the combined shouting and brickbattling by the villagers had forced it to take shelter in a bush, near a pond and no one had been able to drag it out of there. The tiny village was called Taltore and the neighbouring villages were also now in a panic. The ashramites were agitated and rumours began to spread. A professor's wife announced that she had heard the wild creature roar at night. We

were also told that Santoshbabu's giant buffalo had broken its shackles and rushed out after something last night. The Ashram dwellers had got used to sleeping out in the open terraces or balconies, gardens and even fields during the summer. The disturbing rumours naturally upset them. Some of the bigger boys of the Adya Bibhag set out for a leopard-hunt, with bamboo-sticks, daggers and even choppers as their weapons. Santoshbabu was confined to bed, with a broken leg, and therefore could not go anywhere. Gradually, the teachers, the smaller boys and finally, the infants of Sishu Bibhag marched to the battle front. Now when I think of it, I am amazed that no one had prevented them from going there. The average Bengali youth is not particularly eager to kill a leopard with his bare hands, nor is his guardian keen to encourage him in the matter. The Ashram in those days, was a unique place.

We did not visit Taltore, of course, but stood in our front yards or terraces, anxiously keeping watch. When it was getting dark, we heard Mulu shout from a distance that the leopard had been killed. We wanted to know who the hero was, but he rushed back without giving further details. Now we set out to gather more information. When we had reached the Ashram boundary, we heard a villager ask an Ashram worker, "who killed the cheetah?" and his proud reply was, "The boys of our school."

Suddenly we could see a throng of boys returning from the palm groves beyond the Khoai dunes. We could not see them clearly yet, but gradually could make out a bullock

cart surrounded by the boys. We started to walk across the field towards them. When we came nearer, we spotted a red 'gamchha' or bath-towel, floating as a banner, from the bullock-cart. We realised, with relief, that the hunted animal was being carried back, not the wounded hunter. The bullock-cart stopped near Santoshobabu's cowshed. The boys were shouting and talking so loudly that we could not follow what had happened. When the excitement had died down a bit, a little boy named Shyamkishore said, "Narabhup-da had killed the leopard, after a half-hour battle." The chattering started afresh! We heard so many variations of the cheetah-hunt. Some of the bigger boys dragged the dead animal down, stretched it out and showed it to all of us. It was a medium-sized cheetah, its head almost chopped off by a dagger. I asked Dwijen Mukhopadhyay, an Ashram brave, who had killed the animal? He said that five of them had attacked it, but Narabhup was the chief fighter. I do not remember all the five names now. With Narabhup and Dwijen, probably Kshitimohan babu's nephew Biren Sen and Kalimohanbabu's nephew had also joined hands. We could not see Narabhup, as he had been taken to the hospital for his severe cuts and scratches. Some of the others also sported serious wounds on their arms and legs. After all it was a cheetah, and the boys should have been given more than mere praise, for risking their lives to kill it with such simple weapons. We were also told that the son of a local zamindar had shot at the animal with a broken-down gun, but it could only graze its face. Later, the gun was presented to the Ashram boys, who ruined it further by using it often as a mace!

The bullock-cart moved off and came to a halt within the Ashram limits. All the others crowded around to see. The boys began a victory-song which did not seem to

stop. Rabindranath was informed about the adventure through a telegram and then a letter. He instructed us to send the wounded boys to Calcutta. A large snake was also killed in the Ashram that night. The whole day seemed an episode from a shikar story. From then onwards we would get regular reports of tigers seen in nearby villages, but fortunately these tigers remained unseen for us.

A few days later we went for a short trip to Calcutta. It must have been our unlucky day, for we had to put up with a lot of trouble during the voyage. The ladies compartments were full, so we had to travel in the general compartment. Our gentlemen co-passengers were hardly 'gentle' and positively unmannerly. Stiff with irritation, we suffered the ordeal till we reached Howrah. It rained throughout the journey and we had to use our umbrellas occasionally, inside the compartment. But we had not expected the rain to turn into a deluge in Calcutta. There were no carriages or taxis within the station compound—the porters said that the lashing storm and rain had driven them all away. There were two immobile taxis outside the station. After a good deal of shouting the porters managed to get one in a running condition. The taxi-driver—expecting a fat 'baksheesh'—piled us in with our luggage and set out, tooting his horn. But waves of stagnant water from the flooded lanes near Harrison Road, forced him to turn around towards a drier area. The nearby shopkeepers were not too encouraging in their helpful suggestions. Father asked him to take us somehow to Cornwallis Street. After this, an hour's ride, which I can not say was too entertaining. Calcutta was Venice for that night, and the taxi kept falling into waist-deep water, every now and then. We went through jute-godowns, buffalo-stables and all types of lanes and by-lanes. The rain dripped on, our wet clothes dried on us and

were wet again. A horse-carriage came suddenly from nowhere and almost crashed into us. The horse could have bitten us, if he felt like it. We realised soon that the taxi could not take us home and we would have to go back to the station. Finally the driver informed us that he had lost his way. We did return to the station however. The retiring-rooms were locked, so we sat on our boxes and beddings by the empty, stretching platforms, among the waiting porters. At least it saved us from the pouring rain. We appreciated our shelter even more now, after ploughing through the dark stretches of water for more than an hour, in that awful night—with a nervous Sikh as our companion! The driver counted his fare and left us. Another brave traveller got into the car and we could never know where the chariot took him—to which river or canal. We sat in our wet clothes, as there was no place where we could change into dry clothes. We did not feel nervous or anxious any more—the station was good—and we started chatting once again. When we are young, our physical resilience is astounding and our minds are visionary—the rude shocks of reality can not upset us too easily. I wonder how I would have stood the same experience today. The whole thing seemed so amusing

later. A railway official and a police sergeant had tried to help us, but could do very little. They took father to the English official who was in charge of the waiting-rooms. But he expressed his helplessness, as he had been fined Rs. 10/- once, for opening the rooms in prohibited hours. They brought along a carriage this time and the sergeant offered to guide us back home on his cycle. The coachman however refused to go, as his horse had lost its shoes. We dared not go with him either. Another three hours passed by thus. Two muslim youngmen turned up suddenly and offered to help us. They went out in the rain and fetched us another carriage. We climbed in again, with our bundles and boxes. We were still unlucky, as the carriage almost overturned near Mechuabazar Street. A wheel had almost gone inside an open man-hole. Anyway, we were saved from a watery grave for that time and finally reached home at three in the morning. It was daylight by the time we had arranged our things, changed our clothes and made the beds.

Some of our friends of the neighbourhood got married about this time, one after the other. Our days flashed past, inspecting their trousseau, listening to the gossip about the grooms and feasting with the marriage parties.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)



WHAT IS LAWFUL IN PAKISTAN ?

A. C.

Government established by law, is a phrase that is used to describe the powers that be in any country that is governed by persons in lawful authority. This lawful authority arises from many sources according to political circumstances that prevail in different countries. In a monarchy that is absolute, authority is vested in officials by the king's will. In a constitutional monarchy the king's will is subject, in a manner of speaking, to the undertakings that the King has given to his subjects regarding the limits that have been set on his absolute power. In a republic, the people's will provides the legal basis to the authority that officials exercise over the people. A republic is by nature a democracy in so far as the people of a republic rule themselves according to rules and regulations that they themselves make. A republic over which a despot imposes his will as an absolute ruler, is obviously a paradoxical political organisation. The epithet republic cannot be applied to it in so far as the people of the so-called republic are not self-governing but are the subjects of an autocratic dictatorship. In a communist state a large number of party members rule the country by issuing directives to the officials. The party members no doubt obey some rules, regulations, codes and political principles ; but all that go by the name of ideology and cannot be called either the

laws or the constitution of the land. Communist dictatorships are different from other dictatorial autocracies in that they are dominated by a number of party members and not by one or more despotic individuals as one finds in Fascistic or other forms of tyrannies.

Pakistan was created by the British in response to the demands made by the Muslim agitators who followed the late M. A. Jinnah. Their propaganda was that the Muslims of India were a separate nation as against the Hindus of India who constituted the other nation. This two nation theory was based on a number of falsehoods viz that the Muslim nation had their own language Urdu and that all Muslims of India had a common culture and social system. In fact when Pakistan was created its people spoke Punjabi, Pushtu, Baluchi, Sindhi, Bengali but no Urdu. The Pakistanis began to use Urdu as a state language but that was opposed by the Bengalis who forced Pakistan to adopt Bengali too as a state language.

Pakistan had a constitution at one time ; but this was abrogated by a military coup d'etat carried out by Major-General Iskander Mirza on the 7th October 1958. The c-in-c of the Pakistan army Mohammed Ayub Khan thereafter assumed all powers and became the military dictator of Pakistan. He fudged up

some "basic democracies" (78720) the majority of which (49647) voted for him to confirm him in power. As Pakistan had no constitution at the time, all this make believe election and confirmation was totally fake.

Ever since that military coup Pakistan had been existing as a country ruled despotically by its commander-in-chief. The basic justification for the creation of Pakistan was the existence of a Muslim nation in India. But a military dictatorship was neither a muslim nor a national institution. The dictatorship therefore not only cancelled Pakistan's constitution but also cancelled the basic arguments in favour of creating a second state in India,

Pakistan is supposed to be an Islamic Republic. But it is neither Islamic nor a Republic now. For a military dictator cannot be considered to be anything Islamic like a **Khalifa**, a **Paigambar**, a **Molla** or a **Pir**. It is not a Republic, for obvious reasons, as it is governed according to the wishes of one person. Its government is absolutist in principle and that is fundamentally the opposite of republican. The people of Pakistan therefore are free to overthrow this dictatorial form of government in so far as **Pakistan was never set up for the purpose of establishing a military dictatorship**. The people of Pakistan owe no natural or constitutional loyalty to General Yahya Khan who is another self-appointed usurper of political power that rightly belongs to the people. Yahya Khan, in fact admitted the lawlessness of the power he exercised by having the elections in which Sheikh Mujibur Rehman came on top in East Bengal. Yahya Khan realised that he could not be the lawful head of any constitutional government in Pakistan. He therefore chose the path of lawlessness anew and refused to honour the undertakings he had given. Hence the

internecine war. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman is not a rebel, for nobody is really the lawful subject of a person who has grabbed power and not secured it in a lawful manner, as Yahya Khan has done. Nobody owes loyalty to a person who has acquired power by illicit means as Yahya Khan has done,

So, when Yahya Khan accuses Sheikh Mujibur Rehman of treason, he forgets that he himself is guilty of high treason against his state and its people. For he was a subject of Pakistan, under oath as an officer in the Pakistan Army to uphold the government established by law in that country. He usurped power lawlessly, overthrew Ayub Khan lawlessly and also acted lawlessly all along the line and thus plunged his country into a terrible upheaval. If any one has committed a great crime, it is Yahya Khan and not Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. For Sheikh Mujibur Rehman began to set up a popular form of Government which he was entitled to do in view of the verdict of the electorate and which Yahya Khan was preventing by use of force. It was Yahya Khan who started shooting down civilians including women and children, who could not have been attacking the Pakistan Army. Nor could the aged politicians and University professors have been fighting the Army; but the Pakistan Army had shot down these eminent persons too. It may therefore be asserted without any doubts as to the correctness of such assertion that Yahya Khan's regime is illicit and based on brute force only. There is no legal or popular basis on which it can claim to rest. This lawless regime therefore should be terminated as early as possible.

Summarily stated the facts of the case of Pakistan are as follows: That the Government of Pakistan being established by military coups d'etats, one after another, cannot be

considered to be a lawful government in the strictly acceptable sense of the term. The Pakistan constitution was abrogated by the military usurpers of political power; hence Pakistan has no constitution either. In the circumstances the legality of Pakistan's existence can be challenged by the world at large and the people of Pakistan can assume political power in that country as and when they choose to do so. The military despots of Pakistan can not lawfully oppose any such move for the reason that their political power was not granted to them by law or by popular will. They did not earn it by inheritance or treaty either. The Army raj in

Pakistan is not in accordance with the purpose for which Pakistan was created in 1947. It is therefore constitutionally, legally and historically null and void. The Indian Independence Act of 1947 which was passed by the British Parliament was the lawful basis for the creation of the Dominion of Pakistan on the 14th August 1947. The military coup of 1958 was lawless, arbitrary and unacceptable as a justification for abolishing the constitutional rights of the peoples of Pakistan. Russia, China, the USA and the UN cannot make lawlessness lawful by condoning the acts of brigandage perpetrated by their henchmen of the Pakistan army.



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Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Indira's Socialism

Mrs. Indira Gandhi has said that her aim is to establish a socialist state in India. But she has not said what she means by a socialist state. Will there be private property in her socialist state? There may be ceilings to different types of private property; but she surely does not think that private property should be entirely done away with. Dr. Niranjan Dhar thinks that Sm. Indira should be enlightened about the basic usefulness of private property in human civilisation. He writes in *Swarajya* :

Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her associates appear to have taken the sole trademark of progressivism in this country. They miss no opportunity to declare themselves as progressives while those who oppose them are chastised by them as reactionaries. The hallmark of their progressivism is, of course, socialism which seeks to reduce the self-reliant men and women to the cogs of the huge State-apparatus.

Now progress entails the idea of advancing forward. But in so far as Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her friends stand for State socialism or communism, it amounts to staging a return to the primitive state of mankind. We know that the primitive man used to live under some sort of communism and human civilisation began only with the institution of private property.

Progress, however, does not connote merely the idea of going forward. It also involves certain values which, in the present context, mean the socio-economic betterment of the country and the freedom of the individual. In sustaining both history has shown the importance of private property.

So far as individual freedom is concerned, it is private property which gives the individual a "standing" on which he can base his personal decisions and a "sphere" within which he can exercise the powers and faculties of a free man. Human freedom is thus inextricably connected with property. Property rights alone can ensure the proper enjoyment of the higher rights making for the quality of human life.

The security of property is thus the primary duty of a civilized community. Elmer More is of the opinion that greater importance should be attached to property than even to life. Property is the distinguishing mark of man and is the means of his civilization. It is true that where there is full scope for making property some will make more than others. There is, however, nothing wrong about it. Fortunes cannot be equalized any more than the brains of different men can be equalized. We may evolve a scheme by which property is more widely distributed; but in no case should we aim at its total abolition. The abolition of private property

giving birth to a Leviathan cannot, therefore, be regarded as the hall-mark of progocessivism.

We may now turn to the question of socio-economic betterment of the country. Modern sociologists visualize the achievement of social progress in the genetic or passive-dynamic way as against the telic or active-dynamic way. According to them, a society can advance rapidly through the unconscious interplay of social forces and it is called genetic progress. But for achieving social progress an attempt is now often made to guide the social forces consciously. It is called the telic way with which the concept of economic planning is associated.

It is clear that the telic method can be fruitful only for the physical-chemical world. Human behaviour is largely unpredictable and does not follow a specifically determined course. Social forces, therefore, are generally not amenable to direction in a particular war. Their gigantic scale also does not permit such a direction. Socio-economic development can, therefore, be best achieved when it is left largely to the operation of unregulated forces under the framework of common good. The genetic way of socio-economic development is also free from corruption and oppression.

For achieving the material betterment of the country Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her associates advocate the telic method. As we have just seen, it is not a progressive method; rather, it is regressive and highly reactionary in nature. Let us not therefore be tyrannised by words.

A. Downward Spiral in Britain

The Guardian weekly comments :

"Like the offensive at Passchendaele and the Somme the Government's economic policy is running according to plan. The casualties,

of course, are colossal. Rolls-Royce is bankrupt and so is the Vehicle and General Insurance Company ; Imperial Chemical Industries and Shell are both cutting major investment programmes in Britain ; ship building, the motor industry, and engineering are likely to produce both cuts in investment and some painfully lame ducks. The retail prices index has been rising faster than at anytime since Labour's worst days. Rail fares are going up steeply, while rural bus routes are being closed. The incidents of strikes is more damaging than ever before and could become worse when the Industrial Relations Bill is law. Unemployment at 721000 is the worst for 31 years and more redundancies are forecast. Share prices, not surprisingly, have slumped. Mr. Heath and Mr. Barber, like brasshats in the 1914-18 war, contemplate the scene with unruffled calm. Is it, though, just what they projected ?

"A bracing climate and the discipline of market forces ; these were foreseen. Raging inflation combined with the conditions for a major recession : these were not. The Prime minister by now must be sick of having his election statements thrown back in his face—especially that of June 16 in which Labour's freeze squeeze, and potential further devaluation, were condemned while the Conservatives were at a stroke" going to "reduce the rise in prices, increase production, and reduce unemployment." These promises nevertheless carried weight in winning the election for Mr. Heath and the Conservatives : and to-day the Government cannot complain when people ask where the country is now being led. The answer, in spite of Downing Street's stoic calm, is that we are being led into a downward spiral from which it will be difficult to pull out. Production is not increasing at the expected rate ; prices are moving in

the wrong direction; and unemployment is going up. The nation's manufacturing resources are not being put to proper use. Nor is the Government yet turning towards that combination of measures without which recovery is unattainable—namely a strategy for growth, a voluntary agreement on restraint of prices and incomes, and a return towards social justice."

Rammohun Roy

Shi Sudhanshu Mohan Banerji writes in *The Indian Messenger* :

Though Rammohun was, by any standard of any age, a remarkable person, far above his contemporaries and could see ahead, straight into the future, he had to contend against many odds. His versatility was undisputed. His interest in affairs mundane and spiritual was unlimited. His encyclopaedic mind could grasp the problems, in their roots. He was mostly a self-educated man. He was initiated into Arabic and Persian as usual, learnt Sanskrit at Benares and later English, Hebrew and Latin. He travelled a lot. He was in Tibet and was conversant with Lamaism and Buddhism. His work with Digby at Rangpur whose Dewan he was, gave him an insight into the problems of land management, land tenures and revenue collection and he became an authority on these subjects. He acted as an interpreter of tradition of law "bewasta" as they were called. His petitions against Press Regulations and other matters, his championship of the cause for the freedom of the Press (He was once nominally convicted also along with Dwarkanath Tagore and others by the Supreme Court) his advocacy of European settlements in India because of his belief that by such contacts with the British, India would benefit socially, economically and culturally (a course which would seem out of court to

many), his advocacy of free trade and abolition of charter rights of the East India Company, his protest to Parliament against certain provisions of the Indian Jury system all show in broad relief Rammohun the liberal, who had drunk deep from the founts of Bacon, Voltaire and Volney, of Locke, Rousseau and Tom Paine and the protagonists of the American and French Revolutions. In addition he was versed in the lore of Upanishads and the Vedanta, of the Koran and the Bible. His *Tufhatul Muhawahiddin* (a gift to Monotheists) was a protest against superstition and priestcraft. His *Atmiya Sabha* was nothing less. The Precepts of Jesus and the Guide to Peace and Happiness, his appeals to the Christian Public were not only neo-liberal humanistic instincts borrowed from Europe but were attempts to find points of rapport to support a synthesis of faiths and social ideals with the ultimate object of finding a common ground for the meeting of the East and the West, the bridge of understanding which Thoreau and the Transcendentalists tried to bring about in a Joint Bible Ex-Oriente Lux.

Mines in Raniganj Safer

The *Coal Field Tribune* gives us the following information relating to accidents in coal mines in Raniganj coal fields of West Bengal.

A provisional compilation of the number of accidents that took place in the Raniganj Coalfield and adjoining coal mining areas in 1970 indicates that the number of 1970 fatalities is about 37 per cent less than the previous year's figure according to official sources. While during 1969, 68, persons lost their lives in coal mines in this area, the figure for 1970 was 43. The corresponding figure for 1968 was 64. One significant reason for this low incidence during 1970 was the providential absence of any disaster involving a large number of lives.

Of the 43 lives lost in 1970, 22 were lost in accidents involving fall of roof or side (compared to 45 in 1969) and 9 on haulage below ground—same as the year before.

Viewed in the background of the highly strained industrial relations that existed in mines during the year in this area, militant inter-union rivalries and growing indiscipline (including a more or less general disregard for safety instructions), these figures speak well of the safety status in these mines and are an index of the sustained effort that is being made in this field.

The corresponding serious injury figures are 257 (provisional) for 1970, 341 for 1969 and 287 for 1968.

Israeli Discovery for Cancer Detection

We reproduce the following information from *News from Israel*.

Dr. Tal was born in Jerusalem and graduated at the Hebrew University. She worked from 1949 for several years at the Rockefeller Institute, and began to work on immunological response to cancer as long ago as 1952. From 1955 onwards she has done research as a member of the staff of the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Centre, apart from working during sabbaticals in the Rockefeller Institute and the University of Tokyo.

Considerable interest has been generated in medical and scientific circles abroad by the report of a new technique for the early diagnosis of cancer, which has been evolved by Dr. Chloe Tal, of the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Centre, a member of the Oncology Department headed by Professor Abraham Hochman.

Dr. Tal found that a serologically distinct protein, which she calls T-globulin (Tumour-globulin) is present in the blood serum of cancer patients and pregnant women. When the test that she worked out is positive and

T-globulin is found to be present, it can be concluded that the person tested, if not pregnant, is suffering from cancer. Dr. Tal has discovered that the reason why pregnant women show the presence of T-globulin in their serum is because the primitive cells of the placenta in pregnant women stimulate the production of T-globulin in the same way as tumour cells do.

Dr. Tal published the first report of her work in the "Israel Journal of Medical Sciences," in the issue of November-December, 1970. The "New York Times," in an article by its Israel correspondent, Peter Grose, added comments by various medical scientists in the U.S.A. and Canada. All agreed that Dr. Tal's new test could be of great importance in the early detection of cancer, as scientists have been searching for a universal, simple test for 50 years.

All kinds of cancers

The scientists suggested that the work would have to be considered in the light of various questions which would probably arise in the future. Will the test be confirmed when it is applied to thousands of people taken at random? Does it apply to all kinds of cancers?

In an interview, Dr. Tal answered the second question affirmatively. With regard to the first question, the next stage of her work is to apply the test on a large-scale basis. Since she published the article in the "Israel Journal of Medical Sciences," she has discovered a way of simplifying her technique so that it should be easy to carry out the test in any laboratory. Professor Hochman has applied to the Israel Cancer Association, which contributed towards Dr. Tal's research, as did Hadassah and the Hebrew University, to cooperate in large-scale testing.

"I suspect that all people are exposed all the time to cancerous cell mutations, but only a certain number get cancer," said Dr. Tal.

"This, I believe, is due to an immunological response. The test shows when this response is not working satisfactorily, and T-globulin is found in the serum."

The test is based on a technique evolved by Dr. Tal for the preparation of a T-globulin enriched fraction from the pooled serum of cancer patients. This enriched T-globulin is then used for immunizing rabbits. Anti-T-globulin serum is thus produced. The diagnostic test procedure involves testing patients' serum against the anti-T-globulin serum: if the test is positive and T-globulin is present in the serum, a single isolated precipitate line is formed. When T-globulin is absent from the serum and the test is negative, no precipitate is formed.

Enzymatic change

The new test was used by Dr. Tal on serum samples of 520 patients selected at random in the various departments of the Hadassah University Hospital. These samples were tested for T-globulin with the anti-serum: 356 samples gave positive serological results and were subsequently found to have been

obtained from 350 verified cases of cancer, three cases of suspected but non-verified cancer, and three women during pregnancy. It is noteworthy that in 12 cases where the serological results were positive, these had not been diagnosed at the time that the blood samples were taken. Within one year, however, the diagnosis of cancer was confirmed.

Of the 164 cases negative serological results, 163 proved to be from patients with a wide variety of non-malignant conditions and from one patient with a non-malignant tumour of the breast.

The Hadassah scientist believes that when a neoplastic mutation occurs in a cell, it also results, among other changes, in an enzymatic change causing the production of a specific antigen in the cell membrane, which, in turn, stimulates the production of the serologically distinct T-globulin as an antibody. It was found that all types of cancer tested stimulate the production of T-globulin, probably as an antibody, regardless of age or sex. Dr. Tal suggests, as a possible hypothesis, that the



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T-globulin has an immuno-suppressive activity on initial cancerous growth and that the cases of cancer which do however develop are an expression of immunological failure. The present findings lead to the consideration of possible treatment based on the boosting of immunological responses by using various types of adjuvants of BCG vaccine in cancer patients, who may be regarded as being sluggish in their immune responses.

The presence of the T-globulin in the patient's serum may also prove to be of important diagnostic value.

Democracies should be Partyless

The Atheist of Vijaywada is of the opinion that political parties are an obstruction to the natural growth of democracies:

Democracy has been evolved as the best form of government in order to solve the problems of the people. In fact, every government belongs to the people inasmuch as it depends for its revenues on the taxes which people pay and for its authority on the cooperation which people give. If a considerable section of people take to no-tax and non-cooperation any government is bound to collapse. Democracy forges another link between the people and government, besides taxes and cooperation. The new link is the Vote. A democratic government is formed by the representatives of the people who are elected by the votes which people cast. On account of the extra relation democracy ought

to belong to the people more than the other forms of government. But, in practice, democracy is not solving the problems of the people any better than monarchies or dictatorships. Evidently the reason is the party structure of democracy. Instead of belonging to the people a party-ridden democracy is belonging to a section of the people to which the ruling party belongs. The partisan character of modern democracies is rendering the government sectarian and partial in administration. So modern democracies are failing to solve the problems of the people as a whole. On the other hand, the party system is encouraging splits among the people in their associations and homes as well. Hence partylessness is essential for the proper functioning of a democracy.

Political parties find no reference in any constitution. They are extra-constitutional conventions which have come in with the ostensible purpose of helping the politically ignorant masses of people in running their democratic institutions. But, as all middle men do political parties are exploiting the political ignorance of the people and are promoting their own ambitions of power and facility rather than serving the people. So political parties have proved to be a hindrance to democratic progress.

Political parties rise and thrive on propaganda. They can be removed by propaganda too without the need of change in the Constitution.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Badruddin Tyabji : By A. G. Noorani, published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, in their Builders of Modern India series. Db/cr I6VO pp 202+XIV one plate paper cover Price Rs 3-75. Badruddin Tyabji was born on October 10, 1844 in a family of merchants. His father was a progressive person and sent his sons to England for their education. Badruddin became an eminent barrister and jurist and took a leading part in the political life of the late nineteenth century. He presided over the third session of the Indian National Congress which was held in Madras in December 1887.

The World is My Family : Biography of Rev. Ramkrishna Shahu Modak, by Manorama R. Modak Published by Thacker & Co. Ltd. 18-20 Rampart Row, Bombay-1 Demy Oct pp 266+X Illust. Cloth gilt, art jacket price Rs. 28-00. The Rt. Rev. R. S. Modak D. D. was well known for his activities for nationalising the Christian Church in India. He was Founder President of All India Federation of National Churches, President Indian Christian Conference of Bombay, Member Bombay Legislative Council for seven years ; and was prominent in various other fields of work. He lived in New York for some years, and carried on his work in connection with freeing the Christian churches in India from foreign control. The writer, his wife, participated in his work for 35 years and has thus

been in a very good position to relate the life story of her eminent husband.

Patna District Gazetteer : By N. Kumar Bar-at-Law published by Government of Bihar, Patna, 1970 Crown Qrto pp 674+XVIII+XXVIII, plates, Maps, cloth gilt, illust jacket Price Rs. 15-00. The book gives many tables, statistics and general information relating to the District and its people. Certain historical facts also have been incorporated in it. It is an official publication and is therefore a book of reference which will be found useful by students, businessmen, professional persons, journalists and others who are interested in matters connected with the Patna District.

Socio-Psychological Factors Influencing Industrial Entrepreneurship in Rural Areas, a case study in Tanuku Region of West Godavari, Andhra Pradesh, by V. R. Gaikwad and R. N. Tripathy published by the National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad. Crown Qrto pp 136+X, 20 Tables, Paper cover, price Rs. 6-00. A study of sociological and economic factors which led to the industrial development in West Godavari district, with special reference to the environs of Tanuku.

Crop Loan System, a study in Andhra Pradesh and Punjab by T. P. S. Chowdhari and J. N. Sharma. National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad. Crown

Qrto pp 101 Cloth Bound, Art Jacket, Price Rs. 12-00. The financing of agricultural production is a very vital problem in India. A study which gives a factual picture of such financing in predominantly agricultural areas will have high documentary value. The book will therefore be found useful by students and by persons interested in agricultural economics.

Asian Social Science Bibliography by N. K. Goil, Librarian Institute of Economic Growth, published by Vikas Publications, Delhi—Bombay—Bangalore. Royal Qrto. pp 490+ XXIV Cloth Art Jacket price Rs. 75-00. The author is a well qualified person and has carried out his work in a thorough and precise manner. The **Bibliography** covers the following branches of social sciences: 1) Social Science—Social Data. 2) Education and Communication. 3) Political Science. 4) Economics. 5) Sociology, Social Anthropology and Social Psychology. 6) Demography. A Very useful book for research workers.

Regional Planning for Social Facilities An Examination of central place concepts and Their Application—A Case Study of Eastern Maharashtra. Author Sudhir Wanmali published by National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad—30E Royal Qrto. Pp. 96+VIII Maps, Tables and charts, diagrammes etc. Cloth bound art jacket Price Rs. 12-00. The author was a Commonwealth Scholar at the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Michael Wise for the invaluable advice he gave to the author on various aspects of the research that he was carrying on.

"Local Government Institutions in Rural India."

Edited by R. N. Haldipur and V. R. K.

Paramhamsa, published by the National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad-30, and printed by F. Wiesinger of Shakuntala Publishing House, Bombay, 52, at Examiner Press, Fort, Bombay-1 (price Rs. 30).

This publication is a compilation of the proceedings of the Seminar on Panchayati Raj, held at the NICD, Hyderabad (from October 13th to 16th. 1969), as also the background papers prepared by the Institute for the benefit of the participants.

In his speech welcoming the Academicians Administrators policy-Makers, and Leaders of the Movement taking part in the Seminar, S. J. Haldipur, Dean of the National Institute of Community Development stated that the future of Indian Democracy as envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi "will depend upon our ability to translate the aspirations of an awakened peasantry into proper institutional norms, "because", men learn administration fastest in countries where self-governing institutions are most wide-spread." But although there are to-day 2,14,935 Panchayats, 3297 panchayat Samitis, and 253 Zilla parishads, all over India, we are still a very long way from evolving adequate representation at local level throughout the country.

The compiled papers of the participants analyse various causes for the decline in the development of Panchayati Raj. These can be briefly stated as follows.....

1. The interference of State Government in panchayati matters.
2. Insufficient financial assistance provided by the State and Union Governments to these local Institutions.
3. The lack of harmony in the relationship among the functionaries of these bodies.
4. The revival of feuds and family rivalries in the rural areas as a result of the impact of these Institutions, politically and economically.

5. Lack of proper control over the functioning of the Panchayti Raj institutions because at all levels these institutions being statutory bodies, (i. e. the Zilla board, the Panchayti Samiti level, and the Gram Panchayat, there are consequent difficulties in making the higher bodies supervise the lower ones.

Most of the concentrated discussion deal with the problems connected with levels of decentralisation of powers and functions of Panchayati Raj, Mobilisation and Utilisation of Resources, Administrative Organisation, training and orientation, Socio-Political implications of Panchayati Raj, Community development and Co-operative movements under Local self-government, and Bureaucracy and Elected Representation. Most of the participants were agreed in the

main that the interference of state government should be in the minimum. that Panchayati Raj institutions should be free from the influence of political parties, that delegation of powers should not be mistaken for decentralisation and that the functions to be performed at any level should be related to the resources that can be commanded at that level.

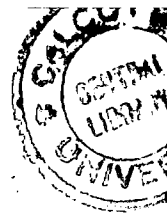
This collection of papers provides an excellent background for students and administrators interested in the manifold problems connected with Local self-government. Indeed they are of interest to all citizens of India, as upon the balanced development and functioning of these institutions depend the progress of a vast section of the population in this country.

L. Chatterji





SHEIKH MUJIBUR REHMAN



Founded by : RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

Bangla Desh vis a vis Pakistan

Bengla Desh i. e. East Pakistan or East Bengal, has broken away from the British created Dominion of Pakistan. The officials representing Pakistan in Delhi and Calcutta have in large numbers disclaimed loyalty to the military government of Pakistan. That government recently organised and held elections in East and West Pakistan with a view to abolish the martial law regime and to establish a democratic government in those countries. The result of the elections was astounding. In East Pakistan, the Awami League party won 195 seats out of 198 and in West Pakistan the strongest pro martial law party won 83 seats out of 144. That is, General Yahya Khan, the head of the despotic and autocratic martial law administration of Pakistan found that he had only 83 organised elected representatives to support him in a parliament of 342 members. He concluded that with a parliament largely opposed to the economic and political methods of exploitation and favouritism followed by the military clique ruling Pakistan; he had to stop democratic growth in the country at any cost. He therefore pretended to hand over power to the leader

of the Awami League party and at a certain stage of their discussions, he, allegedly, got hold of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the chief organiser of the Awami League and whisked him off to West Pakistan under arrest, with a view to break the back of the democratic movement. The truth of this story however is not clearly known. But assuming that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman has been put under arrest; by what right could Yahya Khan do this at a time when he was officially discussing the future politics of Pakistan with the Sheikh? The "revolt" had not yet begun when this was done, so that the Awami League chief could not be charged with any defiance of any law of Pakistan for that. He had become the head of a political party with absolute majority in Pakistan by virtue of elections held under order of the martial law administration and he was demanding that he should be made the head of a civil government by dissolution of the military government. Surely, that could not be called treason by Yahya Khan who ordered those elections and convened the conference in which he was discussing matters with Sheikh Mujibur Rehman.

If the leader of the Awami League has really been arrested, that would be a very good

reason for his followers to call for an all out fight against Yahya Khan the self willed tyrant who could order elections and pretend to hand over power to a democratic government and then negate everything by a secret attack on the leader of the majority party. Yahya Khan simultaneously ordered attacks on all supporters of the Awami League which led to the massacre of hundreds of thousands of absolutely innocent men women and children. Yahya Khan's henchmen also killed many hand picked intellectuals of East Bengal; abducted and raped women and burnt down houses in a manner which was utterly inhuman and barbarous. The people of East Bengal are under no obligation to be loyal to a military junta; for the Indian Independence Act of 1947 created Pakistan as a Muslim State for granting fuller scope to the Mussalmans of India to realise their aspirations. Serving a brutal military despot cannot be described as muslim aspiration, nor can one call a military dictatorship a form of government of an Islamic type. So that the abolition of the democratic form of government in Pakistan and the abrogation of the constitution of the country by the military rulers were acts of treason against the Muslim Nation of Pakistan in so far as the military usurpers of political power overthrew the government established by law in Pakistan. That these people had been allowed to tyrannise the people of Pakistan for more than 12 years does not make their treachery less traitorous. Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and their associates should be brought to trial for treason. Yahya Khan is further guilty of genocide and many other crimes against humanity. He began his unprovoked attack on the people of East Pakistan, for no reason other than for his criminal desire to destroy the Awami League and its supporters. The Awami League had just won a spectacular victory in the elections that Yahya Khan

had ordered to be held. Yahya Khan declared it an unlawful assembly because it defeated his supporters utterly and that left no doubts in anybody's mind that the people of East Pakistan did not want the martial law administration to continue for another day. Yahya Khan therefore first admitted that military autocracy should be terminated by ordering the elections. He thereafter changed his mind and attempted to continue his despotic rule over Pakistan by his attacks on Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and his followers. Yahya Khan started a civil war in Pakistan by his foolish, barbarous and inhuman conduct. Civilised humanity should lose no time in declaring him guilty of a base and wanton crime against the people of his country and put a stop to his barbarous activities by organising concerted international action against his marauding.

The nations of the world should not tolerate the existence of a regime in any country in which the lives of the people, the honour of the women and the security of civilised institutions are not guaranteed by the administrators. In Pakistan the administrators not only do not guarantee any of the above things or any human rights of the people; but they instruct their soldiers to shoot down unarmed men, women and children; loot and burn down houses belonging to the civil population and to dishonour and abduct defenceless women. These things are unbelievable; but they are true nevertheless. An entire country with a population of 75 million is to-day in shambles with more than two million persons killed, injured, dishonoured, kidnapped, deprived of all possessions and reduced to utter destitution due to the criminal lenacy of a bunch of sadistic mainacs who have acquired political control of West and East Pakistan by coups d'etats. Britain, America, Russia and China have backed these base cowards in the past. These men have

now began to play a brutal game with the destinies of the five races that inhabit Pakistan. The powers are still hoping for the best and saying nothing to Pakistan. Not that they do not know that the disease is beyond cure.

The *Guardian* weekly of Britain has been exposing the Pakistan affair ever since Yahya Khan suddenly began his assault on East Bengal and its 98% majority political party, the Awami League. In their 17th April number the weekly said editorially. "Pakistan is a nation in hock to the World Bank and to the aid-givers of the world: they are already turning away, gorged on brutality. Pakistani defence policy (and the whole existence of the generals) rests on confrontation with India over Kashmir. Pakistan alleges that India holds the Pakistani-loving Kashmiris in check by steely repression. It is the most ludicrous case now, as the junta of Islamabad openly exercises just such repression on 75 million bonafide Pakistanis. The United Nations will surely collapse in bitter laughter if Kashmir comes up again. The issue is as dead as the students of Dacca University.....The Bangla Desh affair...arose simply when a well conducted, peaceful election produced a result the army could not stand. Sheikh Mujib himself has not in any certain sense declared Bengali independence. He was not asking essentially for more than the programme he legally fought and won the election on.....This is not a Sino-Soviet slanging match about Marxist technicalities. It is, at root, a simple matter, of freedom, of morality and of humanity."

Another important British journal, the weekly "New Statesman", summed up the civil war situation in East Bengal in a very clear cut manner. It said, "If blood is the price of a people's right to independence Bangla Desh has overpaid. Of all the recent struggles to bring down governments and change frontiers in the name of national

freedom the war in East Bengal may prove the bloodiest and briefest. On this level alone, the East Pakistanis have achieved a record of suffering. But even if their movement is destroyed within a few days or weeks, it may only be a temporary defeat in a war of liberation which will eventually be recognised as just. In all such cases, establishment opinion is heavily weighted in favour of the status quo. The chances of any world power declaring support for Bangla Desh are minimal. The Bengali's case for statehood may be hard to refute, but it is inconvenient to everyone else. And yet, by an unusual combination of circumstances, Bangla Desh has managed to obey all the rules. So this may be the moment to consider what we, and other countries, mean by those splendid words which recur like a chorus in the United Nations charter: 'the right to self-determination of peoples; objectively or subjectively, in Chinese or English, in capitalist or socialist jargon, it is hard to fault the East Bengalis, or justify their abandonment by all the major powers.'

Pakistan was artificially created "from above for reasons of political expediency"; rather to satisfy the religious fanaticism of persons who gave scant consideration to things like human rights or humane outlook. These people behaved in a rapacious and barbarous manner in the forties to force the establishment of Pakistan. Their descendents kept alive the spirit of self-seeking in their hearts to a degree which made it impossible for Pakistan to develop into an integrated nation in which the people respected each others rights and privileges of citizenship. In Pakistan it had been customary for the Muslims to terrorise and exploit the non-Muslims. The various tribes and castes did not hesitate to further their ends at each other's cost. The strong exploited the weak and defenceless according to the principle of might-is right. The West Pakistanis there-

fore thought that their more numerous presence in Pakistan's Army, Navy and Air Force entitled them to treat the peace loving people of East Bengal with disdain and contempt. Also to exploit them freely. The result has been this civil war which will probably destroy Pakistan.

Pakistan was created by the British in the hope that the Muslim mercenaries of the Punjab, the tribal territories where the Pathans live and Baluchistan would for ever assist and aid the British in their scheming in Asian countries. But unfortunately for them the Pakistanis found an ally in the Chinese who were openly and actively anti-Indian and were therefore the soul mates of the Pakistanis in that respect. Pakistan also developed friendship with Russia and America. Britain therefore no longer remained as attractive to the Pakistanis as one would expect; though the Pakistanis have migrated to Britain in very large numbers and the British too have economic connections of importance with Pakistan. These business relations centre in East Bengal where the British have a major interest in Jute and Tea. The civil war therefore has harmed the British more than any other foreign country. The Russians, the Americans and the Chinese have reasons to appease West Pakistani military men. But they will find it hard to do so where the Pakistanis are committing atrocities in a manner which is alienating world opinion against them. The British have created Pakistan and a section of the British people now wish to dissociate and break with that country. British businessmen also do not find it good policy to watch the destruction of Bangla Desh.

International Complications Caused by Pak Civil War

Pakistan, that is the official martial law administration of that state, would like to be

internationally recognised as the sole arbiter of the destinies of the Pakistani people and as the only statutory body which rightfully acts in their behalf. But much to the regret of the outside world the majority of the people of Pakistan have been declared rebels or members of an unlawful assembly by this official body and the Pakistan army is at present engaged in mass killing and punitive action of doubtful legality against almost anybody who lives in East Pakistan. Hundreds of thousands of East Pakistan people have been killed, injured, dishonoured and rendered destitute by the inhuman atrocities committed by the soldiers of the martial law administration of Pakistan and about half a million East Bengali men, women and children have fled over the border and taken shelter in Indian territory. Just before all this happened the Pakistan Government had organised and held popular elections in Pakistan with a view to terminate military rule and to establish a democratic and constitutional form of Government. The results of these elections showed that the voters of East Bengal outnumbered the supporters of the martial law administration by about 75 : 25 and that of the East Pakistan voters 98% were against the martial law administrators. Yahya Khan the martial law President of Pakistan, finding that democracy would see him out as well as all his crime ridden co-workers, precipitated a breakdown in the talks he was holding with Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the head of the victorious Awami League, and declared the Sheikh guilty of treason and the League an unlawful assembly. In Yahya Khan's dictionary treason and unlawful apparently had special meanings which helped this lawless criminal to attach these words to anybody or any thing that stood in the way of his dictatorial wilfulness.

Yahya Khan is alleged to have arranged the capture of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman while he was discussing the officially proposed ter-

mination of the martial law administration at a conference which Yahya Khan had called officially as President of Pakistan. This act of perfidy as well as the attacks launched by Yahya Khan's soldiers on the population of Dacca, led to the declaration of independence by Bangla Desh, as Sheikh Mujibur Rehman named East Pakistan. The Awami League soon got the East Pakistan Police and the Bengali soldiers of the East Pakistan Rifles to side with them and these lightly armed men together with Awami League volunteers who carried rods, choppers, muzzle loaders, spears and daggers, put up a stiff resistance to the conventionally armed regiments of Pakistan. Many towns, air fields and railway junctions have changed hands more than once during the first four weeks of the civil war. The fact that the Pakistan army is mainly in occupation of certain towns only and that the Mukti Fouz or army of liberation controls vast tracts of the countryside everywhere, proves that these freedom fighters are not less than one hundred thousand in number and that they are carrying on guerrilla warfare quite competently and not without some semblance of success in many places. It would also suggest that the Pakistan army would not be likely to gain control of East Bengal easily and soon. The nations of the world, therefore are faced with a situation in which they have to choose between highly contradictory alternatives relating to the affairs of a country in which the population is divided in its loyalties in the ratio 45 : 75 and many of the people of both groups claim rights, assistance, protection etc. etc. from other nations and also request these third parties not to do this or that to help or assist members of one or other of the contesting groups. Where Pakistan, for instance is faced with officials disowning loyalty to the martial law administration, protests are being lodged with other countries not to counte-

nance such acts of defection ; but when three hundred thousand people run away from the onslaughts of the Pakistan army and enter Indian territory seeking refuge, the martial law administration can neither stop this exodus nor force these people to declare that they are loyal subjects of Pakistan and not of Bangla Desh. The Pakistan army is firmly entrenched in many places of East Bengal but that does not prove that their opponents have been decisively vanquished. The anti-martial law regime freedom fighters are everywhere in East Bengal and, it appears that they will gain in strength as time passes.

Bengali Muslims of Pakistan can be found in almost all countries of the world. Among them are common people working as sailors, factory hands, cooks, waiters, shop keepers etc. in large numbers. There are also many Bengali East Pakistani Muslim and Hindu doctors, teachers, technicians, musicians and others who are educated and trained experts in different lines of work. There are Bengali Muslims in India too who naturally have family ties with the East Bengal Muslims. Bengali non-Muslims of India and Pakistan would number 60 million or more and they are intellectually progressive and fairly advanced in many fields of work. The Bengalis in East Pakistan have been butchered and brutally oppressed by the Yahya Khan regime and they are not taking it lying down. The word has gone round all over the world that the West Pakistan army has committed terrible atrocities on the Bengalis of East Pakistan and that the Bengalis have renounced their loyalty to Pakistan and formed a new state which they call Bangla Desh. Foreign journalists, statesmen, scientists and other important persons are being approached by the Bengalis to tell the world about West Pakistani crimes against humanity. And many of them are giving publicity to the mass killing that the Pakistan

army has indulged in. They are also telling the world how the Pakistanis have killed foreign priests, nuns, nurses, students and well-known intellectuals. They have also told the gruesome tales of abducting 400 girls from a ladies' hostel, of shooting 300 school children and of the burning down of workers' dwelling in the poorer quarters of Dacca where the workers were shot down if they tried to escape or were pushed back into the flames to be burnt alive.

Many East Pakistanis are seeking asylum in foreign countries and declaring that they are subjects of Bangla Desh. In Calcutta the Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan pulled down the flag of Pakistan and hoisted that of Bangla Desh. Seventy members of his staff disowned their connection with Pakistan. In Delhi some members of the Pakistan High Commission Office sought asylum in India with a view to join the newly created state of Bangla Desh. There are Bengalis in other countries too who will give up allegiance to Pakistan and join Bangla Desh. According to a press reports the Pakistani consulate in New York switched over to Bangla Desh some days ago. Over one hundred foreigners, who had been in Dacca and Chittagong during the earlier days of the genocidal attacks of the people of East Bengal, testified to the horrors of this terrifying episode as eye witnesses. Foreigners of undoubted position are now coming over to carry out on the spot enquiries. A fuller exposure of Yahya Khan's crime against humanity will soon come before the civilised world. The nations of the world will have to face the question of the dissolution of Pakistan by acceptance of Bangla Desh as a newly created state. The question of Yahya Khan's trial as a criminal too will have to be faced.

Five Weeks of an Unequal Fight

The war of liberation of Bangla Desh has now completed its fifth week of merciless kill-

ing of men, women and children ; shooting down of hand picked intellectuals ; burning of villages, industrial installations and the destruction of cultivation by the soldiers of Yahya Khan on the one hand, and the death defying band of freedom loving patriots of Bangla Desh resisting those beasts of prey on the other hand. This war has proved to be an amazing example of two thoroughly unequal sides battling relentlessly in the hope of gaining an upper hand, in a manner which has no comparison in military history. The army, navy and air force of Pakistan are well organised, equipped with modern arms, transport and supplies and are perfectly trained to fight any type of enemy on any terrain. The forces that the freedom fighters can command are mostly civilian volunteers who are unarmed or have an assortment of arms which they have secured from many sources. These volunteers are supported by some armed policemen and deserters from the regular army of Pakistan who being Bengalis have disowned loyalty to the "Islamic Republic". The Bangla Desh freedom fighters are therefore not an army in any sense of the term. There are men and women in it who are armed with swords, spears, choppers, sticks and primitive fire arms. There are small bands of better trained persons here and there who have limited supplies of modern weapons. Some have a few pieces of artillery, anti aircraft and machine guns. One might say that out of every thousand freedom fighters about two hundred have weapons of a conventional type. The others are armed anyhow and their best military assets are their undoubted spirit, unhesitating readiness to make the supreme sacrifice and intimate association with the people of the country and the land they are trying to wrest from the army of invasion which comprises four divisions of troops supported by numerous fighter bombers, well armed naval craft and heavy artillery.

In the circumstances the freedom fighters have little or no chance of defeating the Pakistan army in open battle, and that army can more or less advance and occupy any town or objective it wants to capture at any time. They are in full occupation of Dacca, the capital city of East Pakistan and they are fairly well entrenched in Chittagong, Comilla and some other towns. Mymensingh, Sylhet, Khulna, Rajshahi, Kusthea, Jessore and Pabna are battle fields where the Pakistan army can stay in defended positions and make sorties with the purpose of killing defenceless people. They, apparently, cannot come to grips with the Mukti Fouz or army of liberation, which moves into the hinterland when the Pakistan army advances and comes forward to carry on guerrilla warfare against the Pakistanis as they retire back to their defended positions. The Pakistan army therefore is divided into ten or fifteen groups which are separated by long stretches of difficult roads, rivers and slushy land. The army can and does advance quite often along the better roads but they meet with stiff opposition in places and are held up or made to retreat at times. Thus the Pakistan army occupies the towns in most parts of the country but they do not occupy the villages mostly. There are perhaps thirty thousand villages in East Bengal and only about 1800 miles of metalled roads. There are about 1700 miles of railways which do not link up the villages either. West Pakistan has more than 5000 miles of railways and 21000 miles of good roads. This shows why the East Bengali's thought that the government of Pakistan was an organisation for the exploitation of East Bengal in order to enrich and develop West Pakistan.

The villages of East Bengal are far flung and about ninety percent of the villages are unapproachable by the heavily armed Pakistani soldiers. They would not dare shed

their heavy armour in order to reach the villages; for, then they would be fighting as equals in armour with the Mukti Fouz which will mean annihilation for them. The Pakistan army therefore will have to stay in their defended urban positions and will use aerial strafing and naval shelling as punitive methods of attack on the villages. Aerial attacks on 10000 villages will require endless aerial sorties costing hundreds of crores of rupees; but that will merely destroy some huts and kill a few thousand villagers. The annual growth rate of population of East Bengal being about a million, this method of killing off the Bengalis and to settle West Pakistanis in their place in East Bengal is wishful thinking and nothing more. And when the rains start fully and well the Pakistan army will have to "stay indoor", so to speak and their supplies will have to be entirely secured by freight planes. This will be difficult, uncertain and costly. If by chance Bangla Desh can get hold of enough anti-aircraft guns the process will increasingly cause loss of planes and pilots too. The leaders of the liberation army have by now understood that they must procure proper weapons to dislodge the Pakistan soldiers from their various concentrations. The most important weapons required for this purpose would be anti-aircraft guns, heavy machine guns, field guns, ground to air missiles, rockets, heavy mortars and anti-tank guns. They have sympathisers and they have supporters abroad who must be trying to get these arms for them. The liberation army men have already brought down half-a-dozen Pakistani fighters. They have also used machine and field guns against the Pakistanis at places. So, it is believed that they are obtaining arms from outside. This flow of arms will increase and the army of Pakistan will find it progressively more difficult to overcome the forces of Bangla Desh.

There is another side to this full scale civil war which should be duly considered in view of its great importance as a deciding factor. It is the expenditure aspect of the war. Pakistan is spending more than a crore of rupees a day and this expenditure is on the increase. Pakistan's revenues were realised largely from East Bengal. The loss of revenue due to the civil war must be very substantial. This makes the financial position of Pakistan more critical than would be caused by the military expenditure by itself. Pakistan's central and provincial revenues together make a total of about 1000 crores. Out of this they spend over 525 crores on civil administration and 75 crores on debt services. Defence expenses come to 250 crores. In these circumstances if there is a loss of revenue of about 300 crores and an increase in military expenses amounting to 300 crores, the position would be revenues about 700 crores and expenses about 1300 crores. Foreign nations would not be eager to lend large sums of money to a country that showed signs of breaking up. The chances therefore of Pakistan going bankrupt should be considered to be more than a mere possibility. In any case if Pakistan cannot terminate the civil war very soon, there will be insurmountable financial difficulties to face. The Mukti Fouz on the other hand has no great expenses to meet and has financial resources about which very little is known. One does not however think that financial difficulties will stand in the way of the army of liberation and prevent them from achieving their objective.

Pakistan has been doing a lot of anti-Indian propaganda latterly with a view to divert public attention from the facts of the civil war in East Bengal. The gruesome acts of merciless killing of men women and children carried out by the Pakistani soldiers under order of general Yahya Khan, and the sadistic orgies they indulged in had to be blacked out

as far as possible; and anti-Indian propaganda was considered to be an easy way of doing this. India has conspired with the Awami League to break up Pakistan. India has given arms to the Awami League. Indian soldiers are fighting along side of Awami League men. And so on and so forth! Unfortunately for Pakistan the propaganda did not work the miracle of white washing the Pak atrocities. Numerous foreigners had witnessed the mass killing of students and teachers of Dacca University, the shooting down of priests, nuns, nurses, old women and young girls, the abduction of hundreds of girl students and the massacre of little children. The news had already spread that Yahya Khan had put the Nazis in the shadow by his black deeds. Yahya Khan ordered the killing of a million of his co-religionists whose only fault was winning a majority at elections held under order of Yahya Khan himself. The Pakistan civil war will go down in history as a great crime against humanity. Professors, doctors, poets, literarymen, teachers, lawyers and other members of the intelligentsia were picked out and placed before firing squads for execution. Their offence was they were Bengalis. School boys were lined up in their hundreds and shot. Girl students were carried away by the soldiers of Pakistan in large numbers. Rape and arson were rampant and millions suffered death and dishonour.

Yahya Khan's attempt to involve India in his quarell proves that he is reckless and unwise; for Pakistan cannot expect to win in any war with India. Pakistan may hope to get China's active assistance in case of such a war. But China will most probably not give any assistance with soldiers to Pakistan for fear of getting involved in a war with other major powers. Pakistani soldiers are constantly intruding into Indian territory. They have killed a number of Indians. If India retaliated by occupying some parts of East Bengal that would be entirely the fault of Pakistan. The creation of Pakistan was an obscene adventure. Its continued existence for 24 years has been studded with black deeds, black lies and unprincipled home and foreign relations. Its end may be hideous and gory as befit the character of its leaders.

ACT NOW TO SAVE BANGLA DESH

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

The nation is now committed to the cause of the revolutionaries of Bangla Desh who are laying down their lives in lakhs for the cause of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity the values enshrined in the Constitution of India. The Pakistani hordes have said good bye to all norms of warfare or civilized conduct and have resorted to the most brutal, the most barbarous methods to coerce the freedom-loving people of Bangla Desh into submission. If the Pakistanis, armed with Soviet, British and American arms, have nevertheless failed to achieve their objective, it only shows the great determination of the people-men, women and children - of Bangla Desh to regain their freedom. It would be a great crime to watch silently the massacre of the innocents when it lies within the capability of this country to render effective assistance to the freedom fighters.

The next logical step after the resolution of Parliament which has given vent to the feelings of the nation is to grant recognition to the Bangla Desh Government and offer it all assistance. International law does not prohibit civil war and rather imposes a duty on other states to recognize the state of belligerency when a civil war breaks out. Oppenheim says in his Treatise, on *International law*, "Whenever a State lacking the legal qualification to make war nevertheless actually makes war, it is a belligerent, the contention is real war, and all the rules of International Law respecting warfare apply to it. Therefore, an armed contention between suzerain and vassal, or between a Federal State and one or more of its members, is war in the technical sense of the term according to the Law of Nations.

"The distinction between legal qualification and actual power to make war explains the fact that insurgents may become belligerent power through recognition. The principles governing recognition of belligerency are essentially the same as those relating to the recognition of States and Governments. Certain conditions of fact, not stigmatised as unlawful by International Law—the Law of Nations does not treat civil war as illegal—create for other States the right and the duty to grant recognition of belligerency. These conditions of fact are: the existence of a civil war accompanied by a state of general hostilities; occupation and a measure of orderly administration of a substantial part of national territory by the insurgents; observance of the rules of warfare on the part of the insurgent forces acting under a responsible authority; the practical necessity for third States to define their attitude to the civil war"—(*International Law*, Seventh Edition edited by H. Lauterpacht, London 1952 p. 249). The author goes further and says that "refusal to recognize belligerent states notwithstanding these conditions must be deemed contrary to sound principle and precedent". (*Ibid* p. 250)

Oppenheim places the greatest emphasis on the practical necessity for other states to define their attitude to the civil war. The necessity for India to do so has already led Parliament to announce the nation's solidarity with the cause of Bangla Desh. The other conditions are self-evident. No one can deny that a civil war is raging in Bangla Desh; no one can again deny that the insurgents dominate over a large part of the territory of Bangla

Desh. The Pakistani authorities, despite overwhelming superiority in armaments, planes and ships, were pushed out of the capital city Dacca and were so demoralized that they could not even run the Dacca Radio station. The insurgents are certainly observing all the rules of war in face of the provocative acts of the Pakistani armed gangs operating in the name of a State and shooting down men, women, children, teachers, students and destroying everything in sight including the magnificent University of Dacca. Anyone conversant with the principles of international law can see how flagrantly the Pakistani armies are violating the rules of war. Oppenheim writes, "It happens occasionally during war that, on the approach of the enemy, a belligerent calls the whole population of the country to arms, and thus makes them a part, although a more or less irregular part, of his armed forces. Provided they receive some organization, and comply with the laws and usages of war, the combatants who take part in such a levy en masse organised by the State enjoy the privileges due to members of armed forces. Or, again, a levy en masse may take place spontaneously without organization by a belligerent. The question then arises whether or not those who take part in such levies en masse belong to the armed forces of the belligerents, and therefore enjoy the privileges due to members of such forces. Article 2 of the Hague Regulations stipulates that the population of a territory not yet occupied who, *on the enemy's approach*, spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading enemy, without having time to organise themselves under responsible commanders and to procure fixed distinctive emblems recognisable at a distance, shall nevertheless enjoy the privileges due to armed forces provided that they carry arms openly and act otherwise in conformity with the laws and usages of war".

(p. 257-58) The Government of Bangla Desh has called the people to arms and the people are openly fighting the forces of Pakistan. The forces of Bangla Desh thus have a distinct status in law and deserves recognition as such.

The atrocities committed by the Pakistani army on the population of East Bengal who have risen in arms against Pakistan are breaches of law for which Pakistan deserves to be condemned under international law. The Government of India ought to draw attention to this violation of the laws of war by the Pakistani invaders in Bangla Desh.

Intervention on grounds of humanity is not wholly unknown in international law. Fenwick writes, 'Numerous interventions took place during the nineteenth century upon what were called in a broad way "grounds of humanity." The Ottoman Empire, seeking to retain its hold over its rebellious vassal states and subjects, resorted to methods of suppression which shocked the conscience of Europe. In 1827 the Great powers jointly intervened to secure the independence of Greece, and the battle of Navarino may fairly be looked upon as use of force by the community of nations, acting through the intervening powers, in the interest of law and justice. In spite of the admission of the Ottoman Empire to participate in the public law and concert of Europe in 1856, interventions again took place in 1860 to protect the Christians of Mount Lebanon, in 1878 to secure the deliverance of the Balkan states, and in 1891-96 following massacres in Armenia and in Crete. Jurists discussed at length the possible technical grounds in justification of these interventions, since they constituted an interference in the domestic government of the misbehaving state and a violation of its right of independence. The international community had not as yet

developed any machinery for the assertion of its higher right to maintain law and order. But while differing as to the technical grounds of intervention, jurists found no difficulty in responding to the higher appeal of a common humanity, and in conceding to a state the same right to protect the moral feelings of its people, shocked by the accounts of the massacres of their coreligionists, that it had to protect their material interests." (Charles G. Fenwick *International Law*, Bombay, 1967 pp 287-288) The Government of India in sponsoring the resolution in Parliament has already acknowledged the fact that there is a violation of human rights in Bangla Desh. The logical course for the Government of India is thus to give full recognition to the Government of Bangla Desh and render it all assistance moral, material and human. Without a clear guidance from the Government of India the State Governments and the non-official organizations cannot move,

The commendable action of the Bihar Government—of the Bihar Cabinet, Bihar Legislative Assembly under the able guidance of the chief Minister Mr Karpoori Thakur and the Governor Mr Deb Kanta Barooah carries forward the glorious tradition Bihar has set in the cause of national freedom. But under our Constitution the scope of initiative that the State Government and the non-official organization can take in matters touching international relations is strictly limited. Therefore the hesitation in New Delhi has hamstrung the help that the people of Bangla Desh could get from the non-official, non-Military channels from India. Such a policy is hardly in keeping with the will of the people as reflected in the resolution of Parliament. We hope the Government of India would soon overcome its diffidence and see the reality of the situation and take the necessary steps to give effect to the resolution adopted by Parliament. 1.4.71.



DINABANDHU C. F. ANDREWS

J. L. DAS

Indians of all shades of opinion and of all ranks should gratefully remember Charles Freer Andrews, one of the foremost foreign friends of the country, on the occasion of his birth centenary. Charles, second child of John Edwin and Mary Charlotte Andrews, was born on February 12, 1871 at Carlisle. We learn from his famous book, *What I Owe to Christ*, that he was an introvert as a boy. His physical weakness often prevented him from participating in robust exercises, and he devoted most of his time to thoughtful pursuits. From his father, who was a Minister in the Irvingate church, he learnt to practise Christ's religion of love with great sincerity and assiduity even at that early age. After a brilliant career at Pembroke College, Cambridge University, C. F. Andrews true to his nature and inclinations, worked among the poor industrial workers and slum-dwellers in his own country. Then he came out to India as a member of the Cambridge Mission and joined the teaching staff of St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

That was in the year 1904. From Principal Sushil Rudra, who exercised great influence on him, Andrews first came to have authentic accounts of the dire poverty and wretched condition of the vast masses of the Indian people. Further, as his biographer Miss Marjorie Sykes observes, "Rudra opened his eyes to the truth of which he had been unaware, such as the British administration's share in the impoverishment of the people". This revelation coupled with what he himself saw greatly pained the heart of the Christian missionary and he resolved to strive his utmost for eradicating the malaise. In fact, since

then till his death in 1940, i.e. for more than three decades and a half he completely identified himself with the cause of India and her people.

Andrews first met Rabindranath Tagore in 1912 in England at artist Rothenstein's house, where the Irish poet Yeats recited some poems of *Gitanjali* in English translation. The effect, in the words of Andrews himself was that in the "charming moonlit night the supreme delicacy and beauty of India's great world culture was brought home to me with overwhelming power as I listened to the poet's songs and met the poet himself". According to Rabindranath, ".....he (Andrews) was led through his love of God into a stirring of love towards me. Little did I dream that day of the friendship in which the streams of his life and mine were destined to be mingled to the end in such deep intimacy, in such a fellowship of service." Thus the two instinctively felt drawn towards each other, and Andrews joined Santiniketan in 1914 as a full-fledged "ashramite". To welcome his permanent guest Rabindranath composed a poem (in Bengali) which he himself later translated into English as follows:

From the shrine of the West
You have brought us living water,
We welcome you, friend.
The East has offered you
Her garland of love,
Accept it and welcome, friend.
Your love has opened
The door of our heart,
Enter and welcome, friend.
You have come to us
As a gift of the Lord
We bow to Him, friend.

In 1913-14, C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson, another foreign friend of India and close associate of Rabindranath, went to South Africa and stood by Mahatma Gandhi, who was carrying on his historic Passive Resistance Movement against the humiliations and oppressions perpetrated on the Indian community by the arrogant European settlers. Andrews was moved by the Mahatma's "sovereign power of winning victories through sufferings", and as he remarked, ".....our hearts met from the first moment we saw one another and they have remained united by the strongest ties of love ever since". Thus love of India and the Indians brought Andrews in close contact with two of the greatest sons of the country, Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. He came to address the poet as "Gurudeva" and Gandhiji simply as "Mohan" and between the two he was a link, a "hyphen", as the poet's eldest brother Dwijendranath used teasingly to call him. Differences in outlook on several issues notwithstanding, these three great souls forged a deep bond of admiration and love for one another. When Gandhiji undertook fasts or fell ill, Tagore used to depute Andrews to nurse him and to keep up his spirits. And it was to the Mahatma to whom the poet appealed to nourish Santiniketan, the institution of his making, after his own death. Again, on several occasions Andrews acted as Gandhiji's emissary during the latter's parleys with the Viceroy and Whitehall.

Though Andrews did not participate directly in India's liberation movement, yet he championed the cause of full independence for the country and expressed through the press and the platform many ugly features of British Rule. He characterized the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy as "a cold and calculated massacre" an unspeakable disgrace, indefensible, unpardonable, inexcusable". Advocating independence of India he wrote as early

as in 1920 a pamphlet named *Independence—the Immediate Need*, about which Jawaharlal Nehru remarked in his *Autobiography* thus, ".....it was nationalism, pure and simple the feeling of the humiliation of India and a fierce desire to be rid of it and to put an end to our continuing degradation. It was wonderful that C. F. Andrews, a foreigner and one belonging to the dominant race in India, should echo that cry of our inmost being". Ramananda Chatterjee, the veteran editor of the *Modern Review*, correctly assessed Andrews contributions to India and her people when he observed, "In serving India he acted as if he was atoning for the misdeeds of his countrymen here". He cherished the dream of Indian independence unto the last. When Gandhiji visited his great friend, who was lying on his death-bed in a Calcutta hospital, Andrews clasped the Mahatma's hands and exclaimed, "Mohan, Swaraj is coming!"

C. F. Andrews not only took to simple Indian food and dress but also completely identified himself with the sufferings of the poor and humble Indians. He could be seen constantly moving, sometimes alone and sometimes in company of devoted workers, ministering relief to the oppressed tea garden workers stranded at Chandpur and Chittagong (now in East Pakistan) the flood and famine stricken people of Orissa, the unfortunate inhabitants of Bihar where the unprecedented earthquake of 1934 created havoc with life and property, in fact wherever distressed humanity cried out for assistance and compassion. He stood by the side of the Harijans of Vaikom (in the then Travancore State) who were fighting for their elementary right to use the road leading to a temple, espoused the cause of the people of Nilgiri States against "bethi" (an unjust levy) and "magan" (forced labour), and sided with the peasants in their fight against European indigo planters.

His missions of mercy prompted an admirer of his to elaborate his initials C. F. A. as "Christ's Faithful Apostle".

The problems and hardships confronting the Indian overseas also engaged the serious attention of Andrews. He made a special study of all issues connected with indentured labour and travelled extensively in South Africa, Fiji, British Guiana, Malaya, Japan, Australia, England and other parts of the world in his effort to ameliorate their living and working conditions. Dr. Sten Konow, the noted Norwegian Indologist and Epigraphist, aptly called him a "Wandering Christian". And, for his untiring and selfless services towards them, the poor and down-trodden Indians at home and overseas bestowed on him the title of "Dinabandhu" (Friend of the poor) in affectionate gratitude. To the Dinabandhu serving God and serving the poor were synonymous. Indeed, he saw Him in the "coolie",

There he crouched,
Back and arms scarred, like a
hunted thing,
Terror-stricken.
All within are surged towards
him,
While the tears rushed.
Then, a change.
Through his eyes I saw thy
glorious face—
Ah, the wonder !
Calm, unveiled in deathless

beauty,
Lord of sorrow.

Dinabandhu Andrews wielded a facile pen and inspite of his multifarious engagements and frequent trips abroad and away from Santiniketan, he found time to write on the problems of India and the Indians, and other topics. His publications include what I Owe to Christ, Mahatma Gandhi At Work, the Rise And Growth of the Congress In India, The Challenge of the North-West Frontier, India And the Pacific, The True India, India And Britain. A Moral Challenge, The Inner Life (last published work).

Early in 1940, Dinabandhu fell seriously ill and was admitted to the Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta for treatment. Gandhiji visited him there on February 17. Subsequently he was transferred to the Riordan Nursing Home, where he breathed his last on April 5 (1940). Gandhiji paid the following tribute to his memory, ".....In the death of the Rev. C. F. Andrews not only India but humanity has lost a true son and servant". In course of his speech at the memorial service at Santiniketan, Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore remarked, ".....that he loved India was the least part of his greatness. He was truly great because he loved humanity". The inscription on the simple coffin read "Charles Freer Andrews. Buried on 5th April, 1940. Aged 69. peace, perfect peace". Nothing could be more appropriate for him who indeed was Christ's Faithful Apostle.



CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous issue)

* * * *

Well, the son-in-law turned up one day with the grandson. The son-in-law belonged to far away Dildarpur. When she saw the son-in-law Shibani wept and cried for a long time.

Nishapada said—Why are you crying Mother, the dead donot come back if one cried. Crying is useless—

When people go they do not come back. But the world does not stay inactively in thirsty expectation of the return of the lost ones. There is cooking, arranging for meals and a variety of social duties to perform.

Nishapada stayed only for a day.

Fatik said—Granma, is Sushil there ? And Rani ?

Grand Mother said—Yes, darling, they are all here—

—I want to go to Sushil's house—

It was however unnecessary to go to Sushil's house. As soon as Sushil heard of his arrival he ran up to this house. He said—Oh, goodness, your head is hairless—

Rani gave a tight slap to Sushil. She said—For shame ! Should you talk like that ? Don't you know his mother died ?

Fatik said—Yes, Sushil is foolish and ignorant, knows nothing. One has to have

the head shaved when one's mother dies, is it not so Papa ?

Nishapada said—Yes, yes, you are very clever ! Now, go and ask Grandma whether I could have a cup of tea—

Fatik ran off to the kitchen and said—Granma, won't you give tea to Papa ?

Tea ! Grandma was overwhelmed with sorrow. She was, however, arranging for the son-in law. But she had not thought of tea. She hurried out to Basanti's place. Bouma, have you any tea ? I had totally forgotten that the son-in-law was a tea drinker—

Basanti said—Don't you worry Aunty, I shall make the tea and send it over.

Well, it was a great saving that the Bouma was there. By that time Fatik had gone into the garden.

Nishapada called out—Ho there, Fatke !

As soon as he heard the call Fatik said—I say, there's Papa calling. I must go—

—Where had you been, so long ?

So saying, he looked around and brought out cigarettes from his pocket. He said—Go and see if you can get a box of matches—

Fatik went to the kitchen and said to Grand

Mother—Granma, give matches, Papa wants to smoke cigarettes—

Nishapada heard him.

He said—You are a stupid fellow! You should never tell Grand Mother that I smoke—

Fatik said—Give me tea Papa, I want to drink tea—

Nishapada poured a little tea in the saucer and said—Drink it up, don't let it stain your clothes, drink it up—

The Pandit Mashai suddenly arrived. Nishapada hurriedly tried to hide the cigarette and clear the smoke by moving his hands and said to Fatik—There's your Grand Papa, get up, get up—

But nothing escaped the notice of Pandit Mashai. He did not like the son-in-law's smoking, nor the tea drinking of Fatik. Both were bad habits.

—How are you Nishapada? Did you sleep well at night?

Nishapada said—I have no maladies connected with sleep, I fall on my bed and sleep, no difficulty in sleeping—

Pandit Mashai said—Has Fatik also been taught tea drinking, has he?

Nishapada answered—Your daughter used to have tea, she got this fellow into the habit.

—Has he learnt to read and write?

Nishapada exclaimed—Read and write! God in heaven! He does not listen to me. I have to be busy attending to my work at Dildarpur, how can I devote any time to his studies?

Fatik cried out—I can read the second Primer Dadu—

You shut up, you need not show off what an expert you are. Your daughter did not look after him properly and I had no time even to die; that fellow has thus turned out a ne'er-do-well. Dildarpur is also an unsavoury spot—

Pandit Mashai said—You leave him here this time I shall look after him—

—That's very good, he will be disciplined if you look after him, his ill breeding knows no bounds, does not pay attention to anything I say—

While taking leave Nishapada touched his mother-in-law's feet and showed his respect.

Shibani's eyes were overflowing with tears. Her only daughter. Her only prop in life since she got married. How she brought her up, with what care and persistent hard work, neither the Pandit Mashai nor any one else knew. Everyone knew the Pandit Mashai in Balarampur, but hardly any one noticed the weighty significance of the person who stayed in his shadow.

Nishapada said—Don't cry, crying will not help you mother. I did not neglect her treatment—medicines and doctors have cost me five hundred and thirteen rupees, not counting normal living expenses. I have kept careful accounts of everything.

How could Shibani give any answer to that!

She only said—Had you told us about all that while there was time, we might have gone over—

Nishapada was elegantly expressive—That wouldn't have mattered a button. Money down the drain and those cheats, the doctors, would have looted cash with both hands—

—Still, parents have feelings and aching hearts, my boy, we would have had a last look at her.

Nishapada said—She hardly gave anybody any opportunity! Did your daughter ever think about you? She had a very obtuse nature, she had! I told her repeatedly, do not sit up in an empty stomach for me, but

would she listen to me? That's how she developed stomach ulcers—

So saying Nishapada carried the dust of her feet to his head and started out.

He said—Tell father I could not manage to see him before leaving—

* * *

When Mathur Shaw made a gift of land and donated money, he had said—Gour, you be the founder of this, you should be declared to be the person who established this—

The chairman of the District Board, Gobinda Chakravarty, had also said the same.

He had said—We are the patrons of the school, you are really the founder—

But Gour Bhattacharjee had objected—Yes sir, but please do not involve me in these matters related to property, Mr. Shaw; I shall complete my duty by teaching the boys—

So, the documents were made out accordingly. Gobinda Chakravarty and Mathur Shaw Mashai were constituted to be the school's hereditary and permanent founder trustees, and Gour Bhattacharjee would be the head master.

Gour Bhattacharjee had said—You will be there over my head, that will be my support and assurance.—You will be the helmsmen in times of difficulty and danger—I shall be working sitting at your feet—

But who could run such a large school on the donations made by only two persons? This Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had gone with the boys on collection tours to the village fairs. A bag thrown over his shoulder.

He explained to the people in the fair—Each one of you should pay for one brick, the price of one brick is two pice. Give two pice for my school, that will enable me to build it—give two pice per head, all of you—

Abanti was just born at that time. Shibani sat awaiting the return of her husband, with the baby daughter in her lap, her eyes fixed on the road. The husband had gone out in the early hours of the morning and had dined of parched or puffed rice during his day-long sojourn away from home.

When he returned home at night he had a bag full of copper coins.

—Dear me, why such heaps of pice—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You are a woman and you would hardly understand the meaning of all this—

Shibani said—May be, I would not; but tell me how I should carry this baby girl in my lap the whole day long—She is running a temperature too the last few days. —

Fever? Well, why don't you call the Kaviraj Mashai? He would give her a suitable herbal decoction—

—Who would call him? Should I go—

—Well, if you cannot, there are other people among the neighbours, whom you could give the news and request. And if you were that much worried, you could have told me before this and I would have sent Janardan—

Shibani said—You should also look and see, she is your daughter, isn't she—

Gour Bhattacharjee would lose his temper. He would say—Have I only one job to perform? Should I look after the Pathshala or take care of your daughter? When this Pathshala grows to its proper size, a thousand boys will be benefited, why don't you understand that?

In that late hour of the night Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai would start counting the copper coins one by one. There were half-pice pieces and the total came to five rupees or to seven. If the collection was very good it might even yield ten rupees.

The next morning he would go to the office of Mathur Shaw, the proprietor of "Bārampur Variety Stores," and render a scrupulously worked out detailed account of all the pies and pice collected.

Mathur Shaw was the president and Golinda Chakravarty the secretary of the school. Mathur Shaw would ask—What is the total today, Gour?

Gour Bhattacharjee would answer—It is not so good today, only seven rupees and thirteen annas—

Shaw Mashai would say encouragingly—Plenty, it is plenty—

Gour Bhattacharjee would protest—No, no Shaw Mashai, it wouldn't do at all, there are three more rooms to be put up. Three rooms would certainly take three thousand rupees without fail—

Shaw Mashai would ask while putting away the money in his cash box—You keep an account with you, don't you Gour?

Gour Bhattacharjee would say—What account should I keep Shaw Mashai, what do I know of accounts? I know Panini, I know Kavya and figures of speech. No accounts enter my head.

Coming home he would find his food had not been cooked. Gour Bhattacharjee asked—You have not finished cooking yet?

Shibani was much harassed by her kitchen work. She said—How would I finish cooking? One hand holding the baby and the other busy cooking; how can I manage both these?

Gour Pandit understood. He said—No, you must have some one to hold the baby—

Shibani answered—You will find a baby sitter after my death. You go and save your Pathshala—

Gour Bhattacharjee announced—No, no,

let me be a little settled; I will surely fix up a person—

* * *

These are past history. But Shibani recollected all that when she sat with Fatik in her lap. How she brought up the daughter and how she married her off was known only to Shibani and to her God!

It is not an easy thing to get one's daughter married. Gour Bhattacharjee's school was going ahead in those days. There was shortage of funds no doubt and there was the constant problem of supervising studies. There was no time to look for a bridegroom.

One day Shibani said—Why, you have done nothing about Abanti's marriage?—

Gour Bhattacharjee was reminded about the matter.

He said—Yes, yes, I shall do it. Just let the examinations be over—

Shibani said—But examinations will go on as long as we live. That cannot hold up the marriage of the daughter—

Gour Bhattacharjee was intent upon examining answer papers.

He said—Do not disturb now when I am examining papers; something will go wrong somewhere—

Shibani said—All right let your daughter remain a spinster all her life!

When the matter became complex and difficult he could not stay inactive any longer. One day he returned from school and said—I have fixed your daughter's marriage, do you hear?—

Shibani said—What sort of a bridegroom?

—Oh, an excellent fellow. Is in business. Independent. Has a parental home—

—The parents?

Gour Bhattachajee said—No bother with all that. He is free as the birds in the air—

—Have you seen the bridegroom?

—Not quite; but I shall. Do you think I shall marry off my daughter without seeing the groom?

—Aren't they coming to see the bride?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—There is no one to see the bride. The bridegroom has said; she is the daughter of the head master of the Balarampur School, what is there to see? I am very lucky to marry the daughter of such a learned man.

—Has the bridegroom said all that?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Yes, my dear, yes! I am very pleased to hear that. My name is getting known everywhere now, don't you know? The fame of the Balarampur High School is wide spread, you should understand. It got scholarships three times and why shouldn't the public sing its praise?

That bridegroom came one day for the marriage. The chairman of the District Board Gobinda Chakravarty came and so did Mathur Shaw of the Balarampur Variety Stores. The bridegroom had no family members with him; but had a large enough groom's party with him. They were quite rowdy and ate as if they had been starving.

Mathur Shaw was supervising personally.

He said—Don't hesitate to ask for further helpings my boys; there is no need to feel shy—

They were hardly of the types which felt shy. The more one gave the more they asked for. They were not ashamed to ask for more.

They said—Give a couple more of those large round sweets—

Some said—Two more pieces of that fish kalia—it is very tasty—Two large pieces from the juiciest parts—

That Gour Bhattacharjee's good name and reputation were saved that evening could not be credited to anything the Pandit had done; it was all due to Mathur Shaw and Gobinda Chakravarty. The groom's party wasted more than they ate. And the more eager hospitality they were shown, the more they tried to discredit the bride's father.

Mathur Shaw eventually ordered—Go and get *ghee* from my shop and flour, let me see how much they can eat—

Not only *ghee* and flour; but casein and sugar came too. Sweets were prepared again that night. Fish was netted from the tanks and served as fry as well as cooked otherwise. After a while it was all praise from everybody. The bridegrooms party had to admit that the people of Balarampur were real gentlemen. One man's disgrace was taken as loss of face by everyman, and one man's prestige was shared by all men.

That day, when Gour Bhattacharjee's daughter Abanti was married, everybody came forward to shoulder the Pandit-Mashai's difficulty. The people of Balarampur could hardly ever forget those incidents.

* * *

Nishapada said when he was leaving—You are keeping Fatik here; but you will regret it.

Shibani was astonished when she heard that.

She asked—Why my boy? He is a very quiet little child—

Nishapada said—Quiet? You wait and see how quiet! Even now he takes my cigarette from my hand and smokes it; wouldn't he be looking for the big pipe after this—

—Big pipe, what does that mean?

Shibani had not understood what it meant.

Nishapada explained. He said—Don't you know the big pipe. Big pipe means Ganja (*Cannabis Indica*). That fellow will surely take to Ganja when he grows up. He is the black sheep of our genteel family—

Shibani mentally shivered when she heard what the son-in-law said. She said—Then why did you not give him some moral training ?

Nishapada had commented—What ? Should I look after my business or go chasing my son ? Your daughter was useless for that sort of work. Had she looked after Fatik, things would not have taken this turn !

—Well, you might have told Abanti to look after him—

Nishapada said—But that would have led to a quarrel. Your daughter was very quarrelsome. Would she quarrel with me or would she teach manners to her son !

Shibani realised what she had to know from this talk. She understood with tears in her eyes. But Gour Bhattacharjee said—No, leave Fatik with us. I shall bring him up as a man—

—Very good indeed. He is your grandson and you will bring him up. What have I got to say about this.

That is how Nishapada left Fatik there and went away. He never came that way again. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai began to teach Fatik from the same day.

Everyday at dawn Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai sat on his open front verandah with a number of pupils. That Nimai Shaw also was one such pupil at one time. Rani's father Naren Chakravarty too was a pupil who studied there. So did Bhaba, Bhabaranjan, sitting out there on the uncemented floor. Shibani used to get up very early and mopped that floor with cow dung to give it a dustless and hard surface. As the floor got dry they all began to come in one by one with their

books, slates and papers. But the Pandit Mashai had recited his Gayatri verses even before that and got ready for the day.

—I say, where is Kailash ? Hasn't Kailash come to-day ?

Binu has come, Rani and Sushil have come. Ranabir has arrived. No one is absent, only Kailash has not turned up. Kailash never does that sort of thing. He felt somewhat absent minded while teaching. What has happened to Kailash ?

While teaching he suddenly got up and went indoors. Shibani was in the kitchen, busy cooking.

—Do you hear me ? Where are you ?

Shibani turned round while cooking. Said —What's up ?

I say, Kailash has not come to-day.

Shibani said—If Kailash has not come, what can I do about it ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No, I just came to tell you—

—What is the good of telling me ? Should I go out to call Kailash ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—There you go, getting angry. What have I said that should anger you ? I only said—Kailash had not come. I have said nothing else to you. A boy comes every day ; but has failed to turn up to-day. Isn't that something to worry about ?

Shibani said while cooking—No one will come to you. Why should they ? They are all little children, why should they come when you beat them so much ?

As soon as he heard of beating Gour Bhattacharjee did not wait to hear the rest of it. They were all sitting on the verandah swaying back and forth while reading loudly in a singsong voice. Gour Bhattacharjee went and sat on his floor mat. May be it is so. What Shibani said may be true. But why ; there was Naren who studied here, Nimai who

took cooching from him and Binod also his pupil. They all bow low before him and touch his feet. They all have great respect for him. Had they resented his beating would they have continued to show respect to him? Would they then touch his feet even now when they met him in the road?

He got up. Said—You study, I shall be back.—He said that, got up and went down the steps of the open raised verandah towards the main entrance. He raised his voice and spoke to the kitchen—Do you hear me, I am going out once, I shall come back immediately—

It was dawn and the sun was up. The path was along the bank of the weedy pond. He met Kali's mother as he came out on the path. Kali's mother did not see well with her eyes

—Well, Kali's mother, where are you going so very early?

As soon as she heard the voice of Pandit Mashai, Kali's mother pulled her veil down to her chin and bowed down to touch the earth with her forehead.

—Stop, stop, how is Kali? How is he progressing with his work?

Kali's mother went rather pathetic in her face.

She said—I was going to you, my father, to speak to you about my grandson.

—You grandson? Kali's son? When did Kali have a son? I never heard anything. What class is he in?

—Does not read in any class yet, my father. I want to get him admitted. You know Kali's position. He works now in the wholesale store of Nandi Mashai. What he earns is not enough to eat twice a day. If you could show kindness to that contemptible grandson of mine and make him a free student.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Why are you making that request to me? Am I the person

authorised to grant free studentships, eh, Kali's mother?

Kali's mother said—My lord, the school is yours, you built the school.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I can not make any one a free student. When I built the school, I built it. Now Bhaba is the head master, Nimai Shaw is the president, Naren Chakkotti the Secretary, and there is the Committee to run the school. They, do everything, who am I? You go to them—

Kali's mother said—No my father, my god, I do not know all that. Everybody knows you are everything, they all say even now it is Gour Pandit's school. Please, please, you must make my grandson a free student—

Gour Pandit was perhaps somewhat mollified. It is true, the people of Balarampur call it Gour Pandit's school. Who does not know to what limits the Pandit Mashai has gone to set up the school.

He said—All right, do one thing Kali's mother; have an application written out by some one and give it to me; let me see if I could induce the secretary to do something—

Kali's mother said—You can do everything my father and lord—you can do anything and everything—

Saying this she went down low and touched her forehead on the earth to show respect to Gour Bhattacharjee. Then she went back the way she had come.

* * *

Well, Bhabaranjan also was astonished. Secretary Naren Chakravarty, President Nimai Shaw, both were mightily surprised.

Bhabaranjan pointed out—Look at this—

Secretary Naren Chakravarty had a look. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had put his grandson in the school. Fatik Chandra Haldar,

father—Nishapada Haldar, care of—local guardian Sri Gour Chandra Bhattacharjee, Kavyatirtha. Balarampur, south zone.

Naren Chakravarty asked—Well, why didn't you admit him as a free student Bhaba? You know the financial position of the Pandit Mashai. Where from will he get that extra seven and half rupees every month to pay up?

Nimai Shaw said—But his father is alive, isn't he sending his son's schooling expenses every month to his father-in-law?

Naren Chakravarty said—No, my dear Nimai, he is a good-for-nothing of a son-in-law. He is leaving his son with his father-in-law and going about in search of his own pleasures—I have heard all that from the Pandit Mashai.

Bhabaranjan said—I told him all that. I said—Pandit Mashai, why must you pay school fees for your grandson? Had you only told the secretary he would have granted him a free studentship—

—What did he say when he heard that?

Pandit Mashai said—No, no, that cannot be! You can see how tight the school's finances are, the times are hard, and free studentships on top of all that? It is only

seven and half rupees per month, I shall manage that some how Bhaba. Don't you worry—

So saying he went to his own class. Nimai Shaw said—He would not even write any books of notes—

Bhabaranjan said—Lord, no! If any boys have any books of notes with them, he would snatch those from their hands and throw them away. He was mad with me because I wrote an annotation of school texts—

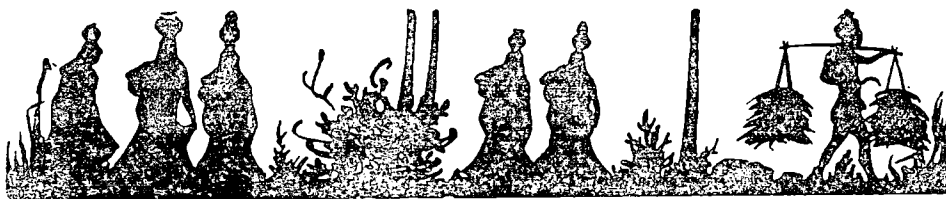
Nimai Shaw said—Mad, quite mad, totally and utterly mad—

Naren Chakravarty commented—I had asked him to coach my son at home. I thought he would not accept any financial help directly and I might assist by reason of tuition work; but he was very angry—

Nimai Shaw opined—Give it up; after all the world is full of men of diverse types—

So saying he changed the topic and said—call a meeting for the next Wednesday, that matter of the school building should be settled. And one must also deal with that joint petition made for increasing the pay of the teachers.

(To be Continued)



FINE ARTS IN THE JATAKAS

DIPAK KUMAR BARUA

Fine Arts which include primarily dance, drama, music, architecture, painting and sculpture, played an important part in the public life of ancient India. The Jatakas which were written in a-mixture of prose and verse bear innumerable references to the matters concerned with fine arts. The Jataka-book, according to the orthodox Buddhist tradition, containing more than five hundred tales, composed in Pali, was taken to Ceylon by Mahinda, the son of emperor Asoka, in about 250 B. C.¹; its commentary was there translated into Singhalese and next retranslated into Pali by Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Indian commentator, of the fifth century A.C.² It is in this commentary alone that the texts of the Jatakas which were admirably edited by Dr. Fausboll have come down to us.

Jatakas may be defined as stories in which the Bodhisatta³, a being who is destined to attain the enlightenment (i. e. to become Buddha), plays a role in one of his former existences, whether as the hero of the story or as a secondary character or as a spectator only⁴. Thus the Jatakas are rather folk-tales which are frequently related to some didactic verses occupying the tenth place among the fifteen works of the Khuddakanikaya of the Suttapitaka of the Pali Canon. We get at present merely a commentary and not the original canonical Jataka-text. It is, therefore, difficult to say how much of the present

Jataka-book belongs to the Canon. Each Jataka (or birth-story) in this commentary consists of (i) an introductory episode (paccuppannavatthu), (ii) the story of the past being the Jataka proper in prose (atitavatthu), (iii) the verse giving the moral in archaic language and many times appearing redundant for presenting the same facts of the story (gatha), (iv) an explanation of the verse or verses (veyyakarana), and (v) identification of the actors of the past story with the present ones among whom Buddha is the hero (samodhana)⁵. We may remark that the authorship of the Jatakas, though traditionally ascribed to Buddha, may be attributed to the scholiasts of the later period⁶.

As already stated, the Jataka-stories dealing with various aspects of human life presents some valuable materials for reconstructing the history of five arts⁷. From Jatakas we may conclude that among the Sippas or Kalas dance (nacca), drama (abhinaya) and music both vocal (gita) and instrumental (vadita) were extensively cultivated during the period under our consideration. Kings, aristocrats as well as common citizens and even ascetics had great love for and opportunity to hear the songs of musicians (gandhabba) and to witness the dances and acting of the dancers and actors (natanaccaka)⁸. In this respect women were naturally gifted. Kinnaras were also noted for sweet music and superb dance.

ing⁶ But dance, drama and music were mutually connected. Although most of the dances, however, were of an acrobatic nature, like the javeline dance or the pole dance¹⁰, yet serene dances with waving hands, regulating foot-falls and elegant and easy movements, displayed with the accompaniment of the vina or venu were also prevalent¹¹. The inborn instinct of graceful movements led people to train even beasts and birds like peacocks and peahens to utter sweet notes and dance at the snapping of fingers and clapping of hands¹². Thus in a Jataka-story it is told that being overwhelmed with joy a peacock in defiance of decency spread his wings and began to dance when the lovely young daughter of the King Golden Mallard (Suvannarajahamsa) had selected him the companion¹³. The sculptural representations of Barhut also depicting the same story vividly displayed repturous dances of the peacock¹⁴. Even a poor girl who used to gather firewood in a garden was found to perform her duties with the accompaniment of singing¹⁵. Another young girl used to sing in a melodious voice when she collected various kinds of flowers with which she made flower-wreath (puppha-cumbatakam)¹⁶. The son of a great merchant was also described to waste his valuable time in singing and dancing (gitanacca)¹⁷. It was further stated in the Jataka that in order to serve the Exalted One who was about to bathe in the tank of the Jetavana, the king of the Storm-Clouds being ordered by Sakka (Indra) clad himself in one cloud as an undergarment, and another cloud as an outer garment, and chanting the rain-song (meghagitam) darted forth eastward¹⁸. The "Guttila Jataka" recorded that once when Brahmadatta was reigning in Varanasi, Budhisatta was born in a musician's family. His name was Master Guttila. As he grew up, he became an expert in all branches of music and under the name

Guttila the Musician was the chief of his kind in India. This Jataka-tale showed how the musical competition was generally organised and how people used to respond to the musical performances in hoary days and supplied a detailed description of the lute¹⁹. In the "Padakusalamanava Jataka" (No. 432) we find that one Satala who belonged to a village in Varanasi became expert in dance and music. The "Culla-Palobhana Jataka" (No. 263), on the other hand, related that a certain dancing girl who became expert in dance and music, taking her stand near the residence of Bodhisatta, the prince of Varanasi, used to sing in a sweet voice²⁰. At another occasion the son of Bodhisatta paid a thousand pieces to runners and tumblers, singers and dancers, and passed his time in drinking, gluttony, and debauchery. He also used to wander about, asking only for song, music and dancing²¹. The "Sonaka Jataka" stated that a boy with his hair dressed in five knots expressed his desire to the king to sing before an assembly of people. Further in the "Kantivadi Jataka" (No. 313) was said that once the king Kalabu being overpowered by strong drink came into the park in great pomp, surrounded by a company of dancers. In one of the Jataka-scenes represented in the Barhut sculpture relating to the forecast of the Bodhisatta's birth as a human child we notice that the "joyous feeling bursts forth and finds a fitting expression through the combined music, songs and dances of the nymphs. The grand opera is enacted by three groups of nymphs, each of four. The party is composed entirely of female—experts, four of them dancing, four singing, and four playing on the harp and another such stringed instrument. The singers clap their hands in unison"²².

Among the musical instruments which were in use in those days mention had been made frequently, in the Jatakas, of the Vina, a harp

without a post, that had a hollow belly covered with a broad or stretched leather²³. Other musical instruments which were in use then were Panissara, Sammatāla or the cymbels, Kumbhathuna played on cups filled with water in varying proportions probably like modern 'Jalataranga', Bheri, Mutinga, Muraja, Alambara, Anaka, Sankha, Panavadendima, Kharamukham, Godhaparivadentika, Kutumbatindimani, Venu, or the flute, Mridanga, Kamsyakartal, Panava etc.

Turning to architecture, painting and sculpture we find that the Jatakas bear also numerous references to these branches of fine arts. The importance of secular architectural science may be gleaned from the mention of the 'Vatthuvijjacariya' or person qualified for testing sites for house-building and of Vissakamma, the Divine Architect²⁴. The cyclopean walls of ancient Rajagaha, the Rativaddhanapasada, the Pupphakapasada and Ayoghara (iron-palace)²⁵ were mentioned in the Jataka-tales. We get references to palaces which rested on a single pillar²⁶ and which had big octagonal stone-columns (silathambha) numbering one thousand²⁷. Terms like Kotthaka (gatehouse), Kotthagara (store-house), Kutagara (house with a final or roof ridge), Pangara (attic or dormer-window) and Kannika were connected with ancient Indian architecture. In the "Mahammagga Jataka" a vivid description of the construction of a beautiful tunnel may be found. This tunnel which was decorated until it was like the divine hall of Sudhamma²⁸ was significant from the architectural point of view. Mention was also made in the Jatakas of Thupas and Cetiya. Indeed every measure was adopted for enhancing architectural beauty of the buildings and monuments erected in those days. Paintings (Cittakamma) were usually drawn on the

walls (bhitti) and on panels or boards (phalaka)²⁹. It was said that Prince Kusa having prepared a palm-leaf fan for his beloved Pabhavati, depicted on it a white umbrella, and had taken as his subject-matter a banquet hall, amongst a variety of other forms, represented a standing figure of Pabhavati³⁰. We also find that painters (cittakare) painted beautiful pictures (ramaniyam cittakammam) on the walls of a hall where a great religious assembly was held and the hall thus became like Sakka's heavenly palace Suddamma³¹. The walls of even ordinary buildings were sometimes decorated with sundry painted figures. Lattice-work (kilanja) was also in practice³². The surface on which paintings were to be made, was generally plastered, coated with line and polished³³. The Jatakas also recorded that carving out figures from wood was known in those days³⁴. In the "Asatamanta Jataka" it is observed that a Brahmana cut a fig tree and prepared a life-size wooden figure from it³⁵. So also a stone-image (Silapatima) of an elephant was found to be erected in the Karandaka monastery³⁶. There were in the royal chambers of the tunnel built by Mahosadha very beautiful female statues (matugamapotthakarupakani). References were also found in the Jatakas to golden images (suvannapatima)³⁷ and to a gatehouse that had a decorated peak and was surrounded by statues of Inda (i. e. Indra) as though guarded by tigers³⁸. Besides, mention of beautiful dolls and playthings (Kilabhandakam) which were frequently demanded by children, showed the wide scope of the exercise of plastic art in ancient India³⁹.

We have tried in the foregoing pages to trace some references to fine arts as found in the Jatakas. People of those hoary days found great interest in dance, drama, music⁴⁰, architecture, painting and sculpture. Jatakas

as they became widely popular, were in many instances pictorially represented in various postures on the Buddhist monuments. These pictorial representations are found on the stone walls of Barhut and Sanchi dated third and second centuries B.C. and on those of Amaravati, and still later on the caves of Ajanta. Fa-Hien, the Chinese Pilgrim, while travelling in Ceylon in A.C. 412 saw how, during the festival of the sacred tooth, in Abhayagiri, the king of Ceylon had the five hundred Jataka-stories represented by figures ranged on either side of the street along which the procession passed, brightly coloured and grandly executed with various musical gestures, looking as if they were alive⁴¹. Hiuen-Tsang also described some Stupas seen by him, which had been erected in various regions of India in memory of the noble deeds of Bodhisatta as recounted in the Jatakas⁴². In the temples of Boro Budur in Java (9th century), of Pagan in Burma (13th century), and of Sukhodaya in Siam (14th century), are found numerous reliefs describing musical scenes as depicted in the Jatakas. Thus from the above discussion it is evident that in ancient Indian society attempts were made to develop all human faculties of self-expression which should include not only the language of words but the different fine arts. That is why Rabindranath Tagore, the versatile poet, remarked: "A large part of man can never find its expression in the mere language of words. It must, therefore, seek for it other language—lines and colours, sounds and movements"⁴³.

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24. Jataka, i, pp. 314-315; vi, p. 332.
25. Jataka, iv, pp. 122, 492; v, p. 187.
26. Jataka, iv, pp. 79, 153 (ekathunakapada).

27. Jataka, vi, pp. 127-G. 568, 173-G. 769 (atthamsa sukata thambha sabbe veluriya-maya sahasathambhā pasāda).
28. Jataka, vi, p. 432.
29. Jataka, i, p. 304.
30. Jataka, v, pp. 291-2 (talavantam katva tattheva setacchattam apanabhumin ca vatthum gatthum gahetva thitam Pabhavatim ca ti nanerupani dasseti).
31. Jataka, vi, p. 333.
32. Jataka, vi, p. 412.
33. Jataka, vi, p. 432.
34. Mehta, Ratilal N. Pre-Buddhist India (Bombay, Examiner Press, 1939), pp. 316-317.
35. Jataka, i, p. 287 (udumbararukkham chinditva attano pamanena kattharupakam katva).
36. Jataka iv, p. 95.
37. Jataka, i, p. 343; iii, p. 93; iv, p. 105; v, p. 282.
38. Jataka, vi pp. 125-6. G. 558, 562 (cittakutadvarakotthakam parivaretvathite Indapatima—akkhinnam Indasadi-sehi vyaggheh' eva surakkhitam).
39. Jataka, vi, p. 6 (darakanam nama kilabhandakam piyam hoti ti suvannadi-mayani hatthi rupakadini avidure thapesum).
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A BI-CENTENARY REVIEW : THE MOVEMENT THAT WORDSWORTH LED

D. D. AGRAWAL

The publication of the 'Lyrical Ballads', a collection of poems by Wordsworth and Coleridge, of which the first edition appeared in 1798, and the second with new poems and a preface in 1800, marked a turning point in the history of English literature. The preface in which Wordsworth expounded his poetical principles, became a controversial document and gave rise to new ideas in regard to poetic diction and subject-matter and became the mouthpiece of the Romantic movement of which Wordsworth was the leader.

It will be wrong to say that Wordsworth was aware of the word 'Romantic' for in English the term 'Romanticism' occurs first in 1844¹. Thomas Shaw, in his *Outline of English Literature*, published in 1849, was first to call Wordsworth and other poets as 'Romanticists'. But the term had not yet caught the imagination of the critical writers. Mrs. Oliphant did not use the word in her "Literary History of England Between the End of the Eighteenth and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century"² published in 1882. Later the word became popular and now there is no history of English literature, which does not use the word over and over again.

The movement that Wordsworth led is known as the movement of the Romantic Revival, but Romanticism is a term not easy to define. T. S. Eliot believes that it is "just a label of convenience with which the creative writers cannot afford to bother over much." He says, "These names which groups of writers and artists give themselves are the delight of professors and historians of literature but should not be taken very seriously. Their chief value is temporary and political."

But this 'label of convenience' is necessary in understanding that special variety of literature which was created by Wordsworth and other poets of the early nineteenth century. Victor Hugo defines Romanticism as Liberalism in Literature. To Herford, it is an "extraordinary development of imaginative sensibility." It is "liberty of imagination"³. Beers believes that 'Romanticism' is 'Mediaevalism'⁴. According to Pater it is "addition of strangeness to beauty"⁵. To L. Abercrombie, "Romanticism" is withdrawal from outer experience to concentrate upon inner experience⁶. Theodore Watts Dunton calls Romanticism, "Renascence of wonder"⁷. Grierson says "It is the conscious contrast with reason which makes romance in the full sense." To Dr. Hedge, "The essence of Romanticism is aspiration"⁸. Let us hear F. L. Lucas - "Our primitive impulses lead us to Romanticism, our sense of reality to Realism, our social sense to Classicism, since right and wrong are social concepts"⁹.

We shall now examine some of these definitions. Hugo is right if he means by 'liberalism', a freedom of choice in respect of the substance and subject matter of poetry and a freedom also in the choice of form. The freedom of form and content is actually what Wordsworth advocated and aspired to achieve. To him even the commonest subject, not only the grand and the heroic, is worthy of poetic treatment, and every form of poetic expression, even if unconventional, is glorious. It is indeed this liberal view which distinguishes the Romantic poet from the Classical and gives him his place of distinction in literature. Hugo's definition may therefore be taken as

serving our purpose to a great extent. The 'liberty of imagination' which is Herford's phrase, compels us to admit that imagination plays a fairly large part in the poetry of the Romantic age. In Classical poetry imagination is a subsidiary element, and it is used with restraint, in the Romantic poetry it is primary and is given free play.

Beers' definition of Romanticism as 'Mediaevalism is only a trait, a feature of Romanticism. In Wordsworth's 'poems of reason' we find little of Mediaevalism. Intellectualism is not a mediaeval trait but there is an abundance of it in the poetry of Wordsworth.

Addition of strangeness to beauty is an oft-quoted, discussed and admired definition. But it is vague. It does not tell us anything in particular and may well be applied to all good literature. For all good literature must be beautiful and though it may hold a faithful mirror to life, it may resemble or reflect life that it represents, it must also be something new, something different from life and to that extent strange too.

Abercrombie's definition is one-sided. It is true that the Romantic poet concentrates upon the inner experience but he does not withdraw himself from the outer experience completely. He is interested in humanity and faithfully pictures the predicament in which it is placed. He is interested in the betterment of human lot, in the improvement of life and wants a reconstruction of the social frame, a quickening of a new birth, an awakening of the dormant humanity. He is sorry for the weariness, the fever and the fret we are victim to. In reality, the Romantic poet is constantly shifting from the outer to the inner and from the inner to the outer experience. He concentrates upon both and is constantly crushed between the outer and the inner, the self and the universe.

The 'Renaissance of Wonder' is an apt phrase but it has not been accepted uncritically. Wonder may be of many kinds

depending upon the nature of the stimulus which arouses it. What kind of wonder is the proper Romantic wonder is a question which cannot be adequately answered. Is the Romantic poetry concerned with the primitive wonder of a child or with the shy wonder of a bride? The Romantic wonder is beauty-stricken like the one that Marlowe paints (Is this the face that launched a thousand ships?) It is the innocent wonder of Wordsworth (will no one tell me what she sings?); it is the charmed mysterious wonder of Keats (Who are these coming to the sacrifice..... what men or gods are these?) and the searching wonder of Shelley (What objects are the fountains of thy happy strains?).

Grierson's suggestion that it is "conscious contrast with reason which makes romance in the full sense," is based upon the assumption that the Romantic poetry is the poetry of emotion. Emotion is there always, but it must also be observed that reason too plays a part in it and it is often a conscious part. We may quote, for example, the following lines from Wordsworth's 'Ode to Duty':

Give unto me, made lowly wise

The spirit of self-sacrifice

The confidence of reason give

And in the light of truth thy bondman let me live.

In these lines there is no conscious contrast with reason, On the contrary, there is a conscious acceptance of reason, a conscious willingness on the part of the poet to be reason's servant..

1. J. Isaacs : *Times Literary Supplement*, page 30, May 9, 1935.
2. *After Strange Gods* : 1934.
3. C.H. Herford : *Essay on Romanticism in the English Associations* 'Essays and Studies', Volume VIII.
4. Preface to 'English Romanticism in Nineteenth century.'
5. 'Appreciations'.
6. Abercrombie : 'Imagination'.
7. *Essay on Renaissance of Wonder*. Chamber's Encyclopaedia of Literature, Vol.IV.
8. Article in *Atlantic Monthly*.
9. *Literature and Society*.

THE FIRE THAT WAS SANTOSH CHAKRABORTI

When the Eurasian teacher of the Hindu College of Calcutta, Derozio, was removed, it was the triumph of orthodoxy upon progressivism. After the banning of the Sati rites Alexander Duff and others tried to propagate Christianity among the Hindu community of Bengal with undue haste and in order to insulate the students of the Hindu College from any invasion of the foreign religion the Principals of the College prohibited them from joining religious meetings. At this the "India Gazette" published an article condemning the proscription as 'tyrannical', 'absurd and ridiculous'. Everybody suspected Derozio as the writer of this article and thereupon in 1831 after a meeting of the principals he was summarily dismissed. Thus orthodoxy won in the struggle.

A Great Teacher

More than a century and a half after his birth (Derozio was born on 10th April, 1809) one wonders whether he was all that responsible for the showdown. It cannot be denied that he was a great teacher who created such a spell among his students that they followed him outside their classroom to his house where he gave them a symposium—like atmosphere in which a traffic of ideas was possible between the teacher and the taught. Though the principal aim of his teaching was the inculcation of truth, he did not leave out historians like Robertson and Gibbon, political theorists like Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham, or romanticists like Burns, Byron and Sir Walter Scott from his scheme of teaching.

In the academic atmosphere that he would create for his students, this great teacher held

aloft the torch of truth by appealing to authorities like Lord Bacon. His great contribution to the education of his pupils lies in the fact that he enabled them in his own way to develop their independent power of thinking. He acquainted them "with the substance of Hume's celebrated dialogue between Cleanthes and Philo, in which the most subtle and refined arguments against theism are adduced. But I have also furnished them with Dr. Reid's and Dugald Stewart's more acute replies to Hume,—replies which to this day continue unrefuted" (Letter to H. H. Wilson). In this process of elaboration of points and counterpoints truth emerged and his pupils learnt "to live and die for truth—to cultivate and practise all the virtues, shunning vice in every shape."

The principal basis of his subjects of teaching—"the sacredness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, and the meanness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attributes of God, and the argument for and against the existence of deity" etc. (Thomas Edwards, in his biography of Derozio)—was the lesson he received from Drummond at his Dharamtolla Academy. Drummond introduced him to the bright path of rationalism and Derozio later combined it with empiricism and closely followed the principles of self-consciousness and induction as the instruments of observation. This gave his philosophy the tang of individualism which readily appealed to the young mind of his students. These Derozians were to deal a death blow to Hindu orthodoxy and obscurantism.

Nascent Revolt

The appeal of his empiricist philosophy was so instant because the entire atmosphere of

Bengal in the first half of the 19th century was ripe for a reawakening. Rammohan's life-long war against idolatry gave the Derozians an added impetus. These truth-seekers roared out week after week from the tucked away corner of their Academic Association (established in 1828): "Down with Hinduism : Down with Orthodoxy : " This fell like a bombshell on the old traditionalists. The Derozians who went by the name of young Bengal despised Hinduism because of its bundle of prejudices like taboos on food habits, untouchability, and the excessive dominance of priests in society. They question the existence of God. When some of the ultras hurled cow-bones in the houses of two orthodox Brahmins, it was Derazio who was held responsible for this irresponsible behaviour.

It would be less than fair to point an accusing finger at this Eurasian teacher for the open revolt of the Young Bengal. Though his teachings were largely responsible for most of the ideas of his students his own revolt was against the decadent values of a Baboo society and social and religious prejudices. He abhorred absence of freedom and envisioned the joy of a freed slave in a fine poem, "How proudly beat his heart, when first He knew that he was free : " This love of Freedom infused in him the ideal of patriotism. Referring to his chained motherland he said : "Silence hath bound thee with her fatal chain : Neglected, mute, and desolate

art thou, Like ruined monument on desert plain."

This patriotic zeal was also shared by the Young Bengal. In fact the members of this revolutionary group never neglected their duty to their motherland. Their connection with various movements like that of women's education in India, political agitation against the British, improvement of Bengali language and literature etc. Speaks amply for their contribution to the renaissance in Bengal.

Uncommitted.

It is true that most members of the Young Bengal embraced Christianity and it was on the charge of indirectly helping the spread of Christian religion in Bengal that he was dismissed from the Hindu College. But his own religious belief was uncommitted. His defence against the charge of teaching Atheism to his students is remarkable : "To produce conviction was not within my power and if I am to be condemned for the Atheism of some, let me receive credit for the Theism of others" (Letter to H. H. Wilson). Also significant are the remarks in an obituary published in an orthodox Bengali journal after his death : "Derazio of late condescended a little to accept that there is a God....." But the final word should be, as prof. B. Dutta says in his "Chintanayak Bankim Chandra" : "The mind tends to have faith in something—in the new people, in the liberal principle of life, if not in the old society. One should call this a new kind of Theism rather than Atheism."

IN THE LIGHT OF A CENTENARY PROFESSOR MOHIT CHANDRA SEN

Professor : SALIL KUMAR BANERJEE

In December last the birth centenary of the eminent historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar was celebrated in Calcutta. He was born on 10th December 1870. On the very next day was born another noble son of Bengal, worthy to be remembered. Unfortunately, his promising career was cut short, at the early age of thirty-six only, by the cruel hand of death. Sixty-four years have rolled away since then. By this time, his memory has melted away into thin air. The memorable person is Professor Mohitchandra Sen.

Fortunately, his memory was rescued from oblivion in a homely function held at Patha Vavana, Santiniketan on 11th December last, on the occasion of his birth centenary. Homages were paid to him by reviving to memory his link with poet Rabindranath and Santiniketan. No light was thrown on his life. After a long time his name only swam into public ken, in the light of a centenary. Alas, his noble ancestry, brilliant academic career, sterling qualities and saintly character lie buried in darkness.

My father, late Professor Lalit Kumar Banerjee was older than Mohitchandra by two years and senior to him by one year in academic career. As students, they were contemporaries in the same institutions and in service life twice they met each other in the same colleges. Their close association ripened in time into close friendship. Late in life, when both of them lived in Calcutta, Mohitchandra often paid visit to my father. I was very young at that time but still lingers in my memory a faint image of his impressive,

appearance—his beaming face fringed with dwarf beard like Ramkrishna Paramhansadeva—his manly figure 'divinely fair and divinely tall'.

More than fifty years ago when we were students almost all the books prescribed by the University as texts in philosophy were written by Europeans. The only exception was the text book on Ethics. It was written by Mohitchandra. While perusing the book, I was curious to know the particulars of the author, whom I knew to be a friend of my father. On enquiry, my father verbally gave me a lot of information about him and asked me to go through an article written by him to pay tribute to his friend, immediately after his death and published in a journal. Mainly from these sources I have prepared a memoir of Mohitchandra, which I place before the readers, by way of my humble homage to him, on his birth centenary.

Mohitchandra came out of the renowned Vaidya family of Garifa (Gouriva), on Naihati-Bandel Branch line. Ramkamal Sen, the famous Dewan of the Government Mint and Bank of Bengal was his forefather. Bramhananda Kesabchandra Sen, Professor Krishna Bihary Sen, the founder of Albert College (now defunct) and Narendranath Sen, editor, Indian Mirror (now defunct) were his near relatives. His father Joykrishna was an M. A. in English. Under the influence of Kesabchandra, he embraced Bramhoism in his youth. When Mohitchandra was twentythree years old his father died in 1893, while serving as a Professor at Victoria College, Coochbehar.

My father filled up the vacancy. At Cooch-bihar, he heard of Joykrishna's reputation for erudition and high morals.

Precocity marked the career of Mohitchandra. Though of the same age, he was senior to Sir Jadunath by three years in academic life. In 1888 he passed the B. A. examination with first class Honours in English and stood second. The first place was occupied by Ramananda Chatterjee, editor *Modern Review* and *Prabasi*. Mohitchandra was very strong in English and had admirable command over a rich diction and elevated thoughts. Among the collections, preserved by my father, there is an unpublished composition of Mohitchandra in his own hand writing. My father remarked that had that been printed and inserted into the works of Carlyle, none would have been able to discover that it was not written by the sage of Chelsea. But Mohitchandra had stronger leaning towards philosophy. So, he took up philosophy for his M. A. course and passed the examination in 1889, obtaining a high place in the first division. Thus closed his University career at the early age of nineteen. But he was not content with the University degree only. So sincere was his reverence for the ancient lore of our country that he studied at home Sanskrit literature and Hindu systems of philosophy.

Lucrative jobs could not allure the teen aged boy. Like his father he followed the ancient Bramhinical ideal and courted poverty by picking up the profession of teaching as his life's mission. So strong and genuine was their zeal that he and his close friend Binoyendranath Sen left Calcutta to join Krishnath College, Berhampore at a salary too low for their brilliant academic career. Soon after, my father, who topped the list in all his University examinations, joined hands with them. The great savant Dr. Brajendranath Seal was already there as the Principal. It

was a galaxy of University luminaries. My father frankly admitted that he learnt much from these three non-Bramhin Colleagues of him and in that plastic period of his youth their good company helped him much to mould his character.

Two years later, both Mohitchandra and Binoyendranath were appointed in the Government educational service. Mohitchandra joined Dacca College, while Binoyendranath came to Presidency College, Calcutta. Later on Mohitchandra was transferred to Hooghly for a short term and ultimately reverted to Dacca. At a remark passed by Sir Alfred Croft, the then Director of Public Instructions, Mohitchandra felt insulted and tendered resignation to Government service. His conduct reminds us of the spirit shown by the great Vidyasagar in resigning the Principalship of Sanskrit College.

Thereafter he served three colleges in Calcutta, one after another—Metropolitan (at present Vidyasagar), Ripon (at present Surendranath) and City. He won the heart of the students by his skill in teaching and saintly character. In all their noble enterprises he was their friend, philosopher and guide.

Like the general run of brilliant students of our University his knowledge was not confined to books only. His book on Ethics is not a mere compilation. It bears testimony to his original thinking and deep philosophical insight. Even European scholars spoke highly of it. Honour was shown to his merit by the University in prescribing it as a text and by a foreign firm in publishing it. Mohitchandra brought out an edition of Macaulay's Essay on Crocker's Boswell, a text book for F. A. examination. The notes added by him were apt and short. A renowned Professor remarked that they differed from bazar notes in the same way as fine embroideries on Dacca muslin differed from close and clumsy needle work on children's quilts.

At Metropolitan Institution my father was again fortunate in getting him as his colleague after five years and derived invaluable benefit from the reunion. He gratefully acknowledged that the company of Mohitchandra uplifted his mind and purified his soul. He spoke of a day's incident when weary of explaining English poems line by line in the class continually for long fifteen years he was low in spirit and sought for his colleague's advice as to the way to tide over the depression. The remedy suggested by him proved to be so efficacious that my father always remembered it with gratitude.

The link with the poet Rabindranath Tagore was a great asset to Mohitchandra. He was an admirer of the rising poet and well known to the learned society of Calcutta for his ability in appreciating and interpreting his poems. His reputation reached the poet's ears and a familiarity grew up between the two. At that time, the poet was planning to enlarge the circle of his readers by publishing a cheap edition of his complete poetical works. His most intimate pen friend Srish Chandra Majumdar's brothers, Sailesh Chandra Majumdar and others, proprietors of Majumdar Library took charge of its publication. The poet disliked the long standing system of arranging the poems in chronological order. He proposed to follow the most poetically effective order of arranging them in the gradation of feeling or subject, as attempted by Sir Francis Palgrave, Professor of Poetry, Oxford, in his famous anthology of English poems 'The Golden Treasury'. Such a lay out, of numerous pieces covering about twenty volumes already published, is a mammoth task, involving true literary appreciation, deep insight, subtle psycho-analysis and unlimited patience. It goes to the credit of Mohitchandra that he was chosen by the poet as the fittest person to bear the heavy yoke. He arranged the poems

in twentyeight streams and in 1310 B. S. brought out the edition in thirteen parts. It was very popular and had a wide circulation.

In connection of the above matter Mohitchandra had to visit the poet at Santiniketan very often for consultation. At that time his good wishes and sympathy inspired the poet to found his contemplated Bramhacharyya Vidyalay. At his request Mohitchandra framed the rules of conduct and course of study of the school. It was settled that once in a month he would visit Santiniketan for inspecting it. But the poet was eager to place the school in his sole charge. When its first Head master Monoranjan Banerjee left for Sambalpore for joining the bar, Mohitchandra had to take charge of the infant institution at the earnest call of the poet. Due to his sincere efforts its roll strength increased from twenty to fiftyfive. But due to excessive labour his health broke down few months after and he had to return to Calcutta.

Though well read in Bengali literature, Mohitchandra had no occasion to show his merit in that field. But the deep insight evinced by him in editing the poet's works led many to expect from him criticism in Bengali on scientific basis and discussion on European systems of philosophy in the light of the Indian streams. Before his death he was engaged in translating the Upanishads into Bengali Verse. If completed, that would have been a valuable acquisition to Bengali literature.

In the prime of his youth he took a vow of celibacy. But after the death of his parents, he had to enter into family life. On 32nd Sravan in 1306 B. S. at the age of twentynine he married Sm. Sushila Devi, a sister of Lalit Mohon Chatterjee, Principal, Jagannath College, Dacca. Indifference to worldly affairs was deeply implanted in his nature. So in married life also he maintained a spirit of detachment and strict vegetarian

habit. Seven years after his marriage he died in 1313 B. S., at the age of thirtysix, leaving two infant daughters. One of her daughters, Sm. Uma Devi, gained fame as a writer of juvenile literature. She also died young.

Purity of Mohitchandra's character and sweetness of his heart excelled his wisdom and learning. Humility and service were the key stones of his nature. Once in course of a discussion in the Professors' lounge of Berhampore College he told my father that the spirit of service (Dasyā Vaba) had the strongest appeal to his heart. On that the grand-fatherly Professor of Sanskrit remarked, "you are born in the family of Dewan Ram Kamal Sen, who was a great vaishnab. So, it is not strange that this spirit has the strongest hold on you." In fact the spirit of humble service permeated into his pith and marrow and he dedicated his life to the service of God and humanity. When he preached from the pulpit of Nababidhan Church of Bramha Samaj, his utterances seemed to gush out of the core of his heart and reminded people of Bramhananda Kesab Chandra. After his arrival at Calcutta he never left the city on alluring offers from mufasil Colleges, lest the progress of his Samaj should suffer in his absence.

In charity he observed the precept of Christ. In the infant stage of Santiniketan when the poet was worn and nonplussed over financial crises, Mohitchandra handed over secretly to him, a sealed cover. Opening the cover the poet found in it a currency note for Rupees one thousand only, carefully wrapped with a piece of paper. The whole of the examiners fees received by him was spent in the service of Santiniketan.

Mohitchandra possessed a very refined taste and strong moral courage. My father got proof of them in their student life. When Mohitchandra was a student in F. A. class in Metropolitan Institution, one day the old Professor of Sanskrit was explaining without reservation, an erotic couplet from Raghuvamsa. Mohitchandra could not tolerate it. He stood up and addressing his class fellows said, 'These Vulgar words are unfit for the ears. If you possess any sense of decency then leave this class immediately along with me'. Saying this, he left the class without looking back to see how many of his classmates followed him. On another occasion when he was reading in the B. A. class in Presidency College, a renowned European Professor, with the honest purpose of helping students to appreciate literary beauty properly, was showing to them in the class pictures of the nude female form. On this occasion also, undaunted Mohitchandra without caring for the wrath of a 'red face' loudly protested against that indecent affair and left the class in great indignation. But in after life he did not turn out to be a staunch Puritan. His views in the fields of art and literature were quite liberal. He did not consider Boccaccis, Rabelais or Zola, to be untouchable.

Mohitchandra's soul was 'like a star that dwelt apart, pure as the naked heaven.' His Creator called him back to rest before it could be spoilt by the dirt and dross of this earth. Like a dew drop his life was short-lived, perfect, pure and sparkling. Perhaps Ben Johnson conceived of such a character in writing 'True growth' and saying.

'In small proportion we just beauties see,
And in short measure li.c may perfect be'.

POPULATION OF PORUS'S KINGDOM IN 326 B. C.

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

India has always been thickly peopled. Herodotus, the Father of History, speaks of India being thickly peopled; and he lived in the fifth century B. C. Nath has estimated a population of 100 to 140 millions in the time of Asoka at the beginning of the second century B. C. Feristha writing in the reign of Akbar says that the population of India was 600 millions when the Muhammadan conquests began (C. 1100 A. D.), Moreland had estimated the population of India at the death of Akbar to have been 100 millions. We have come to the conclusion that it was slightly larger, 110 millions (Population Bulletin No. 1 Govt. of India Publication).

We now try to estimate the population of Porus kingdom about 326 B. C., which consisted of a few districts at the extreme north-west corner of India and compare it with the modern population to get an idea how thickly peopled India was at that time.

The first difficulty that one meets is to get an idea of the extent of Porus' Kingdom. Vincent Smith in his Early History of India says:—"The more powerful state governed by the King, whom the Greeks called Porus, (was) approximately coincident with the modern districts of Jhelum, Gujarat and Shahpur." (P60).

The area and population of these areas are:-

	Area in sq. miles	Population in 1881 in Oos's
Jhelum	2,773	4.49
Gujarat	2,250	7.27
Shahpur	4,789	3.84
Total	9,812	16.05

The density of population for the whole area is 163 persons per sq. mile.

His Kingdom

It is doubtful whether the district of Jhelum was included in Porus Kingdom; the entire district is on the other side (West) of the river Jhelum. The district of Shahpur is almost bifurcated by the river Jhelum; and it is doubtful whether the entire district was included in his Kingdom. For Alexander the Great met with no resistance from Porus when he occupied the west bank of the Jhelum.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his Military History of India says:—He (Porus) ruled over the upper Jech Doab, or the land enclosed by the Jhelum river (Greek Hydaspes from the Sanskrit Vitasta) on the west and the Chenab on the east (P.15).

Strabe writing in the first Century B. C., and basing himself on the information supplied by Aristobulus, Cartius and others says that Porus ruled over all the territories between the Jhelum (the Hydoaspes) and the Chenab (the Akesines of the Greeks).

Both these rivers, as well as the other Punjab rivers have changed their courses, their beds, several times during the last two thousand years. These changes are not ordinary normal changes, but changes of great magnitude. Both the above rivers have shifted their beds towards west by many many miles (see the sketch map in Vincent Smiths' Early History of India, 3rd edition p 94). The relative distance between the beds of these two rivers is of the same order of magnitude as their present distance. And it seems that there have been either no changes or changes, if any of far lesser importance in the upper reaches of their courses. But their confluence or junction

has changed. "All that can be said is that in Alexander's time the confluence must have been situated much further to the north" (ibid p 91).

A portion of the area near the confluence of these two rivers seems to have been occupied by the Malloi or the Malavas. The portion of the modern district of Jhang between these rivers was most likely to have been outside Porus' Kingdom.

Its Extent

How far his Kingdom extended towards the foot-hills of Kashmir, and how far down the Jech Doab it is difficult to determine. There was "the Abhisara Country, in the hills between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab) rivers" (E. H. I. p 59). "The position of Abhisara, or "the Kingdom of Abisaras" was correctly defined for the first time by Sir M. A. Stein, who writes that "Darvabhisara (i. e. Darva and Abhisara) comprised whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Vitasta (Jhelum or Hydaspes) and the Chandrabhaga (Chinab or Akesines). The hill state of Rajapuri (Rajauri) was included in Darvabhisara; one passage would restrict the application of the term to the lower hills'. The small chieftainship of Rajauri and Bhimbar, the ancient Abhisara is now included within Kashmir. (E. H. I. p 59 f. n.).

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his Military History of India says :—"His (Porus) greatest enemy was Ambhi (Greek Ophi), the King of Taxila (near modern Hasan Abdal) and his ally was Abhisara, the King of Rajaur and Jamu. After overcoming the last two, Alexander called upon Porus to pay tribute and wait upon the Macedonian conqueror at his own frontier." (see p. 15).

Abhisara was outside Porus' Kingdom. The question is : did Abhisara send contingents to fight Alexander ? J. B. Bury in his History of Greece says :—

"Prince Porus had sent a defiance, and having gathered an army from thirty to forty thousand strong, was encamped on the left bank of the river, to contest the crossing. Moreover, Abisaras of Cashmir promised him aid, although he had sent marks of homage to Alexander". (p. 802). "Alexander before crossing the Hydaspes 'Posted the regiments of heavy infantry which he had brought with him,—a precaution probably, against the possible arrival of Abisaras" (p. 803).

"After the subjugation of Porus 'Alexander marched north-wards to subdue the Glausae a hill-folk on the border of Cashmir, and at the same time to intimidate Abisaras" (p. 807).

The probability is that Abisares remained neutral during and after the battle; and Porus had to depend on himself alone.

The map facing p. 786 of Bury's History of Greece shows Porus' Kingdom to be entirely between the rivers Jhelum and Chenab, and the Kingdom of Abhisara separated from Porus' by the hill-tribe Glausae.

Collin Davis' Historical Atlas of the Indian peninsula shows the Kingdom of Porus to have been entirely within the above two rivers.

We now try to determine the area of Porus' Kingdom in terms of the modern districts. In spite of the great authority of Vincent Smith we exclude the district of Jhelum, as also those areas which are on the right bank of the Jhelum, but include all areas between the said two rivers, even if the confluence area was occupied by independent tribes to compensate for any omission towards the foot-hills of Kashmir.

Probable Extent of Poros' Kingdom

	Area in Sq. miles	Pop. in 000's in 1881	in 1941
Gujarat	2,250	7,27	11,04
½ of Shahpur	2,395	1,92	5,00
1/3 of Jhang	1,151	1,30	2,74
Total :-	5,796	10,49	18,78

One-fourth, instead of one-third of Jhang would perhaps have been a better estimate ; but being in doubt we have included the larger area.

The over-all density of population is 181 per sq. mile.

Alexander the Great on his arrival before the banks of the Jhelum (Hydaspes) "found the army of Porus, fifty thousand strong drawn up on the opposite bank." (Early History of India p. 64).

At the battle of the Hydaspes (326 B. C.) Porus' army consisted of—

"Two hundred huge elephants, stationed at intervals of not less than a hundred feet from one another, and probably in eight ranks, formed the centre. Behind the elephants stood a compact force of 30,000 infantry with projections on the wings, and files of the infantry were pushed forward in the intervals between the elephants. * * Both flanks were protected by cavalry with chariots in front. The cavalry numbered 4,000 and the chariots 300. Each chariot was drawn by four horses and carried six men of whom two were archers, stationed one on each side of the vehicle, two were charioteers, who in the stress of battle were wont to drop the reins and ply the enemy with darts. (Q. Curtius, viii. 14)" (Ibid p. 66).

He had an advanced guard under his son to oppose Alexander the Great's crossing of the Jhelum. "The son of the Indian King came hurrying up with 2,000 horses and 120 chariots. This inadequate force was speedily routed with the loss of 400 men, and of all chariots" (Ibid. p. 65).

Describing the army of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta who drove the Greek Seleukos from out of India a few years later (323-322 B. C.) Vincent Smith says:—"Each chariot, which might be drawn by either four or two horses, accommodated two fighting men besides, the driver, and an elephant, in addition

to the mahout, or driver carried three archers. (Arthashastra Bk. vii. chap. 11)." (Ibid p. 125).

The strength in men of Porus' army was :—

200 elephants	× 4	=	800 men
300 chariots	× 6	=	1,800 "
4,000 cavalry		=	4,000 "
30,000 infantry		=	30,000 "
Total			36,600 men
B. F.			36,000 men

His son's advanced guard consisted of :—

120 chariots	× 6	=	720 men
2,000 horse		=	2,000 men
			2,720 men
Grand Total			39,320 men

Just as Porus' chariots carried six men, instead of the normal three, so it is likely that his elephants carried more men (shall we say 3×2 archers besides the mahout) than usual compliment of four men. In that case we shall have to add $3 \times 200 = 600$ men to the above grand total. And his strength in men at the crucial battle was 39,920 or 40,000 men.

The other 10,000 men were probably left to guard the communications or to oppose the passage of the river at other points.

Porus' Losses : Porus' son lost all the chariots and 400 men. If we take half the men in chariots were killed, his loss would be $360 + 400 = 760$ men. If all the men in chariots were killed, his loss would be 1,120 men out of total strength of 2,720 men. The percentage of losses in killed would be either 28 or 41 per cent. In a skirmish the losses are heavy on the defeated party ; so the latter percentage is probably nearer the truth.

We now turn to Porus losses in men.

"The Indian army was annihilated ; all the elephants being either killed or captured, and the chariots destroyed. Three thousand horsemen, and not less than twelve thousand foot soldiers were killed, and 9,000 taken prisoner." (Ibid p. 70).

His losses in killed is estimated to have been :—

	half the rate		all men killed
Elephants	400	or	800 men
Chariots	900	,,	1,800 ,,
Cavalry	3,000	,,	3,000 ,,
Infantry	12,000	,,	12,000 ,,
	<u>16,300</u>	or	<u>17,600 men</u>

This works out to 44.4 or 48.1 per cent of the men engaged in the battle. If to this estimate of those killed, we add the 9,000 taken prisoner, among whom was King Porus himself with nine wounds, the losses would be 69.1 or 72.7 per cent of those engaged in the battle.

It goes to show that the battle was keenly contested ; and Porus army was most likely not a raw levy hastily improvised to meet the invasion, but consisted of veterans.

Arrian says Porus "marched to meet Alexander with all his cavalry, 4,000 strong, all of his 300 Chariots, 200 elephants, and the picked contingents of his infantry numbering some 30,000 men" (p. 176 of de Selincourts translation).

The casualties on the Indian side were :—

"Nearly 20,000 of the Indian infantry were killed in this battle, and about 3,000 of their cavalry. All their war Chariots were destroyed. Among the dead were two sons of Porus, Spitaces the local Indian Governor all the officers in Command of the elephants and Chariots, and all the Cavalry Officers and other Commanders of high rank surviving elephants were captured" (Ibid. p. 179).

If Arrian's version is accepted the losses in men on the Indian side was as high as seventy per cent of the total fighting strength, showing the fierce nature of the contest.

The very high percentage of losses in Porus army go to show that they were not mere raw

levies, drawn ad-hoc from the general population, but well trained veterans.

The accoutrements of the Indian infantry were heavy. Besides carrying a formidable bow which used to be drawn after resting one end upon the earth and pressing it with the left foot, he also carried a heavy two-handed sword slung from the left shulder, a buckler of undressed ox-hide, and sometimes javelins in place of a bow. Megasthenes describing the army of Chandragupta says :—"Their arrows are little less than three cubits long, and nothing can withstand one shot by an Indian archer, neither shield nor breast-plate. They carry on their left arm targets of raw ox-hide, narrower than the men who carry them, but not much inferior in length. Others have javelins instead of arrows. All wear a sword broad and not less than three cubits in length.

The Indian cavalrymen carried two darts, like what the Greeks called Saunia (i. e. not more than 9 feet long) and shield smaller than that of the infantry.

What proportion of the population supplied the men of Porus army? We have got to make an estimate. We get the following facts from Vincent Smith's Early History of India p. 93 —

"At a second town (among the Malloi) he (Alexander) met with an obstinate defence, which cost the lives of many Macedonians. The inhabitants said to number 20,000 despairing of ultimate success, set fire to the town and cast themselves with their wives and children into the flames. The citadel escaped the fire, and was garrisoned by a detachment left behind for the purpose. The lives of 3,000 of its gallant defenders were spared".

The total population was 20,000 who perished in flames plus 3,000 defenders ; fighters to the total population was 3 : 23 or 1 : 7.67. Say 1 : 8 approximately.

But in a besieged town, fighters included not only men of military age but also all those who are able to bear arms. It is better to die fighting defending his home town than to perish in flames. The proportion of men of fighting age to total population would ordinarily be expected to be greater than the above ratio of 1 : 7.67.

The Mallois had a republican form of government. In a republic there is the likelihood of citizens joining the army in larger numbers than in any army recruited by a King like Porus or Ambhi of Taxilla. Further Porus army consisted of trained veterans.

We assess the proportion of fighting men in Porus army to population at a little higher than the Mallion rate, viz. 1 : 10. He was in frequent wars with Ophis or Ambhi of Taxilla and other neighbours. The fighting strength of men of military age was thus reduced at the time of the battle of the Hydaspes.

That the proportion of the gallant defenders of the citadel, who may all be presumed to be men of military age is one-eighth of the total population is not a mere accident will appear from the following considerations.

Sundbarg has shown that for all countries and all ages men between the ages of 15-50 are one-fourth of the total population. Men between the ages of 50-35 are regarded as men of military age. In India the proportion of such males is :—

Per 10000 of males				
1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
2520	2514	2547	2465	2547

Average :—2519

Assuming the proportion of males to females to be equal, the proportion is reduced 1259.

The proportion of the defenders in the Malloi town to total population was 1 : 7.67 or 1304 per 10,000.

Walled City's Population

If it be said that no general conclusion should be drawn from the composition of population in a walled city for the general population, our answer is :—

The walled towns, as in Mycenaean Greece, were citadels for defence against enemy attacks, where the population would withdraw within the fortifications ; but in times of peace most of the population lived outside the walls cultivating their fields and gardens and orchards ; and pasturing their cattle and herds of sheep and goat. So the population composition of the Malloi town would not be very different from that of the general population. Further Alexander had already severely punished the Malloi before besieging the town, and it is most likely that many of the rural population had fled and were not cooped up in the town. In that case the proportion of defenders or men of military age to total population is less than what we have calculated.

The population of Porus Kingdom in 326 B. C. is, therefore, estimated to have been either

$$50,000 \times 8 = 4,00,000$$

$$\text{or } 50,000 \times 10 = 5,00,000.$$

We prefer the bigger estimate. The present (1881) population of the area covered by Porus Kingdom is 10,50,000. The population in the fourth Century B. C. was either 38 per cent, or 48 per cent of what it is in the late 19th century.

That the higher figure is more likely will appear from the following facts and considerations. Kautilya says that five agricultural families cultivated 64 acres of land. Each family occupied 12.8 acres. An adult male can cultivate 5 acres of land. So each family must have 2.56 adult males. If all those who are between 15-50 be regarded as "adult males, for the purpose of cultivation the number of persons per family would be $2.56 \times 4 = 10.24$

persons. The number of men of fighting age per family is 1.28. As it was usual to recruit 1 person per family or if in a family there were more than 1 person of military age, only 1 person is likely to join the army, there were 50,000 families. And the population would be 5,12,000.

The proportion of cavalry to infantry in Porus's army at the battle is 4000: 30,000 = 1: 7.5 or 6000: 50,000 (if we include the whole army) = 1: 8.3. From the Ain-i-Akbari we get the proportion of cavalry to infantrymen supplied by the local zaminders in the Subah of Lahore. They are :—

Area		Cavalry	Infantry
Bet Jalandhar Doab		4,155	79,436
Bari	„	31,055	1,29,300
Rechna	„	6,795	99,652
Jech	„	3,730	44,200
Sind Sagar	„	8,523	69,700
		<u>54,288</u>	<u>4,22,288</u>

They are 1: 7.7.

Having regard to the distance in time of nearly two thousand years and of the wider area, the agreement in the proportion is remarkable.

The population of India at the death of Akbar is 100 millions according to Moreland. We have estimated it to have been a little higher, viz 110 millions.

The Punjab's present population is some 7 per cent of India's total; and two-thirds of them are in the area corresponding to Subah of Lahore. If the same proportion held good at the death of Akbar, the population of the Subah would be 5.1 millions and it supplied 5.76 lakhs of men. The proportion to population is some 11.3 per cent. This is not an argument, but it strengthens us in thinking that to estimate the population of Porus's Kingdom, we may use the larger multiplier of 10.



CHINA ACCUSES INDIA OF INTERFERENCE IN PAKISTAN AFFAIRS

A. C.

China is accusing India of interference in Pakistan's internal affairs because India has been criticising the genocidal activities of the Pakistan army in East Bengal. But China does not think that Pakistan interferes in India's internal affairs even when the Pakistan army invades Indian territory or when Pakistan makes false propaganda about alleged Indian oppression of Muslims in India or other imaginary actions of India. China does not think that she is guilty of interfering in other people's affairs when she invades and occupies Tibetan or Indian territory. China asserts that the Chinese emperors of past ages had figurative suzerainty over many countries and the Peoples Republic of China, therefore owns territorial rights in all those countries. But if India draws the attention of the civilised world to the mass killing of Bengalis in East Pakistan by the mercenaries of Yahya Khan, China's peculiarly tuned political conscience starts ticking out a protesting note. Not because of anything that India has actually done; but because India has only criticised the barbarous and totally lawless actions of the Pakistan army. China thinks that it is quite right for her to occupy Tibet or to massacre the Tibetans because the Ming Emperors held sway over Tibet several hundred years ago; but China does not think it just and lawful for India to criticise the military despots of Pakistan even though only

twenty four years ago Pakistan did not exist as a separate state and was an integral part of India. The division of India and Pakistan was carried out by an Act of the bourgeois Parliament of Great Britain; but that appears to be sacrosanct to the Maoist Chinese for the reason that it suits their current purpose. In fact the Chinese are materialist, which is another name denoting attachment to opportunism, and their sense of right and wrong, logical illogical, lawful and unlawful and historical justifiability or otherwise, depend entirely on their estimation of the material advantages attached to the various alternative possibilities of things. In the circumstances what the Chinese say cannot have the same significance for the Indians as for the Chinese. For, materially assessed, all things are different for the Chinese from what they are for the Indians.

Turning to the facts of the present accusations, the trouble in East Pakistan started from the exploitation of that part of the country by the people of the Western part. This exploitation was very certainly not begun under advice of India! It developed as a natural consequence of the selfishness and greed of the Muslim Political leaders who surrounded Mr. Mahammad Ali Jinnah who was co-sponsor of the land-of-purity—Pakistan with his British inspirers and instigators. Pakistan

was founded on the fake Two-nation Theory according to which the Muslims of India formed a separate nation on the ground of having a Muslim language Urdu, a Muslim culture and a specific Muslim way of life. The Muslims of India therefore claimed a separate national territory of their own and Pakistan was the eventual result of this propaganda which was backed by continuous rioting for many years. In fact the Muslims of India spoke as many languages as the Hindus did. They also had numerous different racial characteristics in their dress, food, social manners and customs and special loyalties. But the communal rioting induced the non-Muslim leaders of India to concede Pakistan to the Jinnah clique. Pakistan was formed with five racial groups of people who were the Punjabis, the Baluchis, the Pathans, the Sindhis and the Bengalis. From the very outset the four Western groups of Muslims took it for granted that they were superior to the fifth group, the Bengalis of the East, who customarily did not join the armed forces as mercenaries. The Bengalis were "non-martial" according to the British. And that was something very inglorious in British eyes. The world belonged to those who could kill and be killed and not to peace loving people. The West Pakistanis being "martial" monopolised jobs, contracts and industries. They also held the most lucrative assignments in the Governmental offices and in the army, navy and air force. They also got the lion's share of the foreign borrowings and the allotments from whatever funds that could be spared from the revenues. The Bengalis were left to suffer the ignominy and economic disadvantage of second class citizenship, so to speak, and they were put in a very bad position in so far as West Pakistan developed according to plans while East Pakistan could not even build very essential protective structures which

have been just on paper for many years. All this happened mainly due to the criminal folly and selfishness of West Pakistanis who chased their own whims and fancies while the East Pakistanis were swept away by tidal waves. China knows that India could not possibly have any responsibility in this field of discriminatory treatment which injured and alienated the East Pakistanis. China knows all facts and figures relating to the economy of the two zones of Pakistan. They are well versed in drawing logical conclusions from these facts and figures. That is they should know how the West Pakistanis were exploiting the people of East Pakistan, who have every reason to resent this exploitation. Islamabad was being decorated with palaces while life saving dykes, bundhs and break water walls remained untouched due to lack of funds. As a result Bengalis died in thousands whenever floods and tidal waves swept up the estuaries. Who were responsible for these highly objectionable developments? Was it India? The West Pakistanis are exploiters, oppressors and totally barbarous in their treatment of the poor, the weak and the defenceless. Why is China befriending these exploiters and oppressors of the workers and peasants. The military ruling cliques of Pakistan are made up of a handful of men drawn from 13 families who also own the major portion of all money making establishments of Pakistan. China knows all about it.

China also knows that the Bengalis of East Pakistan speak Bengali which is quite different from the Urdu which the West Pakistanis speak. Some years ago there was a great struggle made by the Bengalis for the adoption of Bengali as a parallel state language of Pakistan. The Bengalis are in a majority in Pakistan and they do not like to speak in Urdu. There was much repression and bloodshed before Bengali was accepted as a

state language. Bengali has not been a chosen language in India. The Indian constitution has declared Hindi to be our official language. It is the Bengalis of East Pakistan who fought to put Bengali in its rightful place in the newly made Muslim state of Pakistan.

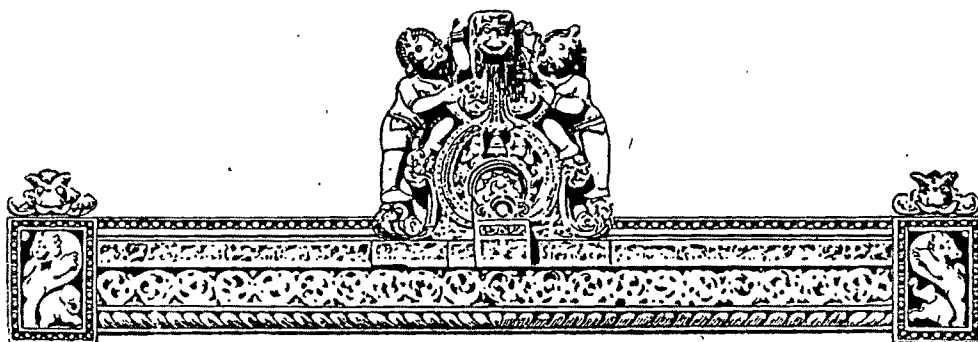
When Iskandar Mirza abrogated the constitution of Pakistan in 1958 and established a military dictatorship in that country with General Ayub Khan as its autocratic ruler could any one say that India had any hand in that despicable act abolishing all human rights of 100 million persons? It might have been Americans or Chinese who were responsible, for they supplied money and arms to the military junta at that time, as well as thereafter. When Ayub Khan became unpopular he was replaced by General Yahya Khan and the same military clique aided by China, Russia, America and Britain did all the dirty work. India did nothing at anytime to assist these destroyers democracy. India was attacked twice by Pakistan and once by China and these countries still occupy certain parts of Indian territory unlawfully and quite unjustly. India defeated Pakistan but was induced by Russia, America and Britain to let Pakistan hang on to some of the territory she had illicitly occupied. The military leaders of Pakistan continued to behave arrogantly and unjustly with the people of the country and it was this sort of behaviour which led to the terrible internecine war that is tearing up the fake Islamic Republic to-day. General Yahya Khan made promises of reestablishing a democratic form of Government in Pakistan as well as of framing a constitution. He had no intention of doing any of these things as has been proved by his wanton attacks on the people of East Pakistan and on the political party which represented 98% of those people. This military clique has made human rights and political freedom into things that can be

thrown into the gutter at any time by a handful of sub-human barbarians. And China is taking sides with these criminals so that she could retain some square miles of Indian territory which she has no right to occupy. China has condoned all marauding and acts of brigandage committed by the arch criminals of Islamahad. Though there are no political or human rights that the people of Pakistan enjoy; the despots of Pakistan always howl and cry about the alleged occupation of Kashmir by India. Kashmir acceded to India because Mahammad Ali Jinnah let loose a horde of Pakistan trained and Pakistan employed armed men upon Kashmir with a view to occupy that fair land. These men looted, raped and killed numerous Kashmiris and the Maharajah of Kashmir advised by his Muslim minister called upon India to save the Kashmiris from the soldiers of this unofficial Pakistani army. Jinnah had reached the gates of Srinagar to make a state entry into that capital city of Kashmir, when Indian troops began to land in the Srinagar air field. This upset Jinnah's plans. For months Pakistan denied their complicity in this disgraceful affair; but it was eventually admitted by them. The Pakistani destroyers of democracy and of the human rights of their own people, have continued to cry for a plebiscite in Kashmir ever since; though the people of Kashmir enjoy absolutely the same political rights with the rest of the Indian people in general. The Pakistanis hope to prove by the plebiscite that the Kashmiris wish to be a part of Pakistan and not of India. But a Plebiscite to decide to which state the Kashmiris wish to belong cannot be held for the reason that the right of making such a choice no longer existed after it had been once used according to the British directive of 1947. The heads of various princely states made their choice through their lawful heads of

states and the Maharaja of Kashmir advised by his popular Minister Sheikh Abdulla had made his choice by acceding to India.

The Pakistanis had created a situation in their country by their thoughtless and despotic actions as a result of which the people of East Bengal could no longer agree to remain in Pakistan. Their recent acts of genocide, rape, arson and banditry have further made it impossible for East Bengal to tolerate West Pakistani domination. China may think that shooting down a million unarmed members of the civil population of a country, abduction of ten thousand women and murdering 200 hand picked intellectuals are all the internal affairs of a civilised government; but the world cannot see eye to eye with China. It has to be said

that China has shown a remarkable lack of a clean moral outlook by supporting the actions of the Yahya Khan regime. If China prefers this kind of moral alliance with utterly sinful violations of fundamental ethical principles; China will not be able to maintain her position for long, no matter if she collects 10000 hydrogen bombs and 20000 divisions of soldiers. For sinfulness can never be a binding force which can hold a nation together. Pakistan is surely breaking up for the sins of her military leaders. China should learn a lesson from what is happening in Pakistan. Her lectures and sermons leave us entirely cold; for we can see that China is motivated by hopes of territorial gain. And that is not a very dependable principle to guide a nation to glory.



TAGORE IN SWITZERLAND

P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY

(In early 1970 India's President. Giri had visited Switzerland. From the reports of his visit in the newspapers it appears there was no mention in his speech at Geneva about the three visits of Rabindranath Tagore to Switzerland in 1921, 1926 and 1930. Tagore was the first unofficial ambassador of India to Switzerland and he had a very warm reception at all the places he visited. His was both a cultural and political mission.

The writer has reconstructed the story of his visits by visiting a number of places in Switzerland and contacting persons who had met Tagore).

Villeneuve and Romain Rolland

Villeneuve is one of the charming water-fronts on Lac Lemman or Geneva Lake in Switzerland. Switzerland maintains superbly the series of waterfronts on the shore of the lake (a 45 miles stretch of deep blue glistening water and at places 8 mile broad). Any number of hotels, restaurants, motels, bed-breakfast accommodation, camping grounds, buses, trains, boats and yachts are there for the tourists. The scenic beauty of the towering mountains with gentle slopes used for winter sports on snow, the vine-yards, orchards of apple and peach, the healthy and comely men and women, laughing children, give a feast to the eyes of the visitors.

Villeneuve could be reached from Geneva by road or rail through Montreux the most frequented resort on Lake Lemman with charming surroundings. Montreux-Villeneuve is along the shore of a great bay facing the south and rises in an amphitheatre to considerable heights covered with woods, vine-yards, chalets

or villas with a sprinkling of pinnacled churches. Montreux leapt into literary fame when Rousseau chose the village of Claren, now a suburb as the setting for La Nouvelle Heloise. At places the railway line or the road meander within a few feet of the shore of the lake. One passes the castle of Chillon just before coming to Villeneuve. The castle is built on picturesque rocky islet in the setting formed by the lake, Montreux, the French shore and the Alpine region. The cellars of the grim castle were used as a prison for decades and Francis Bonivard, a visionary with ideas was the most famous prisoner in 1536. Byron has immortalised Bonivard and the castle of Chillon by his lyrical poem written at the castle. The Poet had scribbled his name with a pen-knife which is still there.

I visited this area with a purpose. Rabindranath Tagore had made Villeneuve his headquarters during his three visits to Switzerland. I wanted to walk in the foot-steps of the poet fifty years after his first visit in 1921. Villeneuve was an intellectual centre at that time. Poets, scholars of various disciplines and politicians used to visit Villeneuve which had not been so modernised and particularly cluster round Romain Rolland in his spacious and wooded villa at the back of Byron Hotel very near the lake.

Byron Hotel

I walked into Byron Hotel and imagined Tagore walking slowly down the wooded path with a gentle stoop and talking to some one. Tagore stayed at Byron Hotel several times and in the room where Victor Hugo had lived for a long time. I asked the Receptionist after explaining my mission if I could see

the room. The lady's eyes glistened and in broken English she informed me that this particular portion of the hotel was burnt down due to an electrical lapse and has now been modernised. "Do you like to go round" she asked. I gladly accepted the suggestion and did so. This young girl of about thirty years sent for an old lady who was in the management years before. She spoke to me of the song parties that used to be held with Tagore as the central figure.

Romain Rolland's villa is at the back of the hotel. Madame Romain Rolland now mostly lives in Paris. Madeleine Rolland, the savant's sister who had nursed him for decades and had acted as the interpreter for both Tagore and Gandhi was neglected when Romain Rolland married his secretary at a very advanced age. Madeleine had to spend some time in a mental hospital and died broken-hearted. It is from Villeneuve that Romain Rolland had sponsored Tagore's first visit to Switzerland.

Tagore's first visit

In May 1921, the Geneva University got a wire from Romain Rolland that the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, the winner of Nobel Prize several years before was visiting Geneva and he should be properly received. The proceedings of the University in French kindly made available to me by the University authorities mention that the wire created a great stir. Not much was known of the poet although his fame "as a far-seeing seer" had reached the educated Swiss. They were told that the poet was touring to forge a bond of cultural synthesis between the East and the West and wanted to explain his ideas of converting his Santiniketan school into an international university.

Athenée was the first place where an ovation was given to the poet on 5th May,

1921. The elite of Geneva besides the students and professors of Geneva University were present. The poet read some of his Bengali poems and their translation in English. Madame Henri Revedin interpreted them in French. The venerable appearance of the poet with a flowing beard, his toga dress and the manner of his delivery swept off the barrier of language. When the French version was given there was a great outburst of appreciation.

The Poet's birthday at Geneva

The next engagement was on 6th May (the poet's birth day) at the Geneva University. The scholar who had to translate the poet's lecture had seen him previously for a briefing. The poet had told him that the subject would be an analysis of the main factors of the background of oriental and occidental culture and their present relationship. The scholar was much perturbed if he could render the speech properly. With a fearful heart he presented himself at the meeting which had a record gathering. At the meeting the scholar asked the poet if he would summarise the speech at the end or give a summary from time to time. The poet nodded, gave him a captivating smile but did not give any specific reply.

The poet gave his lecture in simple but forceful English. Everyone was struck with the idea that he was a seer. The translator went on interpreting para by para. The poet, however, did not keep himself confined to the subject chosen but spoke only on the past tradition and culture of the Orient. He did not touch at all on the relationship of the Eastern and Western culture particularising India. There was a very respectful and restrained silence throughout the lecture. The poet's speech had literally overwhelmed the audience. The audience "went mad" as chronicled, when the lecture was over and men and women, old and young, rushed to

meet the poet, touch his hand and thank him. The translator breathed relief that there were no questions and answers.

There was an incident after the meeting. An anonymous man got up and announced a big sum of money for creating a chair for the study of Indian culture in Geneva University. He was found out to be a revolutionary with militant ideas with which the poet did not agree. The poet later on gave out that as it was his birth-day he did not want to hurt any one by speaking on any controversial issue.

At Rousseau Institute

The poet next spoke at J. J. Rousseau Institute on his ideas of education. Madame Pieczynska translated the poet's speech. Claparde was present at the meeting and congratulated Tagore on the theme. The poet also visited *Maison des Petits*, an institute for the children. He played with the children and repeatedly told them that his shrunken look and beard were deceptive and inside him there was a child that played and laughed just like the other children. The children thought they were seeing the Swiss mythical Pythagora from the similarity of the name of Tagore.

I may mention here that Tagore's lecture on ideals of education forms the theme of a separate long proceeding in the Record Book of the Geneva University.

This was followed by another engagement in Geneva University when the poet read out some of his poems and portions of his book "Sadhana." Madam Pieczynska translated the poems and the extracts from "Sadhana." There was a select gathering of the intellectuals and they were highly impressed.

Luzerne - Basle - Zurich

On 8th May, 1921, Tagore visited Lucerne where he had a lecture engagement that went off very well. By that time the French language papers in Switzerland had given the

poet a good coverage and this was taken up by the papers in German language. The poet visited Basle on 10th May, 1921. Basle is in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. There was a huge crowd at the old Basle University at his speech. There were several other meetings at Basle where the poet recited some of his poems and gave an English translation followed by a scholar giving the German version. Basle had not yet turned into a great industrial city and the poet went round and enjoyed the sights. Tagore had a crowded day at Basle and on the next day (11th May) he reached Zurich in the afternoon. The poet stayed at Zurich a few days and addressed a few meetings arranged by the University. He invited a select gathering at his hotel where he read out a few poems and extracts of his prose writings. An English-speaking scholar gave a running summary.

The Second Visit

The second visit of Tagore to Switzerland was in 1926. On 22nd June, 1926, he reached Villeneuve, via. Montreaux. The poet had a brief halt at Montreaux. He had walks by the lake and enjoyed the scenic grandeur of the towering mountains and the sight of the lovely villas on the slopes. He visited the castle of Chillon where Bonivard was kept a prisoner. The weather at Villeneuve was at its best-sunny and crisp. Tagore stayed at Byron Hotel in the room where Victor Hugo had stayed for a long time. The gardens were full of flowers.

The star attraction of the poet was Romain Rolland and his "Sweet even-tempered" sister Madeleine acting as the interpreter. There were daily visitors to the poet at the hotel and the poet would often walk over the distance of a few yards. They would sit for hours in the book-lined library of Romain Rolland and talk; often time would pass unobtrusively when the trio would sit in absolute silence—a serene silent companionship. There used to

be frequent meetings of the intellectuals at the Byron Hotel or at Romain Rolland's house where the poet would read out his more recent writings and discuss the world problems. India's political problems figured often and there would be a free discussion on the need of India's independence.

Some of the intellectuals usually present at these discussions were Duhamel, Sir James Frazer, Forel, Prof. Bovet, Prof. Dr. Edmond Privat and Prof. Edgar Willens. Prof. Edgar Willens is probably the only surviving one of that circle.

Prof Edgar Willens

I had contacted the hoary Prof. Edgar Willens now at Conchas in Geneva. He vividly recollects "the venerable poet" reading out his poem and joining the Bengali songs in chorus by his party. He recalls the discussions on India's independence. The presiding genius was, of course, Romain Rolland as Willens told me.

Dr. Edmond Privat

I went to Neuchatel city to meet Madame Yvonne Privat, widow of Dr. Edmond Privat who passed away in 1962. This lady of 80 years has a photographic memory. She said her husband had first met Tagore at Romain Rolland's villa. She recalled their visit to Shantiniketan in 1932 and the long chats with Tagore particularly on the political problems. Privat was Gandhi's interpreter in the meetings in Switzerland in 1931 after the failure of the Round Table Conference. She gave me the photostat of a letter of Tagore to Dr. Privat in 1933.

Dr. Edmond Privat was the Chairman of the European Committee for India's independence from 1932 to 1939. The Privats had accompanied Gandhi to India after the failure of the Round Table Conference. A Cambridge scholar, a journalist, a quaker and an Esperentist, Privat had a chequered career.

He had to leave France because of his writings for Polish independence. He had written several books in French and in English on India. There are ample references to Tagore in his book "The Clash of Loyalties" and in his autobiographical sketches in Esperanto "Adventurej de Pioniro". Madame Privat asked me to contact Prof. Willens and read "Journal Inde le Romain Rolland" and "Poet a Tagore" by Albin Michel. I saw photos of Tagore in her room at Neuchatel.

Zurich and Lucerne

From Villeneuve the poet went to Zurich on 6th July, 1926 and gave a public lecture on the same day. There were other engagements on the following days. During this stay the poet met some victims of Fascist oppression including Signora Salvadori. The poet wrote and spoke forcefully about fascist oppression. From Zurich he went to Lucerne on 10th July, 1926 and fulfilled a lecture engagement. From there he went to Vienna.

The Third visit

The third visit of Tagore to Switzerland was in 1930. On one account the visit was suggested by C.F. Andrews who prevailed on the poet to meet some people in the League of Nations. Tagore was very allergic to the League and jokingly described the League as the "Robbers' Mutual Co-operative Society" and looked on it "as a collection of the world's prower-greedy go getters who faced one another with peace on their lips and black hatred in their hearts."

Miss Josephine D. Storey

The poet and C.F. Andrews came to Geneva on the 14th August 1930 with a party. They stayed till 6th September in the spacious and lovely villa of Miss Josephine D. Storey, a rich English lady at the outskirts of Geneva. My enquiries to trace Miss Storey's family were unsuccessful. I gathered from Madame Yvonne Privat that Miss Storey had been to

India just before the poet came to Geneva and was struck by the poverty and teeming population, human and cattle.

Dr. Privat had met Tagore at Geneva.

During this stay Tagore lectured several times and had a few meetings with the students specially. He had visited the Rousseau Museum where some of the manuscripts of Rousseau's books are preserved. Tagore had signed the visitor's book. He had also visited the public library and the museum with a splendid collection of paintings. His visit to Miss Storey's villa were many and there were quite a few "poetry meetings" and "song meetings." From Geneva Tagore wrote a spirited letter to the Editor of the Spectator as to how British diplomacy and state-craft had sponsored the serious communal troubles in Dacca. The poet left Geneva on the 6 September, 1930 for Moscow by way of Poland. Andrews had acted as Tagore's secretary during this visit.

The North Eastern Daily Gazette of 21.8.1930 had given a large coverage on Tagore's third visit. The Friend of 8th September, 1930 had published a group photo of Tagore, C.F. Andrews, Miss Storey and other members of Tagore's party. Tagore had met quite a few quakers on this occasion.

Switzerland and the poet

Switzerland, a neutral country which had not joined any war for decades has fascinated the poet. The scenic grandeur, the wooded and open slopes, the good looking swiss-men

and women had charmed him. From my enquiries my impression is that the poet was much impressed by the small incidence of clash of loyalties amongst the Swiss. The country is federal with a number of cantons which are independent of one another and have their own separate law, customs, and government with responsibility to the Federal State with Berne as the capital. Every Swiss is very proud of his canton but at the same time intensely loyal to the Federal State. On every national festival, a Swiss will hoist both his canton and the Federal national flags. His loyalty to the canton does not make him parochial where the Federation's interest is concerned. Secondly the poet was also much impressed with the fact that although Switzerland was split into three distinct portions speaking French, German and Italian there was no clash of interests and the Swiss lived in isolation, peace and harmony. The poet's mission was more than cultural. He also discussed the Indian problems with Romain Rolland, Edmond Privat and others. The Swiss elite were much impressed by the fact that Tagore had renounced the knighthood conferred on him by the British Government as a protest against British misdeeds in the Punjab. His ideas of bringing in a synthesis of Indian and European culture and his internationalism had caught the imagination of the men and women of Switzerland. The group of friends of Romain Rolland had made the poet's tours in Switzerland a success.



Current Affairs

Indecency of Conduct of Political Party Men

Political parties should fulfil their lawful purpose and avoid unlawful behaviour. These parties are not private armies nor gangs of law-breakers. So that when political party men fight as warring factions and upset the normal life of the general public, the Law should no longer protect them in so far as they do not respect or obey the laws of the land. Recent affairs have gone to show that political party men have so far forgotten their responsibilities and civic duties that they have fought battles at a place where the work of administration is carried on by the ministers and the topmost officials of the State. Bricks and bottles rained on each others heads and disrupted normal life of that busiest centre of the city for a few hours. Peace was eventually restored by police intervention which culminated in firing tear gas shells into the gangs which fought. This sort of indecent behaviour and violation of law should not be tolerated and the question of punitive action should be seriously considered. The people who behave like this are not the authorised agents of the political parties they claim to represent. They discredit their parties if at all they are subscription paying members of the parties. The parties should therefore try to clean their stables in order to maintain their public image

as necessary adjuncts of the democratic system. If the political parties do not try to make their supporters use only lawful methods of expressing political opinion and export them to keep off the paths of hooliganism and mutual abuse; then their usefulness to society will cease to exist. When that happens, the laws will no longer protect them, nor the public consider them as anything better than common goondas.

Idealism and Expediency

Idealism quite often inspires and induces people to choose the path of great suffering and repeated failures. Most wars of independence would never have been fought had the people concerned been over cautious and wise to the last decimal place. The War of Independence of America commenced with miserable defeats ; but the people learnt as they fought and eventually crushed the Hessian mercenaries of England. When the Italians fought the mighty Austrian empire or the Greeks wanted to overthrow their Ottoman overlords ; they were not guided by any calculated rules of expediency but by a fiery and passionate longing for freedom which called them on to do or die. All freedom movements would be considered unwise by back seat theoreticians ; though the front line fighters never hesitate to receive

bullets or bayonet thrusts in order to achieve their objective through sacrifice. That being so, we felt surprised and puzzled when we found one of our well known critical essayists giving expression, in a newspaper article, to his doubts about the wisdom of the freedom fighters of Banglā Desh in trying to overthrow the military regime of Yahya Khan. No doubt the writer overlooked the inner spirit of a fight for freedom. Wars of independence cannot be carried on with the help of computers, nor are the patriots who fight such wars ever moved by considerations of clearly thought out probabilities and chances. They are defeated, they die ; but they come back ; pass on their passionate love of their motherland to their successors and eventually succeed in destroying their oppressors and in fulfilling their glorious purpose. When a handful of youngmen tried to overthrow the British imperial overlordship of India under the leadership of Sri Aravinda, critics smiled indulgently. When Subhash Chandra Bose organised the INA thirty five years after that, the critics did not feel so sure. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman has begun his fight for freedom with many more soldiers and a greater supply of arms than most freedom fighters could ever display at the start. His oppressors too are not so mighty as the Hapsburgs, the Sultanate of Turkey or the imperial British. We should think that his chances of success are obviously much greater than our drawing room critics would admit.

Pakistan Overworked Concocting Lies

We donot know whether Pakistan has a secret ministry of lies ; but the way the Pakistanis go on fabricating untruths to hide or explain away their own transgressions of moral laws, codes of diplomatic etiquette and the ideals of human conduct, make people

think many times before they believe anything emanating from Pakistani sources. The latest feat of lying that the Pakistanis have performed, is about the hi-jacking of the Indian Airlines Fokker Friendship to Lahore and its destruction by Pakistani agents there. The explanation that the Pakistanis have sent to the International Civil Aviation board about this crime against the laws of aviation recognised by all nations, is that Indians arranged this hi-jacking and the blowing up of the plane in order to put Pakistan in a false position. This is indeed the last thing that Pakistan could have done to add insult to injury. The Pakistanis have also insulted the intelligence of the people who will consider this report, as no one in his senses can accept this ludicrous tale as an explanation of a crime which the Pakistanis openly vaunted for days by displaying the two hi-jackers as great heroes of the Islamic Republic. These criminals were neither arrested nor prevented by Pakistan from destroying the plane a long time after landing it in Lahore airfield.

Closing Down Industries in West Bengal

Two very important industries have closed down their factories in West Bengal. The closures have been more or less total, i. e. the employees will now become fully unemployed. The reasons for these lock-out decisions are unwillingness of the workers to try to produce the goods manufactured by the factories concerned properly, fully and whole heartedly. The workers have caused great loss to the companies by their deliberate negligence and by working slowly, haphazardly and in a careless manner. They have not maintained standards nor have they done their work on time ; so that the companies have lost orders and have suffered through loss of credit and good will. In short the workers have failed to

live upto their undertakings and have ignored their responsibilities. In one factory, which has published some wage schedules, the unskilled workers earn about twice the amount recommended by the wages board. One may say that the labour leaders of West Bengal are still following a thoughtless and ill conceived policy. Employment position is very bad in this state and the continuation of a suicidal policy of non-cooperation between employers and employees will progressively destroy the industrial and commercial set up of this once prosperous and economically predominant centre of trade and productive work.

Pakistan Violates Indian Territory

Pakistani soldiers have recently started shelling villages on the Indian side of the frontier of Bangla Desh and West Bengal. They have also come into our territory in force, set fire to Indian houses and shot down Indian citizens. In four or five incidents over fifty casualties have occurred, including the death of a twelve year old girl, and many houses have been burnt down. The Government of India have, as usual, protested to the Pakistan Government and have mentioned "dire consequences" of an indefinite nature. We believe they have demanded assurances and compensations too, with what hopes of getting any satisfactory response we do not know. We think Pakistan should be told that their positions will be shelled and fired upon, if this sort of things happen again. Foreign observers should be called in too to see how Pakistan is behaving. These observers can meet the refugees and find out from them how the army of Pakistan is killing unarmed civilians and chasing millions of people out of their villages. After this Pakistan should be told that the Indian army will enter East

Bengal to rehabilitate these refugees in their own homes. The Partition of 1947 was not effected for settling non-Bengali Muslims in East Bengal. Nor can India house six crore Bengali Muslims in their territory. Pakistan was separated from India in order to enable Indian Muslims to have a Muslim state of their own. The majority of the people of Pakistan are Bengalis and East Bengal is their homeland. If the Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi and Pathan citizens of Pakistan cannot live peacefully with their Bengali coreligionists, they will have to form separate states. Killing or chasing out 75 million people and forcibly taking possession of their homeland by West Pakistani soldiers, violates the spirit of the partition of India and it should be prevented by force if necessary. The people chased out should be openly helped to arm and train themselves to reoccupy their homeland. There should be no squeemishness about this ; as it is of vital importance to India to save her territory from being overrun by millions of destitute refugees. From the human angle if it is right for Pakistan to kill, injure, expropriate and drive out seventy five million people from their homeland, it should be right for anybody else to kill and annihilate the Pakistani hordes in order to give back their homeland to the oppressed millions of Bangla Desh. It is known that Pakistan is obtaining military assistance from Turkey, Iran and China to carry on this unholy war. It should therefore be justifiable for the Mukti Fouz of Bangla Desh to seek the assistance of other countries to regain their lost homes and their freedom.

Pakistan Faces Devaluation

For a country which has to borrow money from other nations and import foreign goods in large quantities due to its industrial underdevelopment ; the exchange rate of its

currency has a vital significance. This exchange rate when fixed officially takes cognisance of the purchasing power of the currencies as well as of the demand for these currencies in foreign markets. Pakistan has been a heavy borrower from other countries over long years and has been balancing its loans accounts by receipt of doles from the USA and a few other countries. Since Pakistan began its conspiratorial partnership with China, other nations became less generous and Pakistan found difficulty in maintaining the international exchange value of its currency. During recent years the Pakistan rupee has never sold at the official rate in the foreign exchange market. Officially less than five Pakistan rupees equalled a U. S. Dollar. But, in fact, the Pakistan rupee price of a dollar has been ten rupees or more for a long time. Recently the position has worsened and since the war in Bangla Desh one Dollar began to buy fourteen Pakistan rupees. International exchange markets have been putting great pressure on Pakistan to devalue its rupee. From all reports Pakistan has agreed to this and a new Dollar: p. rupee exchange rate will be fixed at an early date. This new rate will devalue the Pakistan rupee by more than fifty per cent. This will put up Pakistan's daily war expenditure too by half-a-crore p. d. Debt repayment will become more expensive. But exports will increase for Pakistan--provided exportable goods could be found. The war in Bangla Desh has doubtlessly cut into the supply of two easily exportable commodities—Jute and Tea. That will make things very difficult for Pakistan. Even devaluation will not rectify matters. The future of Pakistani economy is indeed bleak.

Formation of Pakistan Part of Freedom Movement

The Muslims of pre-partition India took a very active part in the struggle for freedom

and political independence. There were many outstanding members of the Muslim community who marched shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the Indian people to achieve liberation from British imperialism. When the demand for a separate state was made by Mr. Jinnah and his followers, the idea was to set up a free and self-governing political entity in which the Muslims of India will be able to live and progress according to their own special inclinations. A free and self-governing Islamic state was the declared objective of Jinnah's party. It was, for all purpose, a part of the general mass movement for the achievement of political freedom for the peoples of the subcontinent. If, therefore, the Muslims of India had been put under an autocratic Badshah, a Moghul or a Pathan of royal blood, that would not have been acceptable as liberation of the people. So Pakistan was created as a self-governing dominion in 1947, and, later on it was declared to be an Islamic Republic. A republic can not be considered to be any type of an autocracy or dictatorship. So that the military dictatorship that Yahya Khan (Ayub Khan before him) has set up does not fulfil the purpose of the partition of India. For all we know Yahya Khan may try to organise Pakistan as an integral part of the United Arab Republic, Turkey or the peoples Republic of China. When the Germans invaded Poland, Russia occupied that country as a matter of protecting the rights of the people of Poland. In the same way if Yahya Khan brings in Chinese, Turkish or Iranian soldiers in East Bengal, India should be justified in invading that country with a view to protect the rights of the people of that country. As it is, Yahya Khan has imported numerous persons of alien origin into East Bengal who are killing, dishonouring, enslaving and driving out the original inhabitants of the territory. He may

say that his men are Pakistanis and Bangla Desh is Pakistan ; so he is doing nothing wrong. But the people of East Bengal are also Pakistanis, and what right has Yahya Khan to annihilate them and to settle other Pakistanis in their home land ? In Yahya Khan's elections, held sometime ago, these East Bengal people were recognised voters. What right have the barbarian marauders of West Pakistan to kill them and to occupy their country ? And what is the position of the Turks, the Iranians, the Americans and others who are helping them to commit these inhuman atrocities ?

Namoodripad Compares Two Bengals

Materialism and metaphysics have no easily perceptible affinity ; But apparently the habit of making vague and general speculative conjectures can be found in materialists as it is found in persons groping in the unknown wilderness of abstractions. Mr. Namoodripad has discovered that the case of East Pakistan or Bangla Desh is comparable to the case of West Bengal. For both Yahya Khan and Sreemati Indira Gandhi have made use of

soldiers to deal with a political problem. Yahya Khan has used soldiers to suppress the Awami League and Indira Gandhi has done the same to suppress the C. P. M. Mr. Namoodripad's talent for discovering obscure values and correlations is undoubtedly remarkable ; but we think he has done an injustice to the C. P. M. by putting them in the same class with the rebels of Bangla Desh. The CPM never declared war on India. Sm. Indira Gandhi is a person of cultured preferences. She cannot be compared to a brute of low instincts like Yahya Khan any more than Sree Namoodripad can be compared to Adolf Hitler for the reason that the latter called his Nazi Hordes National Socialist Workers Party. In fact total materialism is not suitable soil for cultivating the rare flowers of poetic comparison. Mr. Namoodripad has attempted a figurative approach to a grossly materialistic act namely painting a persona non grata in dark colours. But all that he has succeeded in achieving has been that he has stated very clearly how terribly he dislikes Yahya Khan. Shree Namoodripad thinks that Yahya Khan is as bad as Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Greater condemnation Namoodripad cannot contemplate !



IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

(23)

A meeting was held at Bichitra on the 24th of April, 1918. The card announced a discussion on various topics. Reaching Jorasanko we discovered that there were no other ladies among the arrivals. We met Pratima Devi upstairs, where we noticed a subtle change in the hall's lighting arrangements. Instead of the usual shaded electric bulbs, there were rows of large, multi-coloured and delicately painted Japanese lanterns illuminating the whole area. We also met Meera Devi's son and daughter, but Neetu, who would prattle on sweetly in Santiniketan, was not his usual self. He gave us a shy smile and ran away somewhere. Nandita had then just learnt to walk and was busily toddling about, tearing out the flowers from all the vases the malis had decorated. She even gave us a song with a flower in her hand. Rabindranath entered the room about this time. As we went near to touch his feet he said, "Hullo, so you have come! Each day I feel like paying you a visit, but the political activities around here keep me very busy." He was not looking well, at all. His superhuman will power helped him to suppress his personal grief and anxiety and forced him to carry on with the demands of the outside world, but the marks of this struggle were not easily hidden and often would they stand out in his tired face.

After a few minutes he went downstairs again, calling out to his grand-daughter, "although you have dressed up for the occasion, I can not allow you to the meeting."

More and more guests started arriving and the meeting finally began at about seven-thirty. When the gentlemen began to gather upstairs, Rabindranath came near us to say, "you may go now and occupy your thrones." We were sitting in the area reserved for gentlemen and therefore had to get up and go to our allotted seats.

The 'various topics' turned out to be music, vocal and instrumental, and also poetry-reading. The three ladies who played the instruments were Indira Devi, Nalini Devi and Arundhati Sircar. The singers had the poet among them, together with Ajit Kumar Chakravarty and another unknown gentleman. The poetry-reading was done entirely by the poet, who had chosen one new poem and another we had heard before. The meeting ended with playing of the moonlight sonata. Afterward, we sat down and chattered away to our hearts content. At about nine-thirty we pushed through the crowd of admirers, to bid the poet good bye. As I bent down to touch his feet, he looked up at me and said, "By the way, what did you do with those

rope-string shelves I gave you?" I told him that they were brought home, intact. The gentlemen around him looked puzzled and intrigued by our conversation. We reached home very late that night.

On the first of May there was another session of the Bichitra. It began with songs by Dinendranath. Rabindranath spoke on poetry in general and read out one of his new poems. He requested the younger poets present there to read some of their works, but none were willing to do so. "This is rather like our ladies' literary meetings in the Ashram!" remarked Meera Devi.

A Parsee gentleman named Bomanji and the English principal of Rangpur College were also present there, so the poet read out a few poems in English to entertain them. Someone else wished to hear "Bidai Abhishap" so he read that out also. Afterwards he recited another of his new poems.

Later, a gentleman read out "Tomar shankho dhulai porey" from 'Balaka'. We were not very pleased with his manner of reading after listening to the poet's recitations.

We went upstairs to sit with Meera Devi in her room and on the way, saw the poet talking to some of the visitors. He stopped us to say in mock concern that if father called on him too often the government might not grant him a passport. We returned home late after a long chat with Meera Devi.

A couple of days later we got to know that the poet's foreign tour had been cancelled. It was the last phase of the Great War. Rumours were spreading that German battleships and submarines have been sighted in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Probably due to strong pressure from his friends and relatives the poet agreed to stop his tour abroad.

We were invited to the poet's birthday celebrations on the 25th of Baisakh. It was

probably the 8th or 9th of May, 1918. We had attended a pre-wedding luncheon for a young neighbour of ours and returned home rather late. A gusty storm lashed out afterwards, dimming our hopes of visiting Jorasanko. However, the sky cleared up in the evening and we were off. The seating arrangements were done inside the drawing-room of Sri Gaganendranath Tagore. The Bichitra hall upstairs was getting ready for the formal dinner to be held afterwards. Most of the guests were yet to come, so we went and sat with Pratima Devi in her room. We also visited Ena Devi, who was lying ill in another room. When the meeting was about to start we returned to the house at No. 5, with a little girl as our guide. Rabindranath entered the room about the same time. Suddenly Everyone was greeting him or touching his feet or offering garlands—his younger relatives being the first ones to gather around him. When the garlands became burdensome the poet protested, "No, I refuse to carry any more of these. I accepted the ones from my grand-daughters and daughters-in-law, but I have to refuse my grandsons." The rest of us had to be satisfied with placing the garlands briefly on his hands and touching his feet. We waited for Indira Devi who arrived a bit late and then the songs began. The first two songs were sung by Pandit Bhimrao Shastri. Ajitbabu sang next and later on a chorus was sung by Srimati Suprova Koy, Roma Devi, Rabindranath and Ajitbabu. The poet Sri Satyendranath Dutta, read out a poem composed for the occasion and all of us were charmed. Rabindranath gave a brief talk on the gradual evolution of his songs and in passing, advised us against effusive emotionalism. At this a few of the gentlemen looked positively doleful and we could barely suppress our amusement. All of them were well-known, in our times, for their gushy sentimentality. Many songs

were sung afterwards, mainly from 'Mayar Khela'. With the two songs invoking rain, we could hear the deep resonance of a Mridanga from the outside. The novelist, Sri Saratchandra Chattopadhyay, who had also been invited, suddenly jumped up during the singing and rushed out of the room.

The meeting was over at about nine-thirty. Rabindranath sang the closing song, 'tobu monay rekho, jodi duray jai cholay'. The song brought tears to our eyes.

The men hurried towards the Bichitra hall as it was getting quite late. The women stayed back with the poet. After talking to the poet and bowing down to touch his feet, we followed him to the hall. I can still clearly see the beautifully decorated room. The many—splendoured Bichitra was truly wonderful that night. With the alpana and the flowers it looked celestial. Small rugs were placed all around the room, with alpana patterns before all the seats. Each guest had his name written on a card placed beneath a single lotus-bud in front of each rug. I was surprised and thrilled to see my name card beside the poet's rug.

The guests sat down after Rabindranath settled down. There was some deliberate or careless confusion with the name-cards. Miss Kamala Sarkar was to sit on the other side of the poet, but another young lady insisted on sitting in her place. The original card-holder was disappointed, the management tried to correct the mistake, but the strong willed youngwoman remained firm.

I was overjoyed to sit in such a place of honour but could hardly eat a bite. Prasannamoyee Devi sat near me and tried to encourage me to eat, by telling me stories about her childhood and her eating prowess. It did not help at all. When a gentleman wished to know why I was not eating, the poet said, 'you have not been looking after

her at all—so she is upset. Of course, I did plead with her".

There were some more songs after dinner, but it had to be brief, as it was really late. After a short chat with friends and then touching the poet's feet, we returned home after eleven-thirty at night.

12th May was a Sunday. As the Bichitra Association was to close down for summer, we held another meeting on that day. We arrived a little early to chat with some of our friends of that family. We sat down on the open terrace above the second floor. We moved about the huge building to inspect some of the unfamiliar areas. After visiting the poet's room we went back to the hall.

The hall was soon full to capacity. But somehow the session did not liven up that evening. An unknown lady-poet from a foreign land, arrived with her husband and upset the tone of the meeting. The poet had to listen to her long anecdotes and also carry on a conversation. He read out a few poems in English for her. Recitations in Bengali continued at our request and parts of 'Chirakumar Sabha' were also read out. But the poet felt quite a bit discouraged watching the blank, uncomprehending faces of the two foreign guests. A gentleman rushed up to him and suggested that he request the lady to recite her own creations. Rabindranath asked her and she agreed immediately. Opening her book of poems she stood up to recite and reeled them off one after the other, non-stop. I still remember some of those atrocious verses. We had to sit through the torture and dared not excuse ourselves from the room as the poet sat quietly listening. Finally the lady stopped her recitations and exchanging some pleasantries with her host, left with her husband. We heaved sighs of relief. We were hoping to hear some enjoyable readings afterwards, but Rabindranath was feeling tired

and the meeting had to end abruptly. We returned home soon after.

Next morning, on the 13th of May, the poet came to visit us. I was busy in the kitchen as our part-time cook was absent that day. I managed to come out to greet him and then kept shunting back and forth from the kitchen to father's sitting room. The poet spoke longingly of Shelaidah and said, "I must go back there, somehow. This place does not suit me at all. I don't think I could have written 'Gora', if I had not been in Shelaidah".

"Won't you go back to Bolpur again?" He asked me. "We shall—after the vacation", I answered. "Why, what's wrong if you return earlier?" he asked. Afterwards he discussed the particular qualities of Bankura with my mother and then talked about some renovations

for our cottage in Santiniketan. He left us soon after.

We visited Jorasanko the very next day. Mother wished to call on Kamala Devi as she had visited us twice already. We could not meet her that day as she had gone to visit her parents. We called on Pratima Devi instead. I think we met Meera Devi's grandmother that evening—she had come for a short visit to Calcutta. We sat with Rabindranath while he sipped his tea. The dining-room bore a marked Japanese influence, even the tea service looked Japanese. We asked him when he was returning to Santiniketan and he replied, "I haven't fixed the date as yet—but I shall return soon. Who else will mend the fence around your cottage there?" We returned home after some light refreshments and more conversation.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)



ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF IVAN DENISOVICH

P. M. GEORGE

The Russian author, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for his book, 'One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich,' stated in Moscow that he was afraid to visit Stockholm to receive the Nobel Prize for fear that he would be barred from re-entering Russia. Mikhail Lukonin, secretary of the Writers' Union, Moscow, remarked in Bombay that the book was without merit and written with malice. Popov, the author of the best seller, 'Steel and Slake' was of the opinion that Alexander Solzhenitsyn had painted an all black picture of Russia in his so-called satire, which was far from real. It was aimed at attracting the admiration of the West.

Solzhenitsyn was born in 1918, a year after the Bolsheviks stormed to power throughout Russia. Although he has described mainly his own experiences in 'One Day' it is not strictly autobiographical; for Solzhenitsyn, unlike his simple peasant hero, came from a 'petit bourgeois' family. After completing his ten-year school, he enrolled at the University of Rostov, where he majored in Physics and Mathematics. At the age of twenty-one he took a correspondence course in literature at the philological department of Moscow University. In 1941, the Germans invaded Russia and Solzhenitsyn was drafted into the Red Army. In 1942, he took an artillery course and became commander of an artillery battery, where he served with distinction for

three years. He was twice decorated for bravery. In February 1945, he was arrested in East Prussia on 'a political charge', and was sentenced to eight years imprisonment. For the next eight years, he was in a Russian concentration camp, where he survived the experiences he later described in 'One Day'. In 1953, after the death of Stalin, he was released from the camp but was still forced to live in exile in central Asia till 1956. Then he moved to Ryazan, married a chemistry student, and began to teach Mathematics at the local ten-year school. In his spare time, he started to write.

'One Day' was completed in 1961, but was published only in November 1962. The manuscript was sent to several magazines and was rejected by all of them. At last, it fell into the hands of the 'liberal wing' of the Soviet literary world, which felt strongly that 'One Day' should be published. They referred the matter to the central committee of the Communist Party, and the Central Committee referred it to Premier Khrushchev who is said to have read the book and personally approved its uncensored publication. Within a week of its publication in Novy Mir, a monthly Soviet literary magazine, Solzhenitsyn rocketed to international fame and his little character, Ivan, was recognised throughout the country as a touching symbol of the suffering which the Russian people had endured under the Stalinist system.

'One Day' attracted the attention of people outside Russia mainly because of its literary merit. Its ability to envelop the reader in the futile atmosphere of camp life and to make him see it through the eyes of a Russian peasant, who accepts everything, both good and evil, with enduring patience. It makes him share the experiences of Ivan Denisovich Shukov and his fellow inmates. He chills to the 17°—below—zero cold of Siberia. He sympathises with the poor peasant who wants to go home but is afraid even to think about it. He even holds his breath and joins Shukov—he had slipped a small piece of broken hacksaw blade, which could be classed as a knife, into his left mitten—in prayer, when he is being frisked. He is lost in admiration of the little people, who have been put to severe physical and moral tests, under special and extreme conditions. The little people, who preserve their human dignity, in a world that would reduce most people to the level of animals, would certainly linger in his memory. Who can forget Tiurin, who always protected his men with his chest of steel, or Senka who would never leave anyone in a jam, or Kilgas who never spoke without making a joke.

'One day in the life of Ivan Denisovich' tells a story about little people trapped in a merciless political machine. It describes a red-letter day in the life of Ivan Denisovich Shukov, from reveille to lights-out. Shukov did not show any signs of bitterness: as a matter of fact his activities almost remind me of Arnold Bennett's Henry Machin. According to the dossier, Shukov had been sentenced for high treason. He had surrendered to the Germans with the intention of betraying his country and returned from captivity to carry out a mission for German intelligence. But what really happened was this. In February, 1942, their whole army was surrounded

on the north-west front. No food was parachuted to them. Things got so bad that they were scraping the hooves of dead horses—the horn could be soaked in water and eaten. Their ammunition was gone. So the German rounded them up in the forest, a few at a time. Shukov was in one of those groups, and remained in German captivity for a day or two. Then five of them managed to escape. They stole through the forest and marshes again, and, by a miracle, reached their own lines. The authorities did not believe their story; they were arrested. Stalin's super-sensitive secret police accused Shukov of high treason and charged that he had returned only to spy for the Germans. Confused and helpless, afraid that he would be shot if he tried to explain, Shukov 'confessed'. He was sentenced to ten years in a Siberian concentration camp.

Shukov spent the first seven years of his term in the North. For three years he hauled logs for packing cases and railroad ties. Their chief made it a rule that any squad that had failed to meet its quota had to stay in the forest after dark. "They'd dragged themselves back to the camp in the early hours but had to be in the forest again next morning." Life in this camp was better. Then the shift was over, they went back to the camp whether their job was done or not. And each prisoner got three ounces more bread than he got at Ust-Izhma. Shukov was the smartest prisoner in the camp. At lunch, he left the fourteen bowls he'd already stacked on the table, straddled a bench, took the two filled ones from the counter, and said quietly to Pavlo rather than to the cook: "Fourteen". When the cook expostulated that he had already counted fourteen, Shukov shouted: "See you did, but you didn't pass them out. You kept your hands on them". Then he shoved two bowls into the hands of the Estonians and

challenged the cook to count the bowls. Shukov got one of the bowls he had 'swiped'.

Shukov worked hard and was proud of it. At his village of Temgenovo there were no brick houses. All the cottages were built of wood. But the camp needed masons and Shukov, glad to oblige, became a mason. 'For a mason a trowel is a serious matter—if it's light and easy to handle. But there was a rule that wherever you worked you had to turn in every evening the tools you'd been issued that morning; and which tool you got the next day was a matter of chance. One evening, though, Shukov had fooled the man in the tool store and pocketed the best trowel; and now he kept it hidden in a different place every evening, and every morning, if he was put to laying blocks, he recovered it.' That day, before starting the work, they decided to make the machine room warmer by boarding the three big windows. Shukov's scrounged a fine roll of roofing felt and closed the windows. It was a criminal offence. When the building-foreman, Der, noticed it, he was told by Tiurin, the squad leader: "If you say one word, you blood-sucker, it'll be your last day on earth." When Shukov was working, all his memories and worries faded; he thought only of his work. After dinner that day, they laid cement blocks on the second-story walls. Shukov made no mistakes. The blocks varied. If any had chipped corners or broken edges or lumps on their sides, he noticed it at once and saw which way up to lay them and where they would fit best on the wall. He worked so fast that he had no time to wipe his nose. Even after Tiurin had asked him to sling the mortar over the wall, Shukov continued his work. Even eight years in a camp did not change his nature. "He worried about anything he could make use of, about every scrap of work he could do—nothing must be wasted without

good reason". That night they were fed in accordance with the work they had done. Some got six ounces, some nine, and Shukov twelve. When they reached the camp, he told Tsezar: "I'll run straight to the parcels office and keep a place in line for you." For that he got Tsezar's bowl also. Shukov did private jobs to get money, making slippers out of customers' rags—two rubles a pair—or patching torn jackets, price by agreement.

Solzhenitsyn has given vivid sketches of several prisoners. Many of them were ex-POWs, who passed as spies in their dossiers. Most of the prisoners are admirable, a few are contemptible. Who would not like to work under Tiurin, the squad leader of the 104th? To the squad he was a father; for them he was a pawn. He was a true son of the Gulag and knew their ways through and through. As he was the one who fed them, he could make his men work even during the break. But he never made them work for nothing. He protected his men with his own chest of steel. On that day, the authorities decided to send the 104th to the Socialist Way of Life, but Tiurin averted that danger. Alyosha, Shukov's clean and tidy neighbour, was happy because he was in prison. There he got time to think about his soul. He spent all his Sundays praying with the other Baptists. They shed the hardships of camp life like water off duck's back. They had been given twenty-five years each for praying to God. Buinovsky was a former Commander who still couldn't get his destroyer out of his system. As he was used to giving orders, he spoke to everyone as if in command. Though he had grown haggard, he kept his bearing. When the prisoners were frisked, he accused the guards of not behaving like communists; and was awarded ten days in the guard house. There were two Estonians who hung onto each other so closely that you'd think one would suffocate unless he

breathed the same air as the other. They shared everything—One of them wouldn't spend even a pinch of tobacco without consulting the other. Senka was the wisest of them all; he would not leave anyone in a jam. If you show your pride too much, he said you are lost. Tsezar was well off and got two parcels a month. He greased every palm that had to be greased, and worked in the office in a cushy job, as assistant to the rate inspector. Then there was Kilgas who never spoke without making a joke and was popular with the whole squad for it. He received two food parcels a month and looked as ruddy as if he wasn't in camp at all.

We have nothing but contempt for the Barrack Commander, Der, and Fetikov. The Barrack Commander was a thug with a criminal record. Everyone was afraid of him. He betrayed some of the prisoners to the guards and walloped the rest himself. Der was a foreman, who treated his fellow prisoners worse than dogs. Fetikov had three children at home but when he was sentenced they disclaimed him and his wife married again. So he got no help from anyone. He used to collect cigarette butts, break them up and filter the unsmoked tobacco onto a piece of paper and smoke it. He was a past master at cadging, but lacked the courage to swipe anything. As he was a lazy fellow, Tiurin sent him to a place where the number of blocks he handled was counted separately.

Earlier people were lucky: everyone to a man got ten years. But from 1949 onward the standard sentence was twenty-five, irrespective. Shukov's term was nearly over, but he had his doubts about it. Those zeks who finished their time during the war had all been "retained pending special instructions" and had been released only in 1946. The law was made to stand on its head, and those serving three-year sentences were kept for

another five. Corruption was rampant in the camp. The prisoners were robbed at the place of work, in the camp and in the warehouse. And those who did the robbing did not swing picks. Those who swung the picks took what they gave them. Every zek who got a parcel had to give and give, starting with the guard who opened it. On this day, 104th was cheated at the supply depot. Instead of four twenty-five ounce loaves they got only three. The food supplied was fit only for animals. Usually they got magara twice a day. Oatmeal was considered as a treat. Generally, the evening stew was thinner than that at breakfast: if they were to work, prisoners should be fed in the morning, in the evening they would go to sleep anyway. The prisoners slept on saw dust mattresses as hard as boards from long wear. Only if the temperature was 41° or less they were not sent out for work. On this day temperature was—17.5°. Apart from sleep, the only time a prisoner lived for himself was ten minutes in the morning at breakfast, five minutes over dinner, and five at supper. The evening count ended at ten; and at five O'clock next morning, they hounded you out of the bunk, with the first clanging of the rail. Even on Sundays the prisoners were not allowed to rest. They'd invent something, fixing up baths, or building a wall somewhere, or cleaning up the yard.

Why you might wonder, should prisoners wear themselves out, working hard, ten years, on end, in the camps? They could refuse to work. To outsmart you they thought up work squads. Everything was so arranged in the camp that the prisoners egged one another on. If you worked hard you all got a bit extra; if not you all croaked. If one was lazy, those who wanted that extra compelled him to work.

Though the miserable condition of the prisoners in a Siberian concentration camp is

vividly described it is the human beings who attract more attention. Probably, Solzhenitsyn, who had suffered imprisonment for eight years, began the novel with the intention of exposing the miserable condition of one of Stalin's forced-labour camps, but the artist in him diverted his attention, and he created a small almost flawless classic about the camp inmates. If the intention of the writer had been to attract the admiration of the West ; he would have described one day at Ust-Izhma where conditions were worse, and would not have selected the smartest prisoner, whose term was nearly over, as his title character, and narrated the events that took place in a red-letter day in his life. More than that, there are only three direct references to the political situation in the novel :

"In the room a prisoner shouted : "D'you mean to say you think Old Whiskers (Stalin) will take pity on you ? Why, he wouldn't trust his own brother. You haven't a chance, you ass."

"They were an unlucky group too. What harm did they do anyone by praying to God ? Every damn one of them had been given twenty-five years."

"But for whose sake am I here ? Because we weren't ready for war in forty-one ? For that ? But was that my fault ?"

Popov complained that there was not even one ray of light in Solzhenitsyn's picture of Russia. But the intention of the writer had never been to paint a picture of Stalinist Russia ; it was rather to tell a story about a concentration camp and its inmates. Their moments of sorrow as well as moments of joy are described. When they overtook the column from the machine works they were elated. "As elated as a rabbit when it finds it can still terrify a frog". At bed time, on that day, Shukov was in such good spirits that somehow he was not in a mood for sleep. We should remember the fact that the novel ends on a note of satisfaction : "A day without a dark cloud. Almost a happy day."



SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

Kirki Fort.

On the 3rd day, we reached Kirki in our boat. There is a small Fort here and the Oxus enters here into Soviet Uzbekistan and both sides of the Oxus here are Soviet Land. We finally bade adieu to Afghanistan, from a distance of half the span of Oxus River. From here onwards, Afghanistan was not in our view at all.

The Fort was and is important from the point view of the defence of Soviet Land or Uzbekistan from the Oxus. It may also be a point of offensive from Soviet Land. But in 1920, it assumed much importance as this Fort of Kirki was besieged by the anti-Soviet Turkomans and in the successful defence of it some Indian Mahajareens took active and prominent part. There were about sixty Indian Mahajareens including Soukat Usmani, a colleague of mine in the Meerut Conspiracy (1930-34) and Rafiq Ahmad of Bhupal. The latter was honoured by the Soviet Land on the occasion of the Great October Revolution in 1967. The Indian Mahajareens about 60 in number were given the dangerous task of defending the trenches, dug outside the Kirki Fort and on the bank of the Oxus. It was a difficult job, specially, because of the freezing cold there in mid winter.

The defenders were about 300 Turkomans and 60 Indian Mahajareens and the besiegers were about 5000 strong, and about a similar number had assembled, across the river Oxus. The Fort was successfully defended till reinforcements came with guns by steamer to relieve the defenders and then to mount an offensive on the Turkoman rebels, who fled from both banks of the Oxus.

This is part of history and Shaukat Usmani, gave some details in his book from "Peshawar to Moscow".

We halted for the night under the shadow of the Fort of Kirki. We spent a few hours strolling on the streets of Kirki and around the Fort. Our desire to see the Fort from inside had to be given up due to the undesirability of probable complications in our plans to reach Moscow soon. We enjoyed the standard Eastern Muslim food i. e., Pollow, Kabab, Curry etc. We saw the Russian Fishermen also at Kirki and in larger numbers. We tried but could not find out, when a steamer would be available there. Journey by boat was no doubt very enjoyable but the delay in making arrangements for proceeding to Moscow, was a source of constant worry to us. Therefore our eager enquiry about steamers, but we had no luck there either.

Kirshi.

Our next stop was at Kirshi, a few miles ahead, but we learnt that if we left the boat and travelled by horse driven carriages, we could reach Charjui in a single night, and from there it would be possible to travel by Railway which had been partly repaired from Tashkent and Bokhara up to that place viz. Charjui, an important Railway centre of that area.

Road to Charjui.

So bidding adieu to the boat and the river Oxus, we started in the evening from Kirshi in four carriages each drawn by a couple of horses towards Charjui. We were told that, that region had been freed from the Basmachis or Turkoman rebels or robbers. The open hackney carriages were driven by the coach-

men for the whole night and the road was only a road in name. We danced in the carriages but because of the good meal we had taken at Kirshi, we were sleeping in the carriages. And then the coachmen started falling asleep and the carriage horses also followed their example. The horses were moving on their own, as the coachmen were asleep, through waste land and the road we followed was an apology for a road. We ourselves and the coachmen were sleeping or at least dozing. The journey lasted throughout the night and the road was lit by the stars only.

On several occasions, the carriages fell on their side together with us and our heavy luggage and also with the coachmen and the horses. The coachmen said the horses were falling asleep, in spite of the whips. Every time any carriage toppled over on its side, all the other carriages would also stop, till the upturned carriage was put back on the wheels again and all luggage put properly in the carriage and tied down safely. I also fell with the carriage once but was not injured nor was anyone else hurt during the whole night's journey. Some carriages fell over this way 2 or 3 times. In the late morning we arrived at Charjui, after halting at a way side tea shop and taking our breakfast and easing ourselves in the open fields as real villagers do.

Charjui.

It was a town which was rapidly getting back to its normal and former position of importance. It was more important than as troops and people from Moscow, Tashkent, Bokhara etc., could come up to that place by Railway. We went to the Railway Station and kept our things in the Station, which was not fully repaired yet. But the sight of a Railway Station, with Engines, emitting smoke and moving to and fro for shunting, was a thrilling event for us. We felt much

encouraged. The Iron Horses (which did not sleep) revived our drooping spirits. Never before or after had the sight of a live engine had such an inspiring effect on my morale.

Long and protracted negotiations started with Soviet and Railway authorities and the Devil knows how many other authorities. Ultimately, we got the clearance in the afternoon. We would be put in a ballast wagon and would be carried to the city of Bokhara in about two days—a distance of only about 100 Kilometers. It was slow but much quicker than any conveyance we had used so far after leaving Kabul. We had to load the wagon ourselves, as porters were not available. When we started carrying the luggage, some of them proved really very heavy, and most unfortunately, it started raining and snowing. The rain drops were falling, but in the air they were turned into clay like snow—neither snow flakes nor hail. They did not hurt, but our hands were benumbed with cold. By rubbing our hands briskly together, we would get over the numb sensation. One half of a Wagon was allowed to us and our luggage almost filled it up. But we arranged our luggage so skilfully, that we could spread our beds on them and sleep; which we did very soundly later on.

To Bokhara by Rail.

Because of the journey by Rail our worries had diminished by 90% and we could forget the jolting of the ballast wagon in the hope of reaching Moscow soon. The span between the two rails, I noticed, was 6 feet and not 5.6 as in Indian Railways, not to speak of meter gauge of 3.4 or the still smaller Martin's 2'ft span. The speed was about ten to fifteen kilometers per hour, but the train stopped at almost all stations on route or even at other places in between the stations to collect the empty wagons, all along the line, which had been left there on the down journey,

loaded with rails, couplings, wheels springs sleepers and all other kinds of railway materials. The train also collected and posted men needed for the repair of the lines and making them serviceable, at least partly. The shunting of the empty wagons and tagging them to the Train took most of the time and at places, we had to wait for hours. There were a few Russian railway technicians at Charjui, but none at the way side stations. we passed our time in hope and expectations and time flew as if we were flying in an aeroplane.

The villages were, as in the rest of Uzbekistan, that we had seen from Termez onwards or for that matter, as in the environs of Kabul. The villagers lived in poor dwellings with thatched roof, with a few occasional brick built houses, with tiles on top. It was winter and no crops were in the fields and sheep were grazing there. The trees were leafless and the men and women were busy preparing for the lean winter months. Their dresses were of the old type, but the workers in railways had coats and trousers and old shoes, with no socks and of course no hats or ties, but only turbans. During the day, the children would flock round to see the ballast trains move on, with wonder in their eyes, just as in Indian villages. We could get fairly good meals on the wayside stations, but the waiting for hours started to get on our nerves. When the train moved, even at bullock cart speed we would feel happy, but waiting motionless in the train proved very tiring. The villages of Uzbekistan, passed one by one in rapid or slow succession, before our eyes when the train was in motion, like scenes in a motion picture. We spent, as far as I remember, two nights and one day in the train. As each revolution of the wheel of the wagon, in which we were living, brought us nearer to Bokhara, the time passed

rather swiftly. When nearing Bokhara, we could see a change with better types of houses and surrounding gardens of the rich or ex-rich landlords and officials.

Bokhara

At last we reached Bokhara, and we were very agreeably surprised to find a few officials of the Government of Bokhara, who were at the Railway Station to receive us. It was about a week, after we crossed the Russo-Afghan Border at Termez and this was the first time that we got any official reception worth the name. So long, we were on our own and spending money of our own for our living and transport. Our days of suspense were at last over after a week. We were taken to a specious bungalow, which was given to us for living. It had several big rooms, furnished with good and costly Persian Carpets. There was a beautiful garden round the Bungalow, surrounded by a wall and also a canal with running water, entering through an opening of the surrounding wall from one side and going out through another, as I had seen in Kabul and Mazare-I-Sharif and other places. This had belonged to some rich landlord previous to the Revolution and had been confiscated by the Government, and was being used as a Guest House for V. I. P.'s. So at last we were recognised as V.I.Ps. The flower garden was in a bad shape, but none-the-less, we felt, specially the Moulana, very happy at last, for being recognised and accepted as important guests of the Government.

We were given rations for all of us for our food, as well as 2/3 servants for cooking and cleaning for us, we had to be in Bokhara for a week or so and we lived quite comfortably, freed both from economic and political stress.

Shell Hit Mosque

The first thing that attracted my attention after going to Bokhara, was that the biggest Mosque there had, two big holes in the

100 foot tower, at about a height of 60 ft. These were caused by shelling by guns of the Army of Revolution, when driving out the Ameer of Bokhara. It was caused by canon balls aimed at the Fort. I wondered why no communal riot developed there, as a result of this damage to the Mosque, which is usually taken as a sacrilege by the religious people. And why this was not repaired soon and kept so long as an open sore for all to see them. I learnt that the shells fell accidentally while shelling the fortress of the Ameer whom the ordinary people simply detested for his oppression and also for living lavishly with his big harem of 3/4 hundred women, while the people starved.

Reward of Bokhara

The roads were broader and cleaner than in Kabul but were quite comparable otherwise. Bokhara was one of the most beautiful cities under the Moghul Emperors and one of them had promised a gift of beautiful Bokhara with grandiose Samarkhand, for the pleasure of seeing the dimple in the cheek of his beloved queen, who was a paragon of beauty. "I shall make a gift of Samarkhand and Bokhara." Babax Samarkand Bokara he had proclaimed.

The Persian poem raises one's expectation, sky high, but in reality, what we saw, could not by any stretch of imagination, be compared with "Behest" "Agar Das Dunia Behest Ast, Hamin Ast."

"If there be any heaven on earth it is here, it is here".

These must have been the flight of poetic imagination of lovers, who were rich and perhaps, under the influence of strong liquor.

Bokhara Ancient and Modern

Bokhara was not only one of the most beautiful cities under the Magul Emperors, but it was also an important centre of ancient International Trade, both North and South (Central Europe to India), but also East-West

(China, Tibet to Persia, Arab, Turkey, Rome etc.) It was the clearing house for trade for centuries and was the cause of its prosperity. Along with prosperity came development of culture, specially Islamic culture. In Islam there are two important books, one is of course, the Quoran Shareef, or the book containing the Revelations, through the mouth of Mahammad, Rasulalla, the Prophet, sent by God.

The other is the Hadij, or Biography, the Record of the Life the Prophet. When the Quoran Shareef is silent on any point, devout Muslims, take their decisions from the Hadij or the life history of the Prophet, how he reacted or behaved in a particular situation. These have been kept on record by various persons from different countries, who were contemporaries of the Prophet. These were collated by learned Muslims and two of the most reliable and exhaustive Hadijes were written by Muslim scholars of Bokhara. People from far and near used to come to Bokhara to study Islam. For centuries Bokhara was thus the most important religious and cultural centre for Islam, second only to Mecca Shareef. It was comparable to Baranasi of the Hindus. Moulana Obeidulla was most happy to visit the different Mosques which were the cultural centres, where hundreds of students used to come for higher studies in Islamic Religion from all over Asia and Africa. There were primary and secondary schools also. Mosques were not only places for worship, but also regular centres for studies. Collections in Mosques used to be spent for the students, who were taught not only free of charge, but all the expenses of their boarding lodging and dress were borne by the Mosque. The numerous halls and rooms in the Mosque compound served as their lodging and boarding houses. Moulana usually asked me to accompany him, when he used to go to Mosques.

The talks were mostly in Persian, which I well understood, but sometimes in Arabic also, which was Greek to me. I don't know exactly why the Moulana invariably chose me as his companion in those centres of Muslim religion and culture, which were invariably connected to or lodged in the Mosques. It may be because he did not wish to discriminate between his Muslim and Hindu companions or colleagues. Or perhaps he wanted to impress me with the ancient glory of Islam, or perhaps others were not much interested in these excursions, as they were more interested in sight-seeing. But his nephew was an exception as Moulana needed him always for personal needs. I was most grateful for this and was really much impressed, by the ancient system of Islamic education and culture which then still persisted. The students studied not only the Quaran Shareef and the Hadijes, but also Philosophy, History, Geography, Mathematics, Science both preliminary and advanced. The ages of students were from infants of 5/6 years to adults of 25/30 years and a few much older. The higher students were in the Colleges or shall I say Universities of the mosques. This reminded me of the century old Tol or Chatuspathy we had in our own home, in Khulna. I noticed a little difference in Islam, the teaching institutions, were centered in mosques, whereas amongst the Hindus, the teaching institutions were not centered round any temple. It may be that there are so many sects, as Shaibas, Saktas, Baishnabs, that teachings had to be independent of any temple or sect or cult, so that Hindu people of all sections could get their education there.

Moulana's talks and enquiries were mostly about the Soviet System of Government and the reactions to it of the muslims specially of teachers and students of Bokhara and surrounding Islamic countries and their people. It was most favourable to the Soviets.

Under the Czars.

Formerly, education, specially secondary and higher education, was through the medium of Russian, which was compulsory. Studying books in Persian, which was the mother tongue of the people was taboo, except of course the religious books. Printing books in Persian, needed Government's permission which was not easy to obtain. Though not actually forbidden, it was discouraged and difficulties were created for publication of books etc. in Persian. In this respect the Czars were more crude in their Imperialist expansion than the British. Under the Soviets, the policy was reversed and printing of books in Persian, was encouraged and financially helped. All education was through the Persian language and learning Russian was optional and secondary. Books in Persian for studying History, Geography, Mathematics, Economics, Science etc., were non-existent and systematic and vigorous attempts were being made to print such books, specially text books for schools and colleges. Moulana naturally did not like the anti-religious attitude of the Soviets, but he was very much impressed by this attitude followed in concrete action of the Soviets, in economic and cultural matters.

Once we were sitting in the biggest Mosque in Bokhara (name I can not recall) but it had the tallest minar or tower about 100ft. high, which had been hit at two places by canon balls and had the gaping wounds visible above the other houses of the town and visible from miles away. Moulana asked mischievously, I suppose, what was their reaction to the sacrilege of damaging their Mosque Minar. The Moslem Divines instead of resenting it, were apologetic and explained that it happened only accidentally, while bombarding the fortress of the Ameer. The canons were fired no doubt by the Russian guns, and

gunners, but under the command of their Bokhara leader Khowja Faizulla. It had the desired effect also. As long as the guns were not brought by the Russians, on fervent request by the Khowja Faizullah, the Ameer though surrounded by the insurgents sat tight in the Fort, which was also his residence. It was difficult to take the Fort by direct assault and it would have been very expensive in human lives. But when the guns boomed and the shells fell in the Fort and on the Fort walls the Ameer realised that his doom was near. He had either to surrender or escape, though it was risky. Being a clever man he chose the latter course and at dead of night managed to escape, with some of his harem and fabulous hoard of gold, with the help of his soldiers, who were still faithful.

It was the acid test applied by the Moulana. It is always a sore point for any religious people, and specially for the Muslims, when their religious places are damaged or desecrated. Here the Russian Soviets passed the test with credit. Both the Maulana and myself were deeply impressed by what we learnt in those Mosque interviews

and discussions. These were the people, who were most interested in Islamic religion and culture and were in fact custodians of the same. When they took such a view point and an almost benevolent attitude to the anti-religious Bolsheviks, the attitude of the common men, who were more concerned, about their living, than religion, can be well understood.

What impressed the common man was that they had perfect freedom to say their prayers in the Mosques and outside and also to earn their living by trade, industry and agriculture. More-over the Russians in the Ameer's employment were withdrawn and the Cabinet of Khowja Faizulla's National Soviet did not include a single Russian. There were a few Russians as consultants and advisers, but not in any executive posts. There was a small contingent of Russian soldiers, only to train the Bokhara people in technical matters, as in using the modern big guns and machine guns etc. Formerly, the Ameer was virtually under the thumb of the Czarist officers, stationed there.



SOCIAL JUSTICE OR SHOW-SOCIALISM ?

Sreemati Indira Gandhi's objective of removing poverty is nationally necessary and praiseworthy. But her methods are progressively appearing to be formulated by incapable bureaucrats, who can only think of getting more power in their own inefficient hands through a program of nationalisations in every branch of the nation's economy. Added to this, these bureaucrats have thought of a many pronged attack on wealth and incomes as an essential part of their propaganda and playing to the gallery. In this way they have thought of ceilings for owning house property, for incomes, for owning gold ornaments and so on and so forth. They have overlooked the fact that their objective is "Garibi Hatao" and not "Amiri Hatao", and that if all Amirs were reduced down to the economic level of the peasants, the unskilled workers and the street beggars ; the average per capita income of the Indian people will not exceed Rs. 300/- per annum. The main thing to achieve is increasing the total national product and not making propaganda gestures of redistribution of wealth and equalising wages and incomes. Mrs. Gandhi's advisers cannot think out any constructive program of increasing the nation's production ; so they are playing with their ideas of a show-socialism which will not, in any way, help the nation to have more and better food, clothing, housing, education or medical assistance. That they do not get what they should is a grave social injustice which should be rectified by efforts at increased production rather than by allowing governmental emplo-

yees to get a stronger hold on the economic institutions of the nation.

C. Rajagopalachari, whose experience and knowledge can not be questioned, has said "what the nation needs and should be promised is social justice as stated clearly in the Constitution, not nationalisation of banks, expropriation of earnings, curbs on expansion of industries, all of which and allied suicidal programmes go under the comprehensive name of socialism. If the Old Congress does nothing more than repeating the same phantom plans which have given a majority to Sreemati Indira, the Congress (O) will only be strengthening Smt. Indira's position and not achieving anything towards social justice."

If milkmen can mix water with their milk, food vendors and grocers adulterate their supplies, money lenders charge one hundred twenty percent interest and shop keepers exploit their poor buyers in a merciless and unscrupulous manner ; freely and blatantly ; what good will nationalisation of banks do ? Social injustice is rampant everywhere in India. Government officials and departments are great offenders too. The police work hand in hand with law breakers, the courts hold up trial of cases for years, the railways destroy the economy through their mismanagement and the expensively organised administrative machinery function like a badly maintained and broken down machine. That being so, more power to bureaucrats or taking the advice of hair-brained party men cannot take

us anywhere. One thing is very clear. It is that we must establish social justice. And it is not through nationalisations, controls, ceilings or such like show-socialism that we shall succeed in achieving that objective. We must have a carefully prepared schedule of institutions, social habits, departmental practices and iniquitous conduct, as found in the various fields of the life of the nation and then, proceed to effect reforms, boldly and without fear or granting of favours. Rajaji further said this mock socialism that is being offered to the Indian people will not achieve social justice. All these political and economic

changes and manipulations made in the name of socialism will merely "expand the power of the State and reduce the freedom of the people, making them serfs under a totalitarian regime. The working classes in particular should realize this and understand the value of the guaranteed rights inscribed in the Constitution which are threatened by what is called socialism". Sreemati Indira is well known for her sense of realism and deep interest in the freedom of the people. She should not play into the hands of the bureaucratic power hunters who surround her.

DREAM

BIMAL JYOTI DAS

Soft sunny dreams like silver clouds of autumn
 My hours of leisure fill.
 The subject of my dreams ne'er came to life,
 But the dream remaineth still.
 What then—my realist half sometimes asks—
 What then is the use ?
 The shy, idealist half no answer makes,
 But goes on courting the the Muse.
 The earth is full of gay and gaudy shows,
 But what is in the sky ?
 Yet the lark to earth is not confined,
 Its pleasure is to fly.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

How it Started

The *Swarajya* has given a precise account of how the Pakistani civil war started in a letter written by the Calcutta correspondent of the journal. It reads as follows.

The people on this side of the border are embittered over the reign of terror that the Pakistani army has unleashed in the eastern wing in the name of national integration. A spontaneous hartal was observed on March 31 to express indignation over the brutal manner in which the Pakistan army has sought to suppress the unarmed people.

There was nothing in the six point programme of Sheikh Mujibur-Rehman which stood in the way of Pakistan's continued existence as a single political entity. What he claimed for East Pakistan was political-cum-economic autonomy within the framework of a Federation of Muslim States as adumbrated in the Lahore resolution. He showed remarkable patience and moderation in continuing negotiation with President Yahya Khan even after the firing at Joydevpur. It is now clear that President Yahya Khan's visit to Dacca and his talks with the Sheikh for days together were just a camouflage to gain time for military preparations for putting down the Awami League. The army in East Bengal was not considered adequate to deal with any uprising. In the course of negotiations, six ships carry-

ing troops are stated to have arrived. Since then reinforcements are being flown every day.

It will be wrong to call the uprising in East Bengal a civil war. It is now clear enough that the peoples of the two wings of Pakistan have not been integrated into a single nationality. The west exploited the eastern wing. What East Bengal has suffered from since 1947 is a peculiar form of colonialism serving the interests of West Pakistan's militarist-bureaucratic-industrial complex. It is against this colonialism that 75 million people are now in revolt.

Censorship imposed by the military authorities has choked all flow of news and no clear idea of what has happened or is happening inside East Bengal is available. But reports slipping through the borders make it abundantly clear that the Army is not finding it easy to control the situation. The "Bangla Desh" as the freedom fighters call it has risen to a man to resist the military might of West Pakistan. Rail and road communications have been totally disrupted with bridges blown up and rails uprooted. East Bengal is a riverine country and once the rains start things may be much more difficult for the Army. East Bengal is separated from the western wing of Pakistan by about a thousand miles and that is precisely, working to the advantage of the people of East Bengal. Even if the uprising is suppressed by force, emotionally, the two

wings appear to be drifting away from each other.

The AICC (R) Session in New Delhi

"Sentinel" writing in *Swarajya* says :

The two-day session of the AICC (Ruling) held during the week-end was a dull ritual. It accomplished little and the speeches conveyed nothing new to create the impression of a dynamic or re-vitalized organization. Though it was intended to be a "victory" session; in the wake of the massive majority secured in the Lok Sabha poll, the session commenced on a subdued note. The proceedings came to a close half a day earlier for want of speakers as well as subjects. Right from the beginning it looked like a session thrust upon the delegates. The lack of enthusiasm could be seen in the rather thin attendance registered.

The main business carried out by the AICC (R) was to complete the formality of electing Mr. D. Sanjiviah to succeed Mr Jagjivan Ram as President. Mr Sanjiviah had already been made acting President by the Working Committee in anticipation of the formal election by the delegates.

The Delhi session of the AICC was, for the most part, a get together to shower congratulations on each other on the "massive" victory won at the polls. Mrs Gandhi paid tributes to Mr Jagjivan Ram for guiding the Congress at a critical time (her thoughts were mostly about the split) and leading it to victory at the polls. Mr Jagjivan Ram, in his turn, thanked the people for returning the party with such great strength. He told the party that the credit for achieving the big victory belonged to Mrs Gandhi whose dynamism and tireless energy had brought the unprecedented success for the party. The people, he said, had voted for her leadership and the party's programmes of socialist advance.

Not to be outdone, Mr Chavan took the floor to supplement the compliments. He described Mrs Gandhi as the "architect" of the big Congress (R) victory which was due as much to the brilliant leadership they had as to the confidence among the people that here was a party that believed in "action" and was serious about implementing its 10-point programme. The people had no faith in the assurance of other parties. The result was that the other parties were routed.

The resolution on, "Pledge to the people", in fact turned into a pledge of loyalty to the Prime Minister by different speakers, Mr Chavan setting the tone. The only other important resolution approved was the one expressing full sympathy with the people of East Bengal who were fighting stubbornly to resist the military dictatorship of General Yahya Khan. Mrs Gandhi cautiously avoided the issue of recognition of "Bangla Desh" but otherwise extended the full sympathy of the people of India, in line with the unanimous resolution adopted by the Lok Sabha.

Coal Mining, a "Sick Child"

Coal Mining is a major industry of India in point of persons employed, value produced and its importance in the nation's economy. 1974 will see the 200th anniversary of this industry. The Government of India however handles the affairs of this major industry in a manner which is typical of the government's near sighted and bungling ways. H. N. Mookherjee the Chairman of Indian Mining Federation made certain revelations which are interesting and are quoted below from the *Coal Field Tribune* :

Chairman of the Indian Mining Federation Shri H. N. Mookherjee in his address in the 58th Annual General Meeting of the Federation held in Calcutta on March 26, described

the year 1970 as the "worst ever year in the Coal Mining Industry." He showed statistically that industrial production was virtually at a standstill during the period owing mainly to widespread labour unrest leading to a loss of 27 million man-days and an estimated loss in production of Rs. 150 crores.

Coal production in 1970 was said to be only 75.8 million tonnes as against 79.6 million tonnes in 1969,—a fall of 3.8 million tonnes. Quoting estimates of the Coal Controller's Organisation Shri Mookherjee stated that coal production would be approximately 5.4 million tonnes less in the current year 1970-71 than 80 million tonnes produced in 1969-70. There is thus little chance to achieve the estimated coal production target of 93.5 million tonnes in 1973-74 that is at the end of Fourth Plan. Frequent scuttling in production target may have serious repercussion in Coal Industry so far as, particularly, in respect of employment potentialities are concerned. The target at the end of Fourth Plan is apprehended by the industry to be further reduced to 85 million tonnes. This will leave no opportunity for fresh employment in Coal Industry, when employment is essential to contain growing indiscipline and lawlessness, and frustration amongst the unemployed youths.

Coal Industry is often quoted as "Sick Child". "That the Government is fully seized of the fact is proved by the appointment of one expert body after another for a close clinical investigation of the Industry's sickness. The experts have done their work expertly and submitted reports that, if acted upon, might have put the industry on the way to recovery. But the Government in its selective wisdom has picked up for implementation only such recommendations of the experts as suited at the moment. Meanwhile, the sick child continues to be sick and may soon become a subject not of clinical but of post

mortem examination". What is more curious is that, the National Coal Policy is yet to come.

Main crisis which is faced by Coal Industry is the lack of remunerative selling price of coal since decontrol in 1967. Prices of cement, iron and steel, explosives, wire ropes and other store materials which are indispensable to run a mine are rising year to year. Various taxes and cesses of the State Government and electricity rates are said to be on the increase. Various rates of wages and V. D. A. are on the incremental scale. Naturally, cost of production, also increase in price of coal is not commensurate with the leaping cost of production. Consequently profitability declines leaving no reserve fund to develop.

The problem of problems in the past year was the Railway coal transport muddle. An unprecedented crisis in rail transport resulting in all time record of coal stocks at the Pitheads amounting to about 9 million tonnes locked up working capital to the tune of about Rs. 32 crores. Magnitude of coal transport muddle is evident from the fact that against the minimum supply of 5100 wagons over Eastern Railway and 1900 wagons on the S. E. Railway a day, according to Shri Mookherjee, guaranteed by the Railways themselves, the average daily supply of wagons in 1970 was said to be only 4413 wagons over the Eastern Railway and 1473 over S. E. Railway. The position is said to have further worsened over the Eastern Railway. The average supply of wagons in January this year was said to have been 4218 while in February it came down to 3781 only.

This shortfall in wagon supply has compelled the producers to restrict production and consumers too were compelled to reduce their inventory. As the level of stocks goes down at the consumers' end the producers' Pitheads are jam-packed practically leaving no

space to dump any more coal. Many industrial units like engineering works, cement sugar and paper factories and textile mills either have slowed down their production and in some cases, even closed down due to shortage of coal. Even in Delhi alone about fifty percent of the 320 working brick kilns were closed owing to shortage of coal which otherwise would have worked full season.

Performance of the Railways is deplorable despite modernisation. Railways have dieselised and electrified most of their tracks, introduced box wagons, remodelled and expanded their various yards in order to increase operational efficiency and turnout of wagons. But in practical field, no tangible result is felt. It is curious to think that despite so much change to increase operational efficiency, a wagon is said to remain idle for 19 hours in a day. A fine specimen of operational efficiency indeed while coal stocks are accumulating in the colliery Pitheads.

The worst crisis ever Coal Industry had to face in August, 1970 was the strike by the workers of the explosive factory at Gomia. Indian Explosives Ltd. who are the monopoly manufacturers of permitted explosives in their Gomia factory and as such, the strike actually paralyzed the whole of the Coal Industry in the country when the workers went on wildcat strike in August last year and held the country to ransom. The current demand for explosives according to Shri Mookherjee "is estimated at 33,000 tonnes as against the production of 28,000 tonnes." The problem thus basically relates to a severe imbalance between demand and supply. To add fuel to this, strike by the workers of this monopoly manufacturers threatened the country's progress to a stop by hitting at the root, i. e. Coal. Politicking in such a vital point at the cost of the country's progress is a dangerous game and the very existence of the Coal Industry was left at the

mercy of a handful of misguided workers. Government, however, appears to have realised the reality and now proposed to set up a new explosive factory in the public sector. What is suggested is—the proposed new factory should be set up somewhere in a place between Dhanbad and Asansol because Jharia and Ranigunge Coalfields are the biggest consumers of permitted explosives.

Deceit Practised by Political Parties

Gora writing in *The Atheist* about the ink mark put on the fingers of voters says :

What does all this means ? The election Commission has not only to face the difficulties of enabling the mass of illiterate voters to exercise their franchise, but it has now to face the deceitful tricks of the political parties. It is a shame to the political parties. The black ink mark on the finger of the voter is a stigma on the reputation of the political parties. The political parties instead of helping the Election Commission in casting the votes, put a spoke in the workings of Election Commission. The political parties are teaching deceit to the voters instead of imparting honest political education. The sooner the political parties go, the earlier honesty can be re-established.

The ink mark stays on my finger as a constant reminder of the need to blot out the political parties.

1000 Year Old Seeds Sprout

The following was published in *Polish Facts on File* :

Polish archaeologists have grown a plant from seeds one thousand years old ? The plant is only twelve centimetres high so far. It does not resemble any plant known so far. Its intensively green leaves are shaped like tiny

horse shoes. Numerous buds indicate it will continue to develop.

The seeds from the Boguslaw Abramek, an archaeologist of the Wielun District Museum, Lodz Voivodship, grew this mysterious plant, were found at a medieval cemetery, in a well preserved grave. The seeds look something like those of white mustard but are very hard.

The Wielun plant sprouted only a week after it was sown in a flower pot containing soil enriched with mineral compounds. It was put on show at this year's exhibition of archaeological finds organised by the Wielun District Museum.

Peoples Liberation Army and Chinese Politics

Thomas O. Payne, writing in *Current Developments* about China's progress after the set back of the Cultural Revolution, says :

Most indicators pointed to continued improvement in conditions in mainland China in 1970. The greatest progress, as in 1969, was in the economic field and in the restoration of public order. In both these areas the Chinese populace seemed to respond positively to Peking directives aimed at a return to pre-Cultural Revolution normality. In other fields, however, in which the regime sought to create new norms, it encountered formidable resistance and obstacles not only among the population as a whole but within its own councils as well.

The problems facing the Chinese leadership are manifold, not the least of which are the difficulties inherent in the task of modernizing an enormous underdeveloped nation. These would be difficult for any government to cope with and, on the whole, Maoist precepts and compulsions have not made them more tractable. In addition, China is still suffering the aftereffects of the Cultural

Revolution. The factionalism, animosities, fears and suspicions engendered by the 1966-1968 period have not yet been put aside and the Party and Government apparatus remains disorganized, particularly below the national level. It is not surprising, therefore, that the regime's directives and programs in 1970 were implemented in an uneven manner at the grass roots.

These problems were compounded by the fact that the ruling group itself remains, divided, even though it removed its major political enemies over two years ago. The lines of division are complex and drawn between radicals and moderates, civilians and military men, and between regionally and centrally-based power holders. High level policy differences were evident in Peking's failure to disclose the rank-order of Politburo members, in the continued absence of at least one of these members, in the prolonged delay in holding a National People's Congress, and in the vague, compromising quality of many official directives and pronouncements.

The People's Liberation Army (PLA) remained the major source of stability and cohesion in China and was the only national system of command which remained intact. But the PLA is not monolithic ; it too shows signs of being divided along regional, generational, doctrinal and service lines. Nonetheless, it seems tied together by a strong sense of identity as a **national** elite, committed to preserving the unity and integrity of the nation and responsive in large measure to direction from the Center. In particular, the PLA high command appears to agree that it is in the best interests of their service to line up together behind Defence Minister Lin Piao.

In 1969, as new non-military Party and Government organs were established, it seemed possible that the PLA might progressively

disengage from the civilian sector. Instead, its visible presence and political power grew even more in 1970. The PLA is heavily represented in the Party Central Committee and, of even greater importance, in the CCP Politburo. It is the dominant partner in most Revolutionary Committees at the provincial level and below, and it has apparently played a commanding role in the rebuilding of the civilian Party apparatus at the grass roots.

Party rebuilding proceeded very slowly in 1970, and not until year end was the first Provincial Party Committee established. PLA men were named to the new Party Committees, and it seems likely that the military will see to it that these Committees are staffed by personnel on whom they can rely. Under the new PRC draft Constitution, which surfaced in November, the PLA will also be permanently established at the ministerial level in Peking.

Mao Tse-tung's own attitude toward the PLA's commanding presence remains unclear. During the past year, however Mao was not away, sulking in some retreat outside of Peking as he has done in the past when displeased with domestic developments and planning counter-moves. Instead, he was unusually active publicly, more often than not with Lin Piao at his side. Lin, like the PLA itself, was portrayed in national media as a paragon of Maoist virtue and loyalty. The draft PRC Constitution, in turn, enshrines him on a political pinnacle along with Mao.

Reasons Behind the Ceylonese Upheaval

We reproduce below portions of a letter written by M. G. Pillai to the *New Statesman*.

"On the face of it, the present crisis in Ceylon presents the paradox of a left-wing government menaced by a left-wing movement. In fact it is a confrontation between the landed

gentry and upper middle class, with its tight hold over the island's political and public life, and the large body of landless, unemployed, underemployed, largely educated masses. For the present, the latter have as their leaders a group of discontented students calling themselves the Janatha Vimuthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front). Popularly known as the Che Guevarists, the now banned Front blames Ceylon's troubles on the cynicism with which successive governments of whatever ideological label have glossed over its basic problem—galloping unemployment.

"Ceylon's elite which.....dominates virtually every aspect of political life, is now being brought to task for its refusal to overhaul an outdated educational system more suited to training clerks than technicians. And ironically, the situation is worsened by a welfare system which provides among other things free education from kindergarten to University. Ceylon now has 700,000 unemployed, including 15000 graduates. The three Universities add another 2000 graduates annually.

"This represents 22 percent of the total work force of between 18 and 60, but does not take in the underemployed. It is this group which forms the support base of the current insurgency, the hard core of which is no more than a few hundreds—undergraduates postgraduates and a handful of women.

"The public service.....is the main industry of Ceylon, but the government can take in only a small fraction of graduates every yearthere is little avenue open to the graduate for alternate jobs. Those lucky enough must be content with doing menial jobs on the tea, rubber and coconut plantations. However, even in the plantations, difficulties are setting in. Tea, which provides the country with 65 per cent of its foreign exchange earnings, has taken a hard knock on the world market in the past five years.

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"There is still considerable doubt about the movements real ideological links. They have been denounced as vehemently as pawns of the extreme Right as they have been accused of the extreme Left. Some draw parallels between the Front and the Naxalites of India, this no doubt reinforced by the fact that its now detained leader, Rohana Wijewera was expelled from Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University for his pro-Chinese attitudes.

"In any event, the movement appears to have gained considerable support in the countryside. This is where the threat to the present government—and by extension the whole ruling class—lies. The new-style leaders do not have 'safe' LSE or Oxbridge backgrounds. They come from working class homes and get their inspiration from Moscow, Peking and Pyonyang. They have none of

the inhibitions of even the most leftist Ceylonese politicians to-day, including the communists and Trotskyists, who basically are still prepared to work within a framework of Parliamentary Democracy and even participate in coalition governments.

"Ironically, the Front supported Mrs. Bandaranaike in her successful election bid last year, mainly because of her policies of bank nationalisation and agrarian reform. The Front saw in them a means of creating sufficient additional jobs.....But the government has shelved the bank nationalisation programme for the moment. Agrarian reform is now in the hands of the parliamentary draftsmen, but progress is slow, if only because of opposition from within the cabinet, including Mrs. Bandaranaike, who herself owns big tea and rubber plantations....."





TWO KERALA LADIES
A Rare Old, Tanjore Painting on Glass



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NOTES

Critics of Rebel Bengalis

The followers of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman are not very popular with the Pakistanis (West), the Chinese, the Anglo-Americans, the Russians, the Indian communists of certain types and with the Bengali Muslim Leaguers, the Jemaïet-el-Ulemites and other supporters of the established order. The Pakistanis (West) do not like them for the simple reason that the Awami League has been a political and moral challenge to their lawless exploitation of the 75 million Bengalis of East Bengal. The Chinese and the Anglo-Americans have been unconditional supporters of the military dictatorship of Pakistan in so far as the autocrats of Pakistan supported the unprincipled actions of these powers in the manner of a unquestioning and faithful servant. When China occupied Indian territory to build connecting roads with their Western Asian

domains, Pakistan "gave" them much land which had been within Pakistan occupied Kashmir. Pakistan also allowed the Americans to use Pakistani air fields to operate their spy planes and also to organise their spyings in Asiatic Russia about which very little is known in the outside world. The British have been the creators of Pakistan and their purpose in setting up this splinter state by amputation of certain parts of India was clearly one of low diplomacy for the reason that the British propagated the two nation theory (Hindu and Muslim) which was the basis of the partition of India and was utterly false, as has been proved to the hilt by what has happened in East Bengal. Here the West Pakistanis have been trying to dominate and exploit the East Pakistan people who are utterly different from the Western Pakistani group in race, language and culture. The West Pakistanis too are

not racially and linguistically alike as they consist of Punjabis, Pathans, Sindhis, Baluchis and immigrants from other parts of India who profess Islam and speak Urdu and various other languages of the sub-continent. The Bengalis of East Pakistan had given a fair trial to Pakistan's alleged Muslim nation theory; but they soon found out that the Muslim nation was just a camouflage for forcing the various races of Pakistan to accept a Punjabi led dictatorship of military type which tried to utilise all resources of the country mainly for the betterment of selected regions and for the advantage of particular cliques and coteries. Even where questions of life and death of thousands arose in East Pakistan, which required extensive dykes and breakwater walls to protect the peoples' lives and properties from cyclones and tidal bores, the military autocrats ignored such needs and spent all available funds for beautifying Islamabad (Rawalpindi) or for granting an enjoyable standard of living to the officials of Pakistan who were mainly non-Bengalis. East Pakistan's Jute and Tea exports however earned the major portion of the foreign exchange earnings of Pakistan.

In these circumstances, the Bengalis of East Bengal found that their share of the "advantages" of belonging to an artificially created state was utter insecurity and maximum exploitation by the military junta which ruled Pakistan. Their leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, therefore started agitation for the abolition of martial law administration and for the establishment of a democratic regime in East Bengal. The urgency of this was magnified by the callous inaction of the martial law administration after the great cyclone in East Bengal, when the stricken population were left without any help or assistance for weeks, although the World emphasised the necessity for succour widely and in great detail. It is believed that even

resources provided by generous outsiders for the benefit of the victims of the cyclone were utilised by the martial law administrators for military purposes.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman cooperated with General Yahya Khan as much as he could; but the general was hardly in the mood to reciprocate in this field. He ordered elections apparently only for the appeasement of public opinion; but when his nominees were defeated utterly by the Awami League nominees, he lost no time in attacking the prominent sections of the anti-martial law civil population with a view to liquidate all opposition to his military might. Pretending to hold a conference he arrested and carried off Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from Dacca to Islamabad in fetters and let loose a fierce and bestial reign of terror on the educated classes of East Bengalis in which 50000 persons were massacred in 48 hours in Dacca among whom were thousands of hand picked academicians, literateurs, poets, composers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, engineers and students. School boys were lined up and machine gunned, professors and teachers were picked out and shot, girl students were abducted in their hundreds and handed over to the soldiers of Yahya Khan and worker's dwellings were burnt down and the fleeing residents forced back into the flames in a sadistic manner which has no parallel in history for its inhuman ferocity. After that initial carnage; killing, arson, rape and the chasing out of lawful residents of towns and villages continued unabated until the number of killed exceeded half-a-million, abducted women could be counted in tens of thousands and people forced out of their homeland into neighbouring countries were estimated to be over six million.

In these circumstances when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is criticised for acting in a manner which is breaking up the Pakistani

nation ; one has to point out that the Sheikh had at no time 'propagated' any ideas of dissolution of Pakistan. He merely wanted a democratic civil government run by an elected majority and Yahya Khan had followed similar ideas until he suddenly decided to continue with his military autocracy. The shooting and the breaking up of the civil set up of East Pakistan was not carried out by Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's men but by the soldiers of Yahya Khan. The same soldiers have deliberately carried out a plan of which the aim was to reduce the Bengali population of East Pakistan (Hindu and Muslim) so far down as would make the Bengalis a minority in Pakistan. The chasing out of six million persons was one way of achieving this objective. The Pakistan radio is constantly reiterating that the refugees from that country do not number even a hundred thousand ; which is a mere preliminary to their planned refusal to readmit the refugees back into Pakistan.

Another criticism that one hears is that the Sheikh's followers started the fight in Dacca. At midnight on March 25, 1971 the Sheikh was holding a conference with Yahya Khan. The fight started at that hour and that was the hour when the Sheikh was arrested and carried away by plane to Islamabad. The preplanned massacre of Bengalis also took place at the same time. These facts prove conclusively that the whole guilt rested on Yahya Khan's men. There are numerous neutral witnesses who have testified to the truth of these happenings.

Any responsibility for the disintegration of Pakistan should belong firstly to those who created that state by falsely assuming the existence of a Muslim nation in India. The Panjabis, the Pathans, the Baluchis, the Bengalis, the Sindhis and the Urdu speaking Muslims were not of one race or one cultural group. The Panjabis tried to dominate all

other Muslims of Pakistan and the disintegration of that loosely knit political body took place naturally due to the selfishness of the military clique which ruled Pakistan. The terrorism practised by Yahya Khan's men has made the reintegration of Pakistan an impossibility.

Pretention of Normalcy in Bangladesh

When big powers decide to ignore facts and to condone great crimes against human communities they pretend that nothing unusual has happened and hope that they will succeed in letting things blow over by their deliberate policy of putting the telescope to their blind eye. The Bangladesh affair is a terrible crime against humanity committed by the military rulers of Pakistan and their victims are the 75 million Bengalis of East Pakistan the majority of whom are Muslims by religion. General Yahya Khan's soldiers have shot down thousands of innocent men, women and children, raped thousands of women, set fire to entire built up residential areas, shelled towns and villages occupied solely by non-combattant civilians, poisoned wells, destroyed crops and generally terrorised the people of East Bengal to an extent which has forced about six million of them to flee their homeland.

This is not something that has just happened by force of circumstances. It is a great crime deliberately committed by the organised forces of an established Government which is a member of the United Nations Organisation. And the big powers, particularly China and America, are trying to allow this mass violation of human rights and criminal orgy of sadistic excesses to go unpunished and be even expunged from the pages of recorded history ; by not taking notice of facts. The powers are behaving as if things have just happened and the Pakistan Government have not aided, abetted,

condoned, committed, planned and ordered the carrying out of a diabolical scheme of barbarous genocide and suppression through frightfulness of the entire population of a country which has been an integral part of Pakistan. The military rulers of Pakistan represent only a small minority of the people of that country. They wish to rule and exploit the vast majority of the peoples of Pakistan by contradicting in action all recognised principles of human rights and rules of morality observed by human communities. The people of Bangladesh, that is East Pakistan, cannot wish to be ruled autocratically nor to be exploited by the military minority of West Pakistan, as if the people of East Pakistan were the slaves and serfs of the soldiers of Pakistan. General Yahya Khan had agreed to abolish the martial law administration of Pakistan and to introduce democratic rule in the country. But he cancelled these plans, after holding elections, when he found he would have no control over a democratic government of Pakistan. He therefore played for time by holding conferences for allegedly discussing terms and conditions of handing over power to a civil government and filled up East Pakistan with soldiers hurriedly imported from the Western provinces of Pakistan. He then ordered the mass killing of the Bengali intelligentsia of East Pakistan and the rape, arson, abduction and other acts of terrorism followed as natural adjuncts of that plan of genocide.

Now, if the six million refugees have to be resettled in East Bengal ; that cannot be done with Yahya Khan's soldiers holding administrative power in that region. For no refugees will go back while military rule prevails there. "They will be butchered" as Mrs. Gandhi has said. And the Bangladesh guerrillas will continue to fight Yahya Khan's soldiers with a view to oust them from East Bengal. The pretention, therefore, that is now going on

with the convinance of the UNO, that normalcy either exists or "will exist soon in East Bengal and that the six million refugees will begin to trek back to their home land ; is based on totally false assumptions. The refugees will never go back, nor will they be allowed to go back by Yahya's soldiers while the latter are in power in East Bengal. The war in Bangladesh also will not stop while Yahya's men are in occupation of that territory. So the UNO or the powers would be wasting their time and money to settle this affair by ignoring the vital facts of the case which are (1, the demand for abolition of the military dictatorship in Pakistan and (2) the demand for establishing a democratically elected civil government in that country. The third fact which has to be acknowledged, is that there is a war on between Yahya Khan's soldiers and the Bangladesh guerrillas which will not just stop if some convincing lies are propagated by the powers for their own satisfaction. The guerrillas are over a hundred thousand in number and have procured light and medium arms in good quantities. They are increasing in number everyday and are procuring more arms through their sympathisers in Asia and Europe. In the circumstances the military dictators of Pakistan cannot win this war by ignoring the existence of the Bangladesh army. Nor by placating America, China or the UAR.

Chavan's Budget

Mr. Chavan's Budget is based on the principle of increasing taxes on whatever can bear the increased burden. So naturally he has gone for increasing taxes on goods and services which a wide class of consumers require to maintain their standard of living. Travelling and freights have been hit a particularly hard blow. This will lead to increase in prices of general consumer goods in so far

as cost of transportation has a direct bearing on prices, wages and cost of production. Increased tax on cigarettes, finer clothing, alcoholic beverages etc. will also lead to sympathetic rise in the prices of necessary luxury goods which have to be purchased and used by middle class people. Soap, for instance, may not be a necessity of life for the very poor people, but for the middle class consumers soap is a must. The budget therefore will increase middle class cost of living to a noticeable extent and cause all salaried people earning between Rs. 150—450 per month to demand higher salaries within a very short time. We cannot call the budget constructive in so far as it is likely to hamper production and the smooth flow of economic forces. All persons who use petrol driven vehicles for their work will have to face increased expenses of running such vehicles which may turn out to be as high as 25% on the previous expenses. A government which pins its faith in state capitalism; but cannot make state management of industries profitable, has to depend on reckless taxation to meet its evergrowing need for more revenue. It should, but it cannot make its economic undertakings yield increasing profits.

Yahya Khan's Lies

Pakistan's military dictator Yahya Khan is telling those who are foolish enough to listen to him that only about 40000 persons have left Pakistan to seek refuge in India. The real figure is 6,000,000 which is 150 times more than what Yahya Khan puts it at. Most of the lies broadcast by the Pakistan radio are similarly unbelievable and fantastic. The military rulers of Pakistan tell the world that administration is functioning normally in East Bengal. The fact is that about half the towns in that part of Pakistan have regular curfew and the Pakistani soldiers mostly stay in their

cantonments for fear of attacks by the commandos of Bangladesh. About 50000 villages out of 65000 have no connection with the martial law administration of Pakistan. Some of these villages have been bombed and shelled by Pakistan's air force and navy but that has not brought these villages under the control of Yahya Khan. The soldiers of Pakistan who are occupying East Bengal now are about 100000 in number. They are constantly attacked by the freedom fighters and have to be on their toes all the time. The idea therefore that the people of East Bengal will make a settlement with Yahya Khan is absurd and impossible. The forces of Pakistan will have to get out of East Bengal; if there is to be peace in that part of the world.

Well-known Politicians Accused of Spying

Some very well-known politicians have been recently arrested by the West Bengal police on charges of espionage. Allegations made by the police no doubt are only allegations. Until proved guilty in court the accused persons should be considered innocent. But the persons so accused have all been fairly intimate with the leading political party men of West Bengal for many years. They were friends of the C. P. M. leaders, the Bangla Congress leaders and the Congress leaders. In the circumstances, if they had been spying, they had ample scope for discovering state secrets. But how is it that the police never suspected them before; but suddenly found out their involvement in espionage after so many years? It does not speak very highly of the wisdom and efficiency of the police. For had they known that certain persons were perhaps engaged in spying they should have warned the leading politicians with whom the suspected persons were mixing intimately about their suspicious. If however they had

not suspected the persons of spying although they now have discovered a lot of evidence; one can not admire their wide awokeness of outlook. Whether these accused persons are really guilty will be found out by the court; but one has to admit that the West Bengal police will be hard to beat in their easy-going ways of crime detection.

Military Dictatorships are the Worst Tyrannies

In the present day world there are no individual rulers of states whose words are the law. No absolute monarchs exist now-a-days who can say "off with his head" and the head falls. The autocracies or dictatorships that one finds in the modern world are mostly of cliques, coteries or parties. Among these some are based on the support of fairly large minority groups, while others depend on the strength of much smaller organisations. The communist governments, for instance, say that they represent the workers, peasants and soldiers of the country. How far the workers, peasants and soldiers can actually take part in determining the selection of personnel manning the parties which rule the communist states, is a question which one cannot answer with any degree of exactitude. But one may assert that certain workers, peasants and soldiers do participate in the work of such determination. The communist governments, therefore, are broader based on the opinion and choice of the general public than the fascist or military dictatorships which are run by a hierarchy with a general at its head, and the word of the general is very similar to the word of the aforementioned absolute monarch who had the power to order decapitation of persona non grata. Mussoïni, Hitler or Yahya Khan therefore are modern replicas of Alaric the Goth, Atilla the Hun, Chengiz Khan and Timur the Tartar. These autocrats of the killer type could and

did order mass slaughter of men, women and children, the carrying off of thousands of women and the building of pyramids with the heads of the slaughtered men, women and children. One might have thought that such inhuman and barbarous acts would be impossible in the twentieth century; but Hitler did order the making of lamp shades of Jewish Skin and Yahya Khan had school boys lined up and shot and ordered that 400 Dacca University College girls should be handed over to his soldiers. The communists have at times ordered purges but these killings were of a relatively "civilised" sort when compared to what Hitler or Yahya had done.

Military and fascistic dictatorships therefore are considerably worse from the human point of view. Military men, by nature think lightly of chopping off heads and of other acts of frightfulness. Being believers in brute force, they naturally put the greatest importance on the brutal enforcement of their will. A military dictator therefore does not worry about ethics, law or human values. Military rulers therefore are the worst type of rulers if one admits the basic human necessity for showing some respect to the people's opinion in the matter of deciding how they should be ruled. Even if one has to recognise the need for Martial law administration at times; such administration must always be terminated at the first opportunity.

Refugee Rehabilitation

Before Yahya Khan's pogrom against Bengalis began the number of Hindus who had been forced out of East Pakistan to seek refuge in India were about 5,000,000. Out of these people about half-a-million were rehabilitated in a manner of speaking, a certain number had rehabilitated themselves and the rest who might have numbered 3500000 or more had been awaiting to be fitted into some scheme or

other of rehabilitation chalked out by the Government. Generally speaking one can assert that the Western Indian refugees viz the Punjabis, had been better treated by the Government and some authoritative estimates put the expenses of rehabilitation in Punjab at Rs.2300 crores or more. It was said that the Nehru-Liaquat Ali pact made it unnecessary for East Bengal refugees to get any land or business aid in India as the terms of that pact assured the refugees that they would get back their land or other assets in East Pakistan. Nehru was in the habit of signing pacts of which the terms had no possibility being honoured and one may say that Nehru signed this pact knowing full well that the Hindu refugees from East Bengal would never get back anything in East Pakistan. One may also assert that no refugee out of the six million who have now been ousted from their hearths and homes will ever get back their lands and properties in East Bengal, unless India enforces such return of properties by military action. There is another possibility. That is that the Bangladesh Mukti Fouz would force the Pakistani forces to evacuate East Bengal. Of the two possibilities a Mukti Fouz victory, however remote should be a better bet. There is a similarity between the conduct of the Indian Government and the Pakistan Government in point of exploitation of the Bengalis. The Indian Government has always been keen on setting up industries etc. in other parts of India as against doing the same for Bengal. Even essential irrigation projects are left unfinished and the result is shortage of food crops in the state. The Bhagirathi project for saving the port of Calcutta is not yet finished. So is the Haldia project. But the Government of India is making every effort to destroy the commerce of Calcutta.

To add to this plan of destroying the economy of Bengal all those non-Bengalis who

have become V.I.P.s in Bengal's industry and commerce take good care to oust all Bengalis from their organisations. Formerly Bengali clerks and other subordinate staff were employed by the non-Bengali organisations ; But today it has become the policy of these firms to keep out all Bengalis from their recruitment of personnel. This has caused intensive unemployment among educated Bengalis, many of whom are refugees from East Pakistan. It is a matter of simple arithmetic that if all non-Bengalis were sent out of West Bengal all refugees could be rehabilitated within this province.

Causus Belli

Causes of war do not merely leads to wars between different states but they also provoke civil wars, rebellions and revolutions. Stealing of brides, elopements and abductions of women have caused many wars. The war of the Ramayana and the Trojan war are classic examples. Pritthiraj's abduction of his willing bride Samyukta was considered to be a great act of provocation by her royal father. The Muslim Prince Alauddin fought a great destructive war to get hold of the famous beauty Queen Padmini of Chitor who threw himself into fire when Alauddin occupied Chitor. Insult to women has always given rise to fierce unquenchable fires of warlike passion and no race of men worthy of their humanity can ever forgive the unchivalrous brutality of another community who subject women to molestation and harm. Where the conquering peoples have treated the women of the subject races with scant respect, the desire for overthrowing the conquerors have always flared up more and more strongly. Usurpation of property, particularly land, has never failed to rouse feelings of great resentment which have often led to warlike reaction. In fact forcible occupation of any country by another

people usually leads to confiscation of treasures of one kind or another. The British, in India, did not occupy much land ; but the "loot of Bengal" ran to thousands of crores and it helped the British to meet fully the expenses of their industrial revolution. Looting property is a clear indication of the mentality of a conqueror. Whosoever, therefore, deals with the land and property of another community as if they could do what they liked with these, valuable possessions, suffered undoubtedly from a conqueror complex. Among other causes of war or revolution are economic exploitation such as heavy taxation, restriction of civic and economic rights, misuse of the resources of the exploited people and all rules, regulations, appointments and procedural arrangements which grant advantages and privilege to the members of the ruling cliques and coteries to the economic and political disadvantage and loss of the subjugated classes. Acts of oppression, such as unlawful attacks on the subjugated peoples, leading to death and injury among the innocent members of the population ; robberies with violence carried out by armed men employed by the ruling classes, burning down the houses and forcing the people to flee their homeland and similar barbarous acts which one associates with the well known barbarians of history like Genghis Khan, Tamerlane and Nadir Sha ; are everlasting and irremovable causes that forever provoke violent revolutions to overthrow the established order. All breach of peace in such circumstances are the result of the lawless conduct of the rulers.

Can there be Peace in Bangladesh

Speculation is rife everywhere as to the possibilities of resettlement of refugees in Bangladesh and reestablishment of peaceful government in that country. But all this speculation is based on an illogical approach to a problem which has many clearcut and unmistakeable characteristics. The Bangladesh movement began because of unjustified exploitation of the Bengalis by the non-Bengali Pakistanis there. So long as that exploitation is not stopped there ; the Bengalis will never agree to be Pakistan subjects. Nobody who is offering a solution to the Bangladesh problem is giving any workable schemes for stopping these exploitative arrangements made by the martial law administration. Next comes the "affaire Yahya Khan" which led to the killing in cold blood of hundreds of thousands of innocent writers, teachers, lawyers, students and intelligent members of the Bengali community. The soldiers of Yahya Khan were let loose on the people of Bengal with full freedom to kill, rape, loot, abduct and drive out people from their homes into other states. Stories were propagated by Yahya's press to give a false colouring to all that had happened. In fact he arrested Sheikh Mujibur Rehman on the 25th March 1971 at 11 p. m. at night and let loose a reign of terror in East Pakistan. What happened after that was the reaction of all Bengalis of Pakistan to this genocidal attack. This is continuing and there can be no solution of the Bangladesh affair while Yahya's regime lasts, either directly or in camouflage through Bhutto.

SOCIAL SECURITY IN INDIA*

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

The progress of civilization may be denoted by the growth in the awareness of man about his obligations to others,—particularly the weaker and the less privileged ones. The best society is that where there is not only greater awareness of social responsibility to the less privileged but also effective social action to do something about it. In India while religion may have enjoined upon individuals to do something about their poor neighbours, the social obligation, i. e., the obligation of society as a body corporate to help the indigent and the weak ; has not been so well recognized as in other countries. Therefore all initiative for social reforms has begun and ended with individuals. It was not until Indians came in contact with the modern western thought that Indians gave much thought to devising institutional framework for social security. But the dormant craving for such institutional framework and the first signs of awareness were to be seen among the first generation of English knowing persons. The example of Iswar-chandra Vidyasagar immediately comes to mind in this context. This extraordinary man, who learnt English only as an adult and only after having had a vigorous training in Sanskrit and the Hindu scriptures, not only was liberal in extending help to all needy persons (which earned him the nickname “Dayar Sagar”—i. e., sea of compassion), but also had thought of the need of institutional arrangements to help the needy. He was one of the pioneers of life insurance in India and an active promoter of the Hindu Family Annuity Fund. However, although there was early realization of the need for social action

it really did not spread to a very large section of the population, nor could it gain effectiveness through adoption by the ruling class—which, being British, did not have much time to think of social welfare for the Indians. If the government still did something, it did so more in a condescending fashion than with any degree of recognition of its duty towards the people. Law, as such, did not recognize any duty on the part of the authorities to provide for gainful work, housing, clothing, education, medical help and help against exploitation in general. Indeed there was no recognition even of the equality of man by the British law in India which barred the Indians from many positions and which did not allow most Indians even to say legally how they would like to be governed (as the voting right was restricted only to a handful of persons with money).

The major impact of Independence in 1947 was felt in an almost radical change in this regard so far as the recognition of the responsibility of the state to help the weaker sections of society was concerned but,—and this is a significant point,—not so much in practice as in theory. The Constitution of India, which came into force on 26 January, 1950, at one stroke did away with inequality of citizens before law and prohibited discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth and provided for equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. Part IV of the Constitution of India containing the

* *Some Aspects of Social Security Measures in India* by Vivek Ranjan Bhattacharya. Metropolitan Book Co. (Pvt) Ltd. 1 Netaji Marg, Delhi-6. 1970.

Directive Principles of State Policy lays down that the "state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life." Part IV of the Constitution further lays down the details of state action and says that the "state shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing: (a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood; (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; (d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women; (e) that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength; (f) that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment."

The most important part of the statement of the directive principle is that the state should strive to secure for the citizens, men and women equally, the "right to an adequate means of livelihood." (Article 39). The Constitution makers were so concerned about the recognition of this right that they underlined this duty of the state by a further article in the Constitution, laying down that, the "state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, and in other cases

of undeserved want." (Article 41 of the Constitution of India). In other words, the Constitution makers were fully conscious of the need for state action to provide for social security in the country. They left no doubt in the minds of anyone of what they thought the government working the Constitution should do. Indeed, in the Indian Constitution we have almost an ideal statement of the duty on the part of the State and Government to bring about social security.

Yet—twentyone years after the commencement of the Constitution—what is the reality? How have these constitutional provisions worked out? The growing number of the unemployed—including the unemployed engineers—seems to mock at the Constitution. Similarly the existence of the largest volume of illiteracy in the history of the country announces the nullity of the Constitution so far as providing educational facilities to all was concerned. Indeed the failure at the educational front deserves a special mention because the Constitution makers had laid down a time limit for the state to secure the objective laid down in the Constitution. Article 45 of the Constitution of India laid down that the state "shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years." That time limit was over eleven years ago in January 1960. After the expiry of that ten year limit another ten years have passed by January 1971. And India never had as many illiterate persons as she has today!

The grave inadequacy of social security measures, despite clear provisions of the Constitution imposing an obligation on the government to provide for them, makes it the duty of all citizens to go at the root of the problem. A common argument is, of course,

the lack of funds. But this argument is misleading ; for even where funds are available they fail to reach those for whom the funds are intended. The principal reason—to my mind—is the inadequacy of the awareness on the part of the vast majority of citizens (including ministers, civil servants, industrialists, workers, clerks, teachers, lawyers and so on) of the social responsibility—of their personal responsibility—to help the weaker sections of society. The Constitution makers were persons with a very good awareness of their social responsibilities. That awareness has not spread to a sufficient number of citizens. This is not to gloss over failures of individual politicians or officials, but to look at the factors causing such failures as well as the failure to punish such failures. Without there being a public, which is itself conscious of the need for social security and at the same time is willing to exert, and capable of exerting, pressure on the government to fulfil the constitutional promises, the reality can never be made to conform to the prescription. The point that is not often noticed is that the people,—indeed they are the vast majority of Indians who need social security measures,—do not get prominence in the media of mass communication. No doubt there is a large volume of talk of building up a welfare state, but that is more in the nature of a condescension than in the form of an acute awareness of an urgent social task.

Dr. Vivekranjan Bhattacharya's book,—

which deals with the theoretical aspects of social security, the history of the evolution of the concept of social security in some developed countries as well as in India, and the actual measures of social security in application in several countries,—is thus a timely publication reminding the government and all others of the vital importance of the subject. His is a comprehensive discussion of the subject dealing with all aspects of the problem: health insurance, housing, security for the child and the aged, security for the physically handicapped, abolition of beggary and so on. In the concluding chapter of the book Dr. Bhattacharya makes his own suggestions on what changes are needed by the administrative agencies which would undoubtedly be given a serious consideration. Dr. Bhattacharya had written this dissertation for his doctorate degree from Delhi University which speaks for his scholarship. What makes his study significant is the combination of a deep personal faith of the author in the need for social security with a scholarly approach. His acute awareness of the fundamentals is to be seen in his designating,—appropriately enough,—unemployment insurance as the first step to social security. This book is thus of particular concern for those who are engaged in the promotion of rural industries to bring about diversification of the rural economy and abolition of rural unemployment,—which, after all, is the core of the problem of economic backwardness of India.

J.-J. SERVAN-SCHREIBER AND THE AMERICAN CHALLENGE

PRAFULLA KAR & SUVIR GHOSH

Servan-Schreiber and his thoughts

One of the most significant facts about de Gaulle's regime in France is that it gave rise to a number of brilliant creative writers. Most of them were basically militant in their attitude towards the American expansion in Europe in general and the recalcitrance of the French government in particular. Their aims and objectives are "to renovate" the moribund European nations for successfully confronting the United States in Europe. They belong to a typical intellectual milieu in France.

J.—J. Servan-Schreiber does not belong to a group of writers like that of Jean-Paul Sartre or Alain Robbe-Grillet. But he shares the feelings and aspirations of the creative persons of today. His point of view is mostly oriented towards the economics of the nations. Servan-Schreiber is constantly pre-occupied with a sense of European unity. His whole career as a journalist reflects his serious motives and aims. He is descended from Jewish blood in Germany. Like most of the Jewish writers of contemporary Europe, he expresses his vigorous sentiments in his writings and speeches. He is one of the most dominant activists in France today. His various attempts in different walks of life suggest his deep probings and the flexibility of temper. "Flexibility" cannot be taken in a pejorative sense. With the changing tone

of the times one should change to cope with the new forces. Schreiber belongs to this category of change.

He has been associated with the leading weekly of France, *L'Express*, since its inception, in the capacity of the editor. Through the weekly, he had voiced the opinions of the youth for some kind of social and economic rehabilitation. *L'Express* has made significant contributions to the politics and literature of France because of its new pragmatic idea and outlook. Schreiber has resigned from the position of editorship because he feels that he can devote more time to refurbishing the Radical party of which he has been made the Secretary-General. His association with another magazine named *L'Expansion* testifies his revolutionary zeal. The very title of his magazines namely "Express" and "Expansion" can, to some extent, reveal the manner of the writings he indulges in—a kind of writing which tries to not only disseminate new ideas but also strive for the practical implementation of those ideas. Expansion is the cornerstone of his philosophy and that is why he sees the vision for a united Europe to challenge the American hegemony.

His ideas will now be put to test as he has been elected to the French National Assembly from Nancy constituency defeating the Gaullist candidate M. Roger Souchal. The dramatic election at Nancy has added some color to

his personality. His methods to win the support of the people are most democratic and practical. His distaste for traditional French oratory and his active participation in the sentiments of the common man have given the political situation of France a new dimension. Schreiber emerges from the political morass of France as a romantic hero with an aura of splendour around him. His methods and his actions are symbolic of the type of person a country like France, and many others, need at this moment. Many critics have called him a "little Kennedy" and there is some truth in their assertion. He is youthful, vigorous and dynamic like both the Kennedy brothers, and that is why his relevance is felt much more than the present incumbents, during the present political crises in most of the European nations. It will be a mistake to call him a mere industrial fad. He appreciates the social development in Sweden in the same way as the economic development of Japan. Industry, according to him, should come down to solving the basic needs of the common man. So industrial development and social uplift should run parallel to each other. He is a visionary but his vision has more pragmatic basis than the so-called dreamers. His egalitarian views are expressed in his own action. His announcement to sit in parliament on the socialist bench is a gesture of his strong democratic sentiments.

Schreiber's popularity as thinker came after the publication of *The American Challenge* three years ago. *The American Challenge* has caught the attention of the people, in Europe and America like a sort of wildfire. The number of editions, made in the year of its publication in English proves its relevance to the present century.

The American Challenge

This book is based on a realistic and candid study of the American economy vis-a-vis

European. It provokes the Europeans in general and the French in particular to get together and face the challenge offered by the American industries in Europe. The author in this book very analytically explores the causes of the American economic success in the European market. His nationalistic approach combined with an idealistic strain makes the book a lively and pleasant reading. The author is optimistic in his views. He feels that ultimately the Europeans may be able to successfully confront the challenge posed by the Americans in the economic areas. He shows his optimism "with statistical and technological evidence of Europe's relative economic decline with a simply presented program of political rescue." It seems from the author's arguments that he is constantly concerned with a sense of Europeanism and "wants to remake Europe not with nationalistic ranting but with reasoned critiques and his growing magazine empire gives him the launching pad." His main objective is "to renovate" the European economic system by a courageous confrontation with its American counterpart. "His trade-marks are cool analysis and passion without heat." From his approach, it is evident that "he is not looking for villains but methods." This can be illustrated by quoting from a contemporary book, *The American Take-over of Britain*, written by Messrs. James McMillan and Bernard Harris. While discussing the building of supersonic Concorde jointly by Britain and France, Messrs. McMillan and Harris expressed the pull-out as a result of "pressure from Americans." Mr. Servan-Schreiber described it "as a part of its austerity program."

His analysis of the problems give two images of the author, that of an economist and of an educator. He has attributed the "human factors—the ability to adapt easily, flexibility of organizations, the creative power

of teamwork—as the key to their success.” He has stated that the American resources were not the basic reasons for their success. “Education and technological innovations” are the most important factors in their economic expansion. Therefore, he summarizes that the increasing technological gap between America and Europe is due primarily to a “paucity of higher education” and consequently to a “relative weakness of science and research.” The author makes this point of view in his characteristic economic phraseology by calling it “a refusal to make an investment in man” and to “grasp and vigorously apply modern methods of management.”

As Mr. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. notes, in the Foreword of the book, “he sees the American challenge as the result of the dynamism of the American society.” Instead of insulating Europe from America, he advocates “its salvation through discriminating Americanization.” He locates the disparity “in the art of organization—in the mobilization of intelligence, talent to conquer not only invention but development, production and marketing.” Within the organization, he enumerates the success because of the energy released by the American system—by the opportunity for individual initiative, by the innovative knack of teams, by the flexibility of business structure and by the decentralization of business decisions. It is the flexibility of the Americans, more than their wealth, which becomes a major weapon in their “economic invasion” of Europe. To exhibit the difference between the American and the European managers he quotes an American manager, in Europe, saying, “What interests me is my profit margin. What interests my European competitor is a factory that produces. It isn’t the same thing.” Talking about their optimism and opportunism, he quotes an American businessman from Frankfurt, saying, “The

Treaty of Rome is the sweetest deal ever to come out of Europe. And we are going to make a lot more., prospects in commerce and industry are better for us here than they are in the United States.”

He has discussed in great details the American success in space, aircraft development, electronics and computers and attributes this success to the partnership of government and private industry. He notes with interest the huge sums poured in by the government for research and development. His analysis of the Anglo-French deal of supersonic Concorde is one of the most brilliant and interesting discussions in the whole book. It serves as an example of the author’s intellectual grasp of the problems and his profound vision. M. Servan-Schreiber discusses the lack of imagination in the Anglo-French venture in the building of the Concorde and the American plunging into the race in a more sophisticated and farsighted manner in anticipating the need of the future—a titanium body for the Boeing SST.

He totally rules out the argument that money has something to do with the American success. He points out that “nine-tenths of the American investment in Europe is financed out of the European resources.”

His discussion of the post-individual society illustrates his sweeping imagination, but there is enough scope to doubt the efficacy of his arguments, particularly his picture of a wide divergence between the post-industrial and under-developed societies.

In his realization that the American industries pose a danger to the Europeans, he becomes almost a Gaullist, but he shows a radical difference with de Gaulle’s approach in his formula for the solution of this crisis. He has appealed to the European sentiments by saying, with a sense of optimism, “the day may indeed come when we can sit by helplessly and watch Europe disappear as a center of

civilization. But that day is not yet here and there is still time to act." On another occasion, he has urged upon the Europeans to make decision once for all to "restore an autonomous civilization." Otherwise Europe will become a satellite of the United States.

"Investment in man" seems to be the theme of his approach in this book. Nothing is more justified than "this confidence which often seems rather naïve to Europeans,....." In order to salvage Europe from the present economic decline, attention should be paid to the effective use of human potentialities.

The author's deviation from Gaullist solution emanates from his suggestion of the inclusion of Great Britain in the European harmony. He acknowledges the British superiority in the computer science, technological skill and awareness for research and development. He asks Europe to pick up the pieces, find the faults, rectify, put them together and go. His method of self-castigation, rather than just finding a reason for failure, seems to be a pleasant and assuring way to take up the American challenge. His profound European commitment and his radical solutions make him an activist.

The prime motif of M. Servan-Schreiber is to see a united Europe to face the American economic domination. He seems much too visionary and utopian in this concept. It is difficult to establish an European confederation in the economic sphere without losing the individual identity of the component states. Political conflicts are bound to come as the different states have their own cultural and linguistic traditions. The countries which are asked to unite are the ones who had more disagreements than agreements for centuries. Under the present system such an amity among the European nations may seem to be an impossible proposition. There is a contradic-

tion in M. Servan-Schreiber's quest for a panacea for European economic malady in his ignoring the fact that Japan and Sweden which are, according to him, veritable economic powers in the post-industrial era, have as much to pose a "challenge" as America does, but the author in his obsessive pre-occupation with the American economic rise loses sight of this formidable fact, even for the purposes of salvation.

Mr. Israel Shenker in his article, "Servan-Schreiber Dreams Big" (The New York Times, May 19, 1968), strongly doubts the validity of M. Servan-Schreiber's contention of an American model for achieving social justice through economic autonomy.

Servan-Schreiber is a staunch radicalist. His *The American Challenge* has gained a popularity like Galbraith's *The New Industrial State* or Myrdal's *Asian Drama*. His empirical approach to a knotty economic phenomenon makes the book interesting as well as thought-provoking. He himself has observed, while being thrilled at his success, that "more interesting than my book is the interest in my book." The book has earned such a wide enthusiasm in Europe and elsewhere that the author feels elated and calls himself "an agitator of ideas." Despite the fact that de Gaulle does not agree with his "futile proposals," the book stands on its own merits as one of the challenging and intellectual discussion of a serious problem. Much of the interest the book generates in the minds of the English-reading public is for the easy-flowing translation by Mr. Ronald Steel. The meticulous economic analysis and its timeliness makes the book so relevant to businessmen, engineers, economists and planners today.

Schreiber's relevance to India

It is felt that a discussion of the ideas of Servan-Schreiber is relevant to India at the

present political technological situation. A leader of Schreiber's ideals is needed very much to any developing nation. India's economic situation requires a man of strong determination and profound insight to steer it to perfect stability and order. Every intellectual in India feels that there exist problems in India but he never tries to find out their solutions. Politicians and statesmen use high-sounding words and cliches and look forward to a millenium of prosperity and hope, but they never strike the very root of the

crises. Much of the thinking of the Indian people remain shadowy and hazy and if they, at all, arrive at a solution they go off tangentially. At this stage of intellectual paucity, it is necessary that the Indian technologists and politicians should recognize the efficacy of Schreiber's thoughts and try to implement them in their practical application to life. Schreiber tries to reach fixed goals through dynamic process. This approach should be the sine-qua-non of a conscious intellectual of the present time.

THE BUDDHA AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The basic principle of a democratic form of government is the freedom and dignity of the individual with equality before the Law. No man can be called free unless he is able to pursue his calling unhampered by barriers of caste, class, or special privilege. In a deeper sense no man is truly free until he can without fear or pressure from authoritarian coercion, unfold his innate potentialities and perfect himself by shaping his own Kamma or destiny. It was the Buddha who for the first time taught and realized these values through his Dhamma. It has led to an out-flowering of a civilisation that, to this day, stands as a marvel in the history of mankind.

Three centuries later it led, for the first time in the annals of mankind, to establish hospitals for both men and animals and organize universal education which culminated in establishing international centers of learning, known today as universities. With the spread of Buddhism in greater Asia from the 3rd century B. C. it stimulated the formation

of new civilizations depending on the national genius of the inhabitants in each State. These civilizations produced a fascinating array of art and dance forms, literature, and social and economic institutions based on the Dhamma.

Democratic Values

The recognized prerequisites of democratic cultures are :

- (1) A productive economy to raise man above the level of poverty and misery.
- (2) A progressive society with security and opportunity for all.
- (3) A literate society with universal education.
- (4) Personal liberty and self-reliance.
- (5) A system of ethics based on moral law.
- (6) Deep-rooted respect for the system of values and institutions that helped each culture evolve into great civilizations.

These values were respected in the ancient Buddhist civilization of Asia, particularly in the Asokan period from the 3rd century B. C., the golden period of Indian history. These

conditions exist to-day in a highly industrialised Japan where there is a predominantly Buddhist civilization, and in the newly emerged Buddhist States of Asia. These technically backward nations are rebuilding their economies to raise the standard of living of their people. Among these, Ceylon has an almost fully literate society with free education from kindergarten up to university.

Buddhism has given each man or woman sturdy independence, rather than dependence on the mercy of a Creator God, to better themselves. The Buddha taught man the gospel of self-help in his efforts to lead a noble life. To achieve the highest conditions of mind and heart, the Buddha said man must work out his own way. He asserted that man's own deeds would make him noble and advised him to guard against deeds that would make him low.

Further, the Buddha stated that all beings, including man, are suffering, and through His Noble Right-fold Path he gave an efficacious prescription how to make an end of that suffering. Since that Path is a road of progress it is intelligible and practicable by all, even on the lowest rungs of human development. None is excluded from reaching final deliverance if only he takes resolutely one step after the other on that road. Thus we see that the Buddha conceded equality to all human beings—a cardinal principle in a democratic society.

Thus, the Buddha sounded the clarion call of human liberty. He said, "Take ye refuge unto yourself; be ye your own salvation. With earnestness and high resolve work out your own salvation."

The Buddha pointed out the absolute folly of artificial distinctions between man and man. At the time of the Buddha there was a rigid caste system in India. It determined and fixed man's place in the social order by the mere fact that one's father was of such and

such a descent and had such and such an occupation. The low castes were denied an education and were placed low on the social ladder, and this with such a rigidity that a low caste man could hardly break out of his situation. The Buddha revolted against this injustice and asserted the equality of all men as far as their basic rights are concerned.

The Buddha unhesitatingly admitted to his Order of Monks also the people of the so-called low castes—barbers, butchers, sweepers, and the untouchables, along with the members of the noble and priestly castes. He made absolutely no distinction between them in the ranks of the monks. All received equal homage, reverence and respect. Some members of the nobility were upset by these actions of the Buddha and one of them dared challenge the Buddha to define a nobleman :

"No man is noble by birth,

No man is ignoble by birth.

Man is noble by his own deeds,

Man is ignoble by his own deeds."

Commenting on the Buddha's discourse, the *Sigalovada Sutta*,* which is based on social ethics, the world-famous British scholar, Professor Rhys Davids, Chairman of the Department of Comparative Religion, Manchester University, England, says : "Happy would have been the village or the clan on the banks of the Ganges, when the people were full of kindly spirit of fellow feelings, the noble spirit of justice, which breathes through these naive and simple sayings." He adds : "Not less happy would be the village on the banks of the Thames, today, of which this could be said."

He continues : "The Buddha's doctrine of love and goodwill between man and man is here set forth in domestic and social ethics with more comprehensive details than elsewhereAnd truly we may say even now of this *Vinaya* or code of discipline, so fundamental are the human interests involved, so sane and

wide is the wisdom that envisages them that the utterances are as fresh and practically as binding today as they were then, at Rajagaha (India)."

The Buddha strongly condemned all sacrifices performed in the name of religion, particularly those involving animal sacrifices. It was believed at that time that sacrifices atoned for sin and protected against evil spirits. The Buddha said that these sacrifices were cruel and useless, as it is only through a noble life that man can elevate himself and be secure against evil.

The Buddha's compassion extended also to those who were ailing. Once he said to his disciples: "Whoever, monks, nurses the sick, will nurse me." And in that spirit hospitals for both animals and men were later established during the reign of Asoka in the 3rd century B. C.

The Buddha condemned slavery in any shape and form. He laid down golden rules for the right manner of earning one's living in a way not harmful to others, and this included also that any trafficking in human beings was out of bounds for a Buddhist.

The temperance movement owes its beginnings to the Buddha who asked his followers to abstain from using or selling liquor and other intoxicants.

Gospel of Tolerance

The Buddha also preached the gospel of tolerance, of compassion, loving kindness and non-violence. He taught men not to despise other religions and not to belittle them. He further declared that one should not even accept His Own Teachings unless one found them to be in accord with one's personal reasoning, according to the Kalama Sutta.*

During the Buddha's time there were a number of great kingdoms in India, such as Megadha and Kosala, and some of them were established on the democratic form of

government. The Buddha favoured the democratic form over the oligarchical form of government, as it was the best form of government which was conducive to the stability of society.

The Buddha showed great admiration for the Vajjis or Licchavis. In the Maha Parinibbana Sutta he likens the Licchavis to the Thirty-three Gods (Tavatimsa-deva). He also warned Vassakara, Minister of the parricidal king Ajatasattu, that the Vajjis would remain invincible as long as they adhered to the seven rules of a nation's welfare (aparihaniya dhamma), namely: (1) frequent meetings for consultations, (2) concord in action, (3) adherence to old injunctions and traditions, (4) respecting of elders, (5) respecting of women, who should never be molested, (6) reverence to places of worship within and outside the territory, (7) protection of worthy saints in the territory.

The Buddha continued: "So long as the Vajjis meet frequently in council, assemble and disperse in harmony (and observe the other rules of welfare), their prosperity is to be expected, not their decline."

Asoka's Reign

The Emperor Asoka worked with ceaseless energy for the propagation of Buddhism and transformed it into a world religion. The Asokan period from 325 to 288 B. C. is of special significance to mankind, as it is one of the most illustrious liberal democratic periods of history.

In his time Asoka established public gardens, medical herbs were cultivated, trees were planted along roads, hospitals were established for both men and animals. He sank wells for public use, and educational and religious institutions grew up all over the country.

The late H. G. Wells writes in his *Outline of History*: "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns

of history, their majesties and graciousnesses, and sovereignties and Royal Highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines and shines almost alone as a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the traditions of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than ever heard the names of Constantine and Charlemagne."

It is claimed that Asoka was one of the first to grant sex equality, by sending his own son and daughter to Ceylon for missionary work. In this vast empire, Asoka treated all his subjects with equal justice and admitted no privileges of caste or class.

Formation of democratic thought was originated in ancient India by the spread of Buddhism from the 3rd century B.C. In an introduction to the book *Legacy of India* Lord Zetland states: "And it may come as a surprise to many to learn that in assemblies of Buddhists in India two thousand or more years ago, are to be

found rudiments of our own parliamentary system as practised today."

Professor G. P. Malasekera says: "The spread of Buddhism from country to country in greater Asia was without bloodshed and it is by itself a great democratic process never witnessed by any other world religion."

In the words of Dr. Gunasela Vitange: "Twenty centuries before revolutionary France raised the standard 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' the Buddha had enunciated these very values as essentials of good government."

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* Translated in 'The Wool' No 74 ; Everyman's Ethics.

* Translated in 'The Wheel' No. 8.



CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous issue)

Nimai Shaw was the head of the Balarampur Union. It began with the "Balarampur Variety Stores." Rice, lintels, kerosene and then followed progressively everything else. Father, Mathur Shaw, was a monied man but he was a God fearing person. As the flow of money increased and the business expanded and assumed a bigger size, he indulged in charity and made donations. He wanted later on to do something which would benefit the villagers. Gobinda Chakravarty was with him in these ideas of benevolence. As he gave the land for the school building, many well-to-do persons were induced to help the institution with money and direct support. Many more came forward to work for the school at Mathur Shaw's request. The boys from Balarampur had gone hitherto for their studies two miles to the Kadamtala School. It made things very hard for them to wade through the slush in the rainy season and to suffer the awful heat of the scorching sun of the summer days. When a school was set up at Balarampur the boys of the village heaved a sigh of great relief.

When the weeds, bushes and thorns were cleared and a house began to come up, everybody asked—What is happening here?

The workmen and masons who were engaged there used to say—Gour Master's Pathshala.

Since then that name had stuck. When the Pathshala had a new and larger building and the name "Balarampur High School" appeared prominently on top of it; even then

the verbal references to it were—Gour Master's Pathshala. Whatever appeared on paper, the name given by the people continued to be in full circulation.

Gour Bhattacharjee would object—Well, why do you call it my Pathshala? Am I its proprietor? The school has a President, a Secretary and a Managing Committee, they are the real ones. Who am I? Why do you come to me? Go to them. They can make your son a free student if they so desire—

Not only that. If a boy failed in his examination, the guardian would come to Gour Bhattacharjee's house and start calling out.

—Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai, is Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai in?

Rani would come and open the door.

All villagers knew the Secretary's daughter.

The caller would say—Hullo Rani, where is Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai? Is he at home?

Rani would answer—Grandpa is not at home—

—Gour Bhattacharjee is your Grandpapa? Aren't you the daughter of Naren Chakkotti?

Rani said—Father is in the other house—

—Then why are you in this house?

Rani answered—Well, why not? Why should I not be here? This is my Grandpapa's house—Grandpa is not here now.

Failing to meet him at the house, Kalipada would accost him on the road—

—My respectful *Pranam* to you Bhattacharjee Mashai. I am Kalipada.

Kalipada Biswas.

Gour Bhattacharjee recognises him. He

says—I know, your son has failed, hasn't he?—

Kalipada Biswas said—It is for the son that I had gone to your house. Naren Chakkotti Mashai's daughter Rani opened the door and told me—Dadu (grandpapa) is not at home—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Yes, my grandson—

Kalipada Biswas said—It is for the son that I went to your house. You will have to get him through, Pandit Mashai, or he will lose a whole year—

Gour Bhattacharjee commented—Well, when he has failed, he would certainly lose a year. Tell your son to study more carefully now—

Kalipada Biswas said—It is not the son's fault sir, he got typhoid just before the examination. Doctors and medicines have weighted me down into the very depths—

Gour Bhattacharjee turned his face away and said—Well, what can I do about the weights you are carrying? Should I have to arrange to promote your unsuccessful son? I cannot do all that—who am I? The school has a head master. It has also a President, a Secretary, a Managing Committee, they are the real powers that be. Go to them—who am I?

But who listens to all such talk?

Gour Bhattacharjee was taking a Sanskrit class that day. None of the boys could decline the noun "Lata". He asked them one by one. They were all boys of the sixth class.

Gour Bhattacharjee questioned—Here, you tell me, you—Picking out the last benchers, he started asking—What's that, you a class six student, you cannot repeat by heart the declensions of the noun "Lata", what will you do when you grow up? How will you pass your examinations?

Then started the lecturing. The lecture that he had been delivering to the boys of every class all his life.

Suddenly he noticed a figure near the door. It was Kali's Mother's grandson standing with a pulled down face.

—Isn't that Srimanta? Come inside, come—

Srimanta was standing outside. He would not come in. After a lot of persuasion he came in slowly, counting his steps, and burst into tears. Tears flowed like rain water in a steady stream.—What has happened to you? Why don't you come inside?

Srimanta said in a weeping voice—My name has been struck off sir—

—Why? Why has your name been crossed out?

So saying Gour Bhattacharjee stroked the back of the boy in a gentle and consoling manner.

—Tell me what happened? Couldn't your father pay the fees?

Srimanta kept silent. Gour Bhattacharjee said—I gave your grandmother's petition to the Secretary, they struck your name off even then?

Suddenly Janardan rang the school bell with a loud dingdong which meant that class was over.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Come with me, come along, I shall see.—Taking Srimanta along with him, the Pandit Mashai, went straight to the office room. Haralal was the School Clerk. Haralal accepted the fees and kept accounts. Did all the rough and heavy work himself. He was examining the accounts intently. He had his burning leaf-cigarette in his hand. Seeing the Pandit Mashai he dropped that on the floor and trod upon it. Putting the accounts down he stood up.

—Haralal, have you crossed out this Srimanta's name?

Haralal was rather embarrassed. The Pandit Mashai had seen him smoking and then this complaint. He brought out the class six attendance book and showed it.

Said—Sir, his fees have not been paid for six months.....

Gour Bhattacharjee said—If the fees were outstanding, should you have crossed out his name right away? Why did you not send a notice first? Should names be removed without notice? What kind of unintelligent arrangement is this? I had run the school before this. Did I ever strike off any names without due notice? You are an old time worker, you must have known all that—

Haralal said—Sir, I asked the head master Mashai, he himself told me to cross the name out—

—Who? Bhaba? Bhaba told you to strike the name off? Give me the attendance book, give it to me—

He went straight to Bhabaranjan's room, saying this.

The Secretary Naren Chakravarty was sitting there at that time.

—Ah! Here you are Naren, that's all the better. So saying he put the attendance book before them and said—Look at this, Srimanta Hazra, a class six boy, his name has been crossed out.

Bhabaranjan saw. Secretary Naren also saw.

Bhabaranjan said—Pandit Mashai, sir, his fees had not been paid for six months, so I instructed that his name should be removed—

Looking at the Secretary, Gour Bhattacharjee said—Well, I gave you an application from Srimanta about a month back, what did you do with that?

—You gave it to me?

—Yes, yes, think well. It was for Srimanta's free studentship. I went personally to your house and gave it to you; think about it... ..

Naren Chakravarty hurriedly began to turn over the papers in his portfolio. A great heap of papers. Briefs, documents, etc., for the court, papers connected with school affairs and a lot more. At last that application from Srimanta was found. Holding that he said—Here it is, I have got it—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Look at the date, on what was it put in—

Really, it was discovered by examination of the date that it was made about a month ago and placed with the Secretary.

—And you have crossed his name out and thus finished the matter. The poor boy was crying his eyes out and standing near the class door without daring to enter. If you run things this way, how will the school function? Before crossing his name out he should have been notified. What sort of justice is this? I have managed the school before this, and have I ever crossed out any names without giving a notice? You are all my old pupils, you have been seeing things.....

Bhabaranjan lowered his voice and said—The school was small then, those were different times. Pandit Mashai, now numbers of boys have grown, all are defaulters, how many can be notified?

—Well, they have become defaulters due to circumstances. Look at the condition of the fathers; they cannot manage, that is why they are defaulters.

Then he looked at Naren and said—I must tell you too, I gave you the application for free studentship a month ago and you just left it without taking any action.

Naren Chakravarty said—Only Srimanta alone did not apply for free studentship, Pandit Mashai. You yourself had given me many more such applications. Just look—so saying he pulled out a bundle of applications from his case.

He said—If so many students studied with—

out paying fees, how could one run a school, tell me? The institution must run too; there are heavy expenses for a school of this size.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I admit that the school needs money. Doesn't it need money to pay so many teachers their monthly salaries? But the fact that the school requires money cannot justify forcible realisation of money from those who cannot pay. The school is not a grocery, nor a shop selling bricks and building material. The purpose of a school is to spread education, so that men may acquire knowledge, are trained and develop good character. Did I not arrange free studentships for boys who showed merit? You have all seen what was done then. Did I not go from house to house with my collection bag for donations? Then when there were shortages of funds I have gone to your father, to Mathur Shaw Mashai. They had given loans and we had repaid those borrowings to the last pie when better days came. If the school has shortage of funds, you should advance money to it. Nimai Shaw is there and there are committee members, let them give money. Why are they there then? They cannot just hold meetings here and have refreshments; they have responsibilities too.

He stopped a little after this speech to recover his breath. Then he said—Let it rest at that; you do what you think best. Who am I to speak at length about these matters? I am neither the founder of the school nor its life member. You are its Secretary, Nimai is the President, and there is a Managing Committee, all that an organisation needs is there. You should do what you think best, I spoke out of a sense of duty, now it is your choice—

He did not wait after that. There were other classes to attend. He walked fast and went out.

Bhabaranjan said—You see, Master Mashai has latterly become like this.

Naren Chakravarty said—Oh well, let him talk. One cannot manage schools with such antiquated outlook any more. It is a question of the needs of those days as against the requirements of these days.

Bhabaranjan said—Then when should the next meeting be held?

Naren Chakravarty said—At least seven days' notice should be given. You put it down for the fifteenth—

—What agenda should I give?

Naren Chakravarty said—To discuss the necessity for increasing the tuition fees of students—

Bhabaranjan brought out his memorandum book and noted the point.

* * * *

It was Fatik who caused most of the trouble. Fatik joined all those who studied early in the morning on the open verandah of Gour Bhattacharjee's house.

Rani said—Look Grandpa, Fatik is not reading—

Gour Bhattacharjee turned round and saw Fatik sitting with a small kitten in his lap. He was fondling it and it was quietly lying in Fatik's lap and enjoying the experience.

—Here, drop it, drop it at once! Where did you get a cat from? And where from do these cats come to this house to create a nuisance?

As soon as the cat was put down it crawled away and vanished. Gour Bhattacharjee caught Fatik by his ear and shook it—Only play and play! No attempt at all to study—that's how you are going to grow up into manhood? If you play like this you will be an ass, a goat like your father—

Shibani could hear everything from the kitchen. When the beating increased in inten-

sity she would not keep silent any more. She walked out on the verandah.

And said—Why are you beating him like that?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Should I not beat him? If he does not study why should I not chastise him? Must I treat him with honour because he is a grandson?

Shibani said—That's no reason why you should abuse his father in front of him? Call him a donkey? A goat?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Well, is your son-in-law a human being? Would he smoke a cigarette in front of you if he were a gentleman? Would he cause the death of your daughter if he were human? What's wrong if I called him an ass? It is his good luck that I did not describe him more fully...

Shibani said—Well, you selected him as a son-in-law. You said that the son-in-law did not wish to see the girl after he heard your name. Why did you not make proper enquiries? One who can manage a school and teach so many boys and girls should be able to manage household affairs.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Well, don't I manage my household affairs? Have I kept you starving?

Shibani said—Whether I am starving or having a very happy and well fed existence is known only to my God. It is not necessary to discuss my happiness. Have you ever thought of my happiness? Whether I lived or died never meant anything to you. Only the proper management of your school mattered.

Rani would find it hard to tolerate any more. She went up to Shibani and said—Will you stop now grandpa? You have scolded grandpa quite enough—now, will you kindly stop?

Shibani recovered her balance at this admonition from Rani. She did not wait there and went straight into the kitchen to get busy with ladles and tongs.

Rani also went and stood near the kitchen door.

She said—Why do you scold grandpa constantly grandma, tell me that?

Shibani said—You shut up. You need not bother me—

Rani said—Yes, that's a very convenient arrangement. You will scold my grandpapa and I shall keep my mouth shut, isn't that it?

Shibani said—Can't you see how your grandpapa scolds that motherless boy? A small boy like that cannot study so much. He is so small, he cannot study so much. Would not he play a little, but go on studying the whole day long? Are all people aged and old like your grandpapa? Shouldn't young people have some whims and desire for fun?

Rani said—Yes, but Fatik is very unruly too, grandma.

Shibani said—Small boys are usually a little unruly. That is no reason why they should be beaten so much. He does not beat you, does he? Just because his father is not here, should he be scolded like that? He is after all a son of another family—

Suddenly grandpapa's voice was heard—Rani, Oh Rani!—

Rani ran up. Said—What is it grandpa?

Gour Bhattacharjee took Rani to one side and asked—What was grandma telling you, darling? Is she very angry with me?

Rani said—You are not at fault grandpa; why do you beat Fatik so much? You do not beat me, do you; and I also am naughty—

Grandpa said—Why should I beat you, little Mother, even if you are naughty? You do your studies so well. Anybody who studies well is never scolded or punished. You stand first in your class! You are so nice and good.

So saying the Pandit Mashai lovingly touched her head.

Rani said—Don't waste time showing your

love; you will be late for school and grandma will scold me, you better go—

Gour Bhattacharjee got up and went to get ready.

Rani also got up. She picked up her books, slate and other paraphernalia and said—I am going grandma.—Everybody had left by then. Only Fatik was sitting with his face close down on the pages of a book.

Rani suddenly went up to him. Said—Here, get up, you have studied too much, there is no need to study any more. Get up, eat your rice and go to school, it is getting late. So saying she began to hit him lightly on the head.

Fatik got annoyed and said—Why are you hitting me, why?

Rani said—Why not? Why shouldn't I hit you? I get scolded for you every day. You neglect your studies, behave wickedly, and I get scolded—

By then grandma had arrived on the scene. Grandma also said—Here you, get up, get up, go for your bath, I am getting the rice ready, hurry up or you will have no time to eat. You and your grandpapa will sit down together to eat—

Fatik cried out—Look grandma, Rani has hit me—

Grandma said—Rightly too. She should hit you. No reading or writing, only wickedness! If you are wicked you will be beaten. Can you come first in your class like her?

Fatik stood up. He said—All of you only beat me. If you go on beating me like this I shall certainly run away one day,—I tell you that—

Grandma said—I wish you to run away, why don't you do so? Where will you run away to, let me hear? To which sticky corner of this earth?

Fatik said—I shall go off to my father—

Rani exclaimed—My goodness, isn't he clever for his age grandma? If you will run

off to your father, will you be able to find the way?

Grandma said—Let him go to his father and discover how lovingly he will be received. The father just left him here and then never even wrote a letter to enquire about him. We know well enough how worried the father is about his son—

—Oh Rani, Rani!

Basanti arrived suddenly. She was astounded to see what was going on.

Said—Rani, why are you so late? Aren't you going to school?

Rani said—Just listen mother; Fatik says he will run away.

—Good heavens! What sort of talk is that Aunt, why should he run away? Where will he run away to?

Aunt said—He alone knows where he will run away to. He says, to his father. How fond the father is of his son is well understood. Doesn't even write a letter to find out how the son is. What a father!

Basanti said—How is that? The son-in-law has not written a single letter since he went away?

Shibani said—The daughter kept the relationship going so long. Now that she is gone, to what purpose will the relationship be kept up? He cares two pins for the relationship!

Basanti said—She who has gone, has gone; but the son is his own son—

Shibani said—That uncle of yours; spent his whole life after his school, that school, never even bothering to find out if we were alive or were getting food to eat in the house. Daughter had to be married, so he does not even find out what sort of a man he was marrying her to. Should I tell about all this; it is all my bad luck and destiny—

Gour Bhattacharjee had by then had a dip in the pond, Fatik had gone to bathe. Basanti

said—We shall go now Aunty. Come Rani, come, it is getting late—

Basanti and her daughter thereafter left.

* * * *

In the beginning Balarampur High School was housed in a single building. Commencing with a tin shed with a couple of rooms in it, which was Gour Bhattacharjee's Pathshala. Sitting under the sheet metal roof he used to fan himself with a palm leaf hand fan and perspire heavily in the unbearable heat. People referred to it as Gour Master's Pathshala. He dreamt of a great institution while he sat in the tin shed. The tin shed will become a properly built permanent structure some day, he imagined. Students will come to that building to grow into perfect men. Well, that also happened eventually. A well built house it was. And the boys came to that well built house for their education.

Binod was a pupil of that period.

Binod's mother was a widowed lady. When she became a widow, she came one day to Gour Bhattacharjee carrying her little son and put him down at the pandit's feet—said, I have brought him to you Pandit Mashai, do look after him as your own son—

A slip of a little fellow, lean and thin, was Binod. Gour Bhattacharjee felt compassion for the little boy. He said—Who am I, that you expect me to do things? It is His will that will determine whether Binod will grow into a good and capable man. That I have built a school is not my achievement as you might think. If He so wills, the school will run and grow bigger; so, if He wishes, your son also will become a man. Learn to leave everything to Him, He will look after His own affairs, you will see; you and I are mere instruments—

Then, it was Binod who passed from this school, got a scholarship and went to district

headquarters for further studies. He got scholarship there too, and went to Calcutta. He graduated from Calcutta. Then.....

One day Gour Bhattacharjee came running back home.

—Have you heard, Barabou; our Binod has stood first in the B.A. examination.

Shibani was very pleased to hear this news. She said—How glad would his mother have been, had she been alive!

Gour Bhattacharjee was holding Binod's letter in his hand. He said—Just see; he has written—It is only with your blessings that I have achieved this success. I shall come to Balarampur next week and take the opportunity to touch your feet. I am getting ready to appear in the I. A. S. examination. Very respectfully and obediently yours Binod—

Gour Bhattacharjee was not pleased by reading out the letter to Shibani. He went out with the letter again.

Shibani said—Where are you going now?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You repeatedly said I was insane over the school and the school. Now you see why I was mad about the school. I am going to read the letter to Naren—

—Yes, but must you go out at this time of the day? Why not have your meal and then go out in the evening—

But Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had already gone out on the road. He shouted back from the road—No, no, food can wait; you better eat. I shall be late. Let me first tell everybody about this.

That day when Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai returned home, it had passed well beyond the afternoon into late evening. By that time there was not a soul in Balarampur who did not know that Binod Bihari Bandyopadhyay of Gour Master's school had stood first in the B. A. examination from a Calcutta college, had obtained a scholarship and was preparing to become a District Magistrate.

Naren Chakravarty was then in Court. Gour Bhattacharjee went right into the house. Naren may not be at home ; but the Bouma would certainly be in.

—Bouma, Oh Bouma, where are you Bouma ?

Basanti had finished her meal and was stretching out for forty winks. She came up and said—What is it uncle ?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai brought out Binod's letter from his pocket and showed it—See here, Bouma, read this letter, our Binod has written—

So saying he started reading it himself—Respected sir, you will be glad to learn that in the Calcutta University B. A. Examination I have.....

He continued to read right down to the last word. And said—You have seen, your Auntie complains constantly that I am mad about the school. Now you see why I am mad over the school. When Naren comes home, give him the news, you understand ? He will be pleased. I have read out the letter to Bhabaranjan. I read it out to your Auntie and now to you. I shall now go to the Gunge in the Eastern Zone, must read it out to Nimai too, then.....

Then it looked as if he suddenly remembered. He asked—Where is Rani ?

Bouma said—She has gone to school—

Then tell Rani too, Bouma, that our Binod has stood first—

There was hardly any time to wait. From there straight on to Nimai Shaw at the "Balarampur Variety Stores". Nimai Shaw was then the President of the School Committee. Busy the whole day with trading. He had so many different business affairs to look after. Still he attended to school matters in between all that.

—Nimai, oh Nimai, are you in ?

Nimai was then sitting inside with a mountain of papers relating to accounts. Hearing

the voice of the Master Mashai he got up and came out. He said—Come in Master Mashai, come in. What news ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Nothing, I shall not stay, heard the news ? My pupil, Binod, you know Binod, he has stood first in the B. A. examination. See here, he has written to me—

So saying he brought the letter out and read it aloud once more. He said—See, he is the pride of the school, pride of you all and of Balarampur—

Nimai Shaw said—Then you should declare a holiday for the school. A day's holiday in honour of Binod ; shouldn't that be the right thing—?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No, no, that would not be right Nimai. A holiday is a day lost, neglecting studies cannot be of advantage. Better, you send round a circular, informing everybody about this, that will boost the morale of the boys. Saying that, he was moving away. Nimai Shaw came with him to see him to the door.

He said—One thing, Master Mashai—

Gour Bhattacharjee turned round—What is it ? He said.

—The teachers have made a joint petition.

—Petition about what ?

—They have said their salaries should be increased as they can no longer live on what they earn. Prices have gone sky high and are still on the increase—

Gour Bhattacharjee stopped dead in his track at this and said—Why ? Why do they want an increase of pay ? I am also a teacher. They never said anything to me ? If I can manage to live with some strain and difficulty, why cannot they manage to meet their expenses of living ? They earn extras by writing notes, taking students for private coaching and tuition, they should have no wants. No, no, no increase of pay is necessary. And how

will you manage to pay more ? Have you any funds ?

Nimai Shaw said—That was what we were discussing in the School Committee the other day. Everyone said if the school fees were increased and the students paid a rupee or eight annas more per head then out of.....

—No, no, no, do not do any such thing Nimai ! You do not know the condition of the boys' parents. I know 'everybody. No one has the ability to pay more. Or they would not be coming to me all the time to make appeals. They all want their sons to be made free students—no, no, do not agree, be very careful, absolutely unyielding—

After that he went out on the road. But his head was full of Binod's achievement. Who else should be told about Binod's letter ? To whom else should he read out the letter ? He was busy thinking out that. He said—I must go now Nimai. I have a lot of places to go to and visit a number of persons.

* * * *

In the beginning all work was done after consulting Gour Bhattacharjee. Gour Bhattacharjee was then a member of the committee. Representative of the teachers. Things were done as Gour Bhattacharjee advised.

But later on there were differences and irritated arguments.

Suddenly Gour Bhattacharjee returned home before it was evening. He never came home so early. Shibani was astonished.

She said—Well, well, why are you home so early ? Haven't you got a Committee Meeting to-day ?

Rani was sitting there at one corner. She said—Bah, haven't you heard, grandpa has resigned from the committee.

Grandma was surprised to hear this from Rani. She said—My goodness ; how do you know all this ?

Rani said—Daddy was telling mother the other day and I heard—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No, my dear, it is not like that. How much longer should I work myself to death ? They are all youngsters, they should learn all the tricks of the trade. I shall not be there for ever to run the school. How will they manage things then ?

Then he looked at Rani and asked—Why is she here at this hour ?

Shibani said—Do you know, she has stood first in her class again—she has come to tell me that—

—Is that so ? Pandit Mashai said as he stopped in the act of taking his shirt off.

Rani said—Yes Grandpa, I have obtained ninety marks in Sanskrit—

—Splendid ! This girl will certainly maintain my prestige. Then what did your father say ? Has he heard ?

—Father has not come back home yet. I came straight from school to tell you. You had promised to give me something ; give it.

Pandit Mashai started to laugh—That is so, she has to be given some thing. Well, what will you have ?

—I shall take a sari.

—A sari ?

Rani said—Yes, a sari, ma does not give me any saris to wear. Says I am not grown up enough. But grandma, I can cook rice, can't I ? When you fell ill didn't I cook the rice for you ?

Grandma was laughing.

She spoke to the Pandit Mashai—Well, why don't you buy her a sari ? The fact is she wants to dress in a sari like her elder sister—

Once when Abanti, Pandit Mashai's daughter, had come to Balarampur, Rani persistently demanded that she should be allowed to dress in saris, Would put on a

sari and veil her face as Didi did. Rani was much younger then.

She went home and pleaded to her mother—Mother, I want to dress in a sari like Didi—

Basanti got angry—Why must you wear a sari? Are you grown up as Didi is that you will put on a sari? No, no, you will not get any saris now—

Mother did not buy her a sari on that occasion in spite of all pleading. But when the Pandit Mashai learnt about her ninety marks in Sanskrit he said—It is all right; Bouma did not give you a sari; I shall buy you one this time—

He took Rani right away to the market that time. Nimai Shaw had a sari department to his shop.

He arrived there and said—Nimai, please give a nice sari to this grand daughter of mine. She is very eager to put on a sari!

Nimai Shaw had a look and said—Who is this? Isn't this Naren's daughter?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—So she is; but what does that matter; she is my grand daughter too. Her father does not pamper her; nor does her mother respond to her pleading; so she makes her demands to me. She has got ninety marks in Sanskrit. So she is to get a sari—

Rani chose a sari.

By that time people at home had started looking for Rani. Where is Rani? Where has she gone after she came back from school?

Basanti asked Panchu's mother, the maid servant—Oh, Panchu's mother, do you know where Rani has gone?

Panchu's mother has grown old working in this house. She looked after Rani since her birth.

Basanti said—She has gone perhaps to Aunty's house, she has eaten nothing, go and bring her home—

Panchu's Mother had eaten a good meal. She was dozing at one corner of the floor. She said—And who is going to call that daughter of yours madam? Who has got that reckless courage?

—Why, you go and get her by the ear and drag her home. I shall teach her to loiter about at all hours—

Panchu's Mother did not budge an inch even then. The previous day Panchu's Mother had such scratches and bites on her hands that the wounds were still quite raw.

Eventually Basanti went herself. It was a hot afternoon. Yet Basanti followed the shady path by the pond and alongside the leafy pakur tree. She arrived non stop at Aunty's place.

—Aunty!

—Bouma, come in, come in. You have come in search of Rani?

Basanti said—I had guessed right that Rani would be here. She came back from school but did not stay at home for a minute. I was thinking of giving her food to eat and she just slipped out and came here.

Shibani went on laughing. She said—Why did you take the trouble to come in this heat? You could have sent Panchu's Mother. I asked her whether she had come after informing you and she said—Mother knows.

—You see Aunty, what a liar she has become latterly. You spoil her and she is becoming quite impossible. She does not listen to us at all. But where is she? Where?

—You want to see her? Have a look.

So saying she pointed to a bedstead inside the room. And said—Look there.

Basanti looked inside and saw Rani lying fast asleep on Uncle's bed. She was dressed in a striped sari.

—My goodness, where has she got a sari from? Who gave her a sari?

Shibani laughed and said—Don't scold her Bouma, she is very eager to dress in a sari—

Easanti asked—Had she been demanding a sari from you ?

Shibani said—No, no, your daughter is not so ill mannered. I told your uncle to buy her a sari. She has got ninety marks in Sanskrit I am told. Your uncle had said that he would give her something if she stood first. She talks about saris, so he took her to the market and got a sari for her—

Easanti said—Really Aunt, you do pamper and spoil her. She could not get it from me, so she went after you—

Shibani exclaimed—Oh, let it be ; don't take her to task for this. Let her sleep now.

When he returns from school he will take her home personally ; you go back now—

—But she hasn't had any food.

—Have I forgotten that ? I have seen to her comforts and she has no hesitation to ask for more if she felt like that. She was born your child but she is really my daughter. You should not worry about her.—

Didi :—Elder sister. In this case Abanti was called Didi by Rani.

Barabou :—Eldest daughter-in-law. It is customary in Bengal for a husband to address his wife as other members of the family address her.

Bouma :—Elders address the wives of their juniors as Bouma.



APPOINTMENT OF THE GOVERNOR AND ITS IMPLICATIONS, IN THE LIGHT OF THE INTENTION OF FRAMERS

MAHINDER SINGH DAHIYA

The office of the Governor though a hang over from the British Rule in India was thought by the framers of the Constitution indispensable for the provinces. On account of the fact that some restrictions were imposed by the Cabinet Mission plan on the Constituent Assembly of India, the framers of the constitution followed the system of provincial autonomy as it existed under the Government of India Act 1935. Though the framers purported to make the office of the Governor almost similar to that of the 1935 Act, yet they were not inclined to adopt it in entirety.

The Constituent Assembly of India appointed a Provincial Constitution Committee under the Presidentship of Sardar Patel and this Committee was entrusted with the business of drafting the provincial constitution. The memorandum on the principles of a provincial constitution prepared and circulated by the constitutional advisor, Sir B. N. Rau, provided that the Governor would be elected by the provincial Legislature by secret ballot according to the system of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote.¹ While making this suggestion, the constitutional advisor stated in a note that in a Unitary constitution and even in a Federal constitution approximating to the unitary type like that of Canada, provincial Governors may be appointed by the Central Government. Under the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946, the Union Government will not have this power and some other method of selecting Governors has to be adopted. We can have direct election by the people of the province or some system of

indirect election. As the Governors are intended for the most part to be responsible heads acting on the advice of the ministers, it is perhaps unnecessary to have direct election with all its complications. As at the Centre we may have election by the legislature. This is what has been proposed in the above provision.²

The provincial constitution committee in its meeting on June 6, 1947 considered and discussed the system adopted in U.S.A., appointment through indirect election and the nomination by the Central government.³ The joint meeting of the provincial constitution committee and the Union Constitution Committee decided that the Governor should not be appointed by the central government but chosen by the respective provinces".⁴ Hereafter, in the memorandum of the provincial constitution committee it was stated, "For each province there shall be a Governor to be elected directly by the people on the basis of adult suffrage." The committee was of the opinion that the election of the Governor should, as far as possible, synchronize with the general election to the provincial Legislative Assembly. This may be difficult to provide by statute, because the Legislative Assembly may be dissolved in the middle of its terms.⁵ While defending the provision of the election of the Governor, Sardar Patel, the Chairman of the provincial Constitution Committee, stated in the Constituent Assembly, "It is considered necessary because of the dignity of the office which a popular Governor will hold and naturally a Governor who has been elected by adult

franchise of the whole province will exert considerable influence on the popular Ministry as well as on the province as a whole. His dignity and status also demands that he should have the unanimous and general support of all the sections of the people in the country."⁶

The Provincial Constitution Committee had further suggested that the President of India should appoint an acting Governor in case a Governor happened to remain absent from his duty or incapacity or failure to discharge his functions "for a period not exceeding four months".⁷ During the course of the discussion Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant moved an amendment to create the post of Deputy Governor and the constituent Assembly accepted the amendment. While speaking in the Constituent Assembly Pt. Pant stated, "It is likely that the Governor may have to go abroad for important public business that he may be deputed for diplomatic service of an important character for a short term or he may be required to perform other duties for a limited period which may not allow him to discharge his normal functions. For such occasions we should have a Deputy Governor to take his place."⁸ The amendment of Pt. Pant which states that for every province there would be a Deputy Governor elected after every general election by the provincial Legislature on the system of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote,⁹ was accepted by the Constituent Assembly and the method of appointment by the president of the Federation was deleted. The Deputy Governor was to fill a casual vacancy in the office of the Governor for the remainder of his term of office. He was also to act for the Governor in his absence.¹⁰ While defending his amendment, he stated that the nomination of an officiating Governor by the president would be an embarrassing duty and repugnant to the principle of provincial autonomy.¹¹

The Drafting Committee gave one more alternative that the Governor would be appointed for a panel of names chosen by the Legislative Assembly of the Province.¹² When Draft article 131, which related to the method of choosing the Governor came for discussion in the Constituent Assembly on May 30, 1949, the method of election adopted earlier seemed inconsistent with the system of responsible government.¹³ The method of election met vehement criticism and it was dropped on the following grounds.

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru stated in the Constituent Assembly, "Nearly two years have passed, two years which have made an enormous difference to the Indian scene. And if we seek to reconsider something that we have passed two years ago, before the 15th August 1947, it should not appear to be a strange thing to do, for we have had a great deal of experience, bitter experience during this period Now, one of the things that we have been aiming at a great deal has been to avoid any separatist tendencies, the creation of groups, etc..... Apart from the tremendous burden of these elections for the provincial and central legislatures, to add another election on this major scale would mean not only spending a tremendous deal of energy and time of the nation but also the money of the nation and divert it from far more worthwhile projects."¹⁴ Dr. Ambedkar said, "Having regard to this fact it was felt whether it was desirable to impose upon the electoral process which would cost a lot of time, a lot of trouble and I say a lot of money as well".¹⁵ H. V. Kamath was of the opinion, that if the object of the Constitution is to have a parliamentary form of government in every state, then it is patent, it is obvious that the method of choice by direct election is absolutely "inappropriate and unacceptable".¹⁶

It is an admitted fact that one of the essentials of successful cabinet government in

a province or in the country as a whole is the existence of a fairly impartial constitutional Head, who is more or less a symbol or a constitutional figure-head. If the Governor were to be elected by the direct vote of all voters in a province he is very likely to be a party-man with strong views of his own, and considering that he will be elected by the whole province—he will think that he is a far superior man and a far more powerful man than the Chief Minister or the premier of the State who will be returned from one constituency only. There will be two conflicting authorities within the state : one is the premier, whom, under this constitution we have invested with executive authority so far as the State is concerned, and the other is the Governor, who, though the constitution does not confer on him very substantial powers and functions, will arrogate much to himself, because he will say that “I have been elected by the people of the whole of the province and as such I am a person a gratia with the people and not the Chief Minister”¹⁷. Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar shared this view and said that there was a fear that the Governor might get into clash with the premier and the cabinet responsible to the legislature.¹⁸ Further he said that “the election itself under modern condittons will have to be fought out on a party ticket. The fact is that even at or during the elections the party will have to rally round a leader who will presumably be the future premier of the province.” It was also maintained that “nowhere does the system of election of the Governor exists where the Institution of responsible government is the main feature of the constitution.”¹⁹

During the discussion it was the general opinion of the members that the election of Governor on the basis of universal suffrage was incompatible with parliamentary form of

government which had been adopted in the provinces. K. M. Munshi stated, “After we have adopted the British model the election of the Governor by adult franchise in the province remained an anomaly, a completely out-of-date and absurd thing.....The expenditure and energy of a province under election would have been wasted in putting a second rate man in the party at the head of the government. That would mean that he will be subsidiary in importance to the Prime Minister, as he would be his nominee. If that is going to be the case, there is no reason why the farce of a huge election has to be undergone.”²⁰ On behalf of the Drafting Committee, Dr Ambedkar made the position clear and maintained that “it was also felt, nobody, knowing full well what powers he is likely to have under the consttution, would come forth to contest an election. We felt that the powers of the Governor were so limited, so nominal, his position so ornamental that probably very few would come forward to stand for election.”²¹

The other factor which led the framers to abandon the method of election is that when India got freedom on August 15, 1947, the restrictions on the supremacy of the constituent Assembly imposed by the Cabinet Mission plan disappeared. Hereafter, under the circumstances when this provision was being discussed, the unitary system instead of the provincial autonomy was gaining ground. Pt. Nehru stated, “we have still to pass through difficult times and I think we should always view things from this context of preserving the unity, the stability and the security of India and not produce too many factors in our constitutional machinery which will tend to disrupt that unity by frequent recourse to vast elections²².....”

The panel system suggested by the Drafting Committee was also left due to certain factors.

Mr. Brajeshwar Prasad stated that the nomination by the president from a panel of names really means restricting the choice of the president. It gives power in the hands of the Legislature. It is necessary that the president should be free from the influence of the Legislature.²³ H. V. Kamath opposed the panel system on the ground that if the president does not choose the first nominee and he chooses the third or fourth, the Legislature of the State will certainly have a grouse against the man chosen by the president because he has been chosen in preference to the first man.²⁴ It was also stated that when the election would be held for the panel of names, the groupism was bound to be generated within the party.²⁵ The other factor which led the members to leave this system was that the experience gained in connection with the appointment of Vice-Chancellors of the Universities was a bitter one.²⁶ It was also stated that "it carries no responsibility of either the president or the cabinet or the provincial cabinet because the responsibility here is very much divided."²⁷

The system of proportional representation as suggested by the constitutional adviser was not discussed in detail and it was dropped immediately. Shrimati G. Durga Rani maintained that "the system of proportional representation would not improve matters in any way. That would only produce the effect that it would divide the whole House into warring groups and it will also produce all the disadvantages and defects of the French system."²⁸

When the provision pertaining to the selection of the Governor was being discussed, Mr. Brajeshwar Prasad moved an amendment proposing that the Governor should be appointed by the president "by warrant under his hand and seal". He stated that in the interest of the All India Unity it was necessary

that the authority of the Governor of India should be maintained intact over the provinces.²⁹ While supporting the amendment, Dr. Ambedkar said that the Governor had no functions which he is required to exercise in his discretion or individual judgment. According to the principles of the constitution, he is required to follow the advice of the Ministry in all matters. If the Governor had no power of interference in the internal administration of a Ministry which had a majority then it seemed to me that the question whether he was nominated or elected was a wholly immaterial one.³⁰ Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru said, "we must base democracy on the electoral process. We have done it. But the point is whether we should duplicate it again and again.....Therefore, I should like to support fully the amendment proposed that the Governor should be a nominated Governor."³¹ Further, he was of the opinion that the minority may also get nomination by this method.³² B. G. Kher supported the method of nomination on the ground that "the only insurance for smooth government in the provinces is to allow the president of the country to nominate a person who enjoys his confidence, which certainly means, the confidence of his cabinet, as also the cabinet of the province, to be the Governor of the province. Any other mode, whether by election on adult suffrage or by election by the representatives of the people in the House will give rise to considerable friction."³³ Dr. P. S. Deshmukh also supported it on the plea that "Our constitution is based on the 1935 Act which in itself is based on the principles of responsible government.....That being so, the head of the administration must be one who cannot interfere with the day to day administration." Therefore, the decision embodied in the amendment is a correct one.³⁴

It is clear from the speeches of the various

uminaries that the method of appointment by the president, was gaining ground and besides it the framers purported to establish some link with the provinces and it was possible through this method. Pt. Nehru was very critical of the fact that the elected Governor would have fewer common links with the Centre.³⁵ Therefore, the framers adopted the method of nomination.

H. V. Kamath supported the idea of appointment and said that considering the constitution as a whole, considering the powers given to the State Cabinet and the relations between the units and the Centre, I think that the lesser-most evil is this system of appointment by the president.³⁶ It was also thought that in the interests of harmony, good working and sounder relations between the provincial cabinet and the Governor, the Canadian method would be better.³⁷

Keeping in view the said facts, the constituent Assembly accepted the amendment moved by Mr. Rajeshwar Parsad³⁸ and rejected all the other proposals. While defending the appointment of the Governor, Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar said that the Governor might occasionally have to use his extraordinary powers and this point is more in "favour of nomination rather than in favour of election".³⁹ Again he said, "If the choice is left to the president and his cabinet, the president may, in conceivable circumstances, with due regard to the conditions of the province, choose a person of undoubted ability and position in public life who at the same time has not been mixed up in provincial party struggle or factions."⁴⁰ It was desired that the man to be appointed would be from outside and the convention would grow up of the Government of India consulting the provincial cabinet.⁴²

Although the convention of consulting the State cabinet appears to be sound, yet it has

not been followed strictly. Before the General Election of 1967, there was no importance of this convention that is why in the Centre and almost in all the States, congress was the ruling party but after 1967, it has resulted into a conflict between the centre and the non-congress governments. If it is simply consultation and not the consent of the Chief Minister or the State Cabinet, there is no logic in it. In Haryana, when Rao Birender Singh was the Chief Minister, he had consultation with the Central Government leaders on the issue of Governor's appointment, they refused to accept the principle that the panel of names should be discussed with him or he be taken into confidence. The centre suggested only one name to him and not a panel of names.⁴³ In Punjab, Mr. Gurnam Singh had disapproved of the two persons either of whom the Union Government proposed to appoint the Governor of the State. Mr. Gurnam Singh had suggested to the centre a few names who had nothing to do with Punjab.⁴⁴ It was not more than consultation and the more they could do, achieved non-congress men as Governors of their respective States.

There are cases where the Chief Minister was not consulted at all. For instance, in the appointment of Sri Prakasa (Madras) and Kumaraswami Raja (Orissa), the respective Chief Ministers have gone on record that they were not consulted. The former case was probably justified in view of the fact that the then Chief Minister, as well as his party, was routed in the first General Election in Madras, but there was no such excuse in the latter case, except that probably Nabakrushna Chaudhry was too mild a Chief Minister to be consulted.⁴⁵ In U.P., the appointment of Dr. B. Gopala Reddy was announced before the formation of the new government headed by Mr. Charan Singh. In Lok Sabha, Mr. S. M. Banerjee wanted to know whether

Mr. Charan Singh would be consulted and this appointment would be reconsidered.⁴⁶ Mr. Chavan said that there would be no consultation now.⁴⁷

In Bihar, the controversy arose over the appointment of Mr. Kanungo. The Chief Minister of Bihar Mr. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha publicly protested against the 'imposition' of Mr. Kanungo. He regretted that the centre had gone ahead with the appointment despite 'clear rejection' of Mr. Kanungo by the State Cabinet. He called it a violation of the convention that the Governor be appointed in consultation with the State Government. The Chief Minister said that Mr. Kanungo would not be welcome in the State⁴⁸. One of the national dailies published in Delhi called "Kanungo" an unwise imposition on the Bihar Chief Minister⁴⁹. A spokesman of the Central Government said that the Prime Minister and Home Minister had consulted the Chief Minister⁵⁰. Mr. Nath Pai stated in Lok Sabha that Mr. Chavan asked Mr. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha as to what did he know about Kanungo? Mr. Sinha replied that he is a good man. It does not mean that he approved his appointment⁵¹. Mr. Chavan said that after the announcement was made, a telegram came from the Bihar cabinet that Mr. Kanungo should not be appointed as Governor⁵². But this is immaterial that is why the central government could have changed it. Mr. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha cited the instance of 1947 when Mr. Jai Ram Dass Daulat Ram had to give up the post of Governor following objections by Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha, the then Chief Minister of the State⁵³. Sh. Ambazhagan (D.M.K.) branded the Central government and stated that the appointment of Mr. Kanungo had been made to protect the interest of the congress party⁵⁴.

The other convention of appointing Governors from outside has also been violated

in some of the cases. For instance Sardar Ujjal Singh was appointed as the Governor of Punjab. Mr. H. C. Mukherjee who was the Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly, was hundred percent a Bengali by any definition though domiciled in Bihar, was appointed as the Governor of West Bengal. When Nehru wanted to appoint a non-Bengali, it seems, B. C. Ray, the Chief Minister, strongly objected saying that Bengal would not tolerate a non-Bengali Governor, and B. C. Roy was not a man to be trifled with. Then the Union Government had to rack their brains and find out somebody who satisfied both conditions, Nehru's for an outsider and Roy's for a Bengali, and it was easy to hit upon H. C. Mukherjee because it was discovered that Mukherjee was a Bihari by domicile. Similarly, after Mukherjee's death, when the same problem arose, to the satisfaction of both Nehru and Roy, Miss Padmaja Naidu whose mother was a pure Bengali, married to an Andhra citizen, was discovered. It is only after B. C. Roy's death and the loss of solidarity of the Bengal Congress that a non-Bengali could be sent to Raj Bhawan⁵⁵. In these cases the intention of the framers and the recommendation of the States Reorganization Commission found no place⁵⁶.

As a matter of fact, there is no criteria for the appointment of Governors. In most of the cases, the tools at the central government and the men from the Congress party are sent to Raj Bhawans and on account of this fact, the recall of the Governor is demanded by the Chief Minister⁵⁷. Since independence up to 1964, out of 45 Governors, 24 had been from the congress party. Only one Governor—Pattom Manu Pillai was appointed from the opposition party—S.S.P., but he is considered from the congress that is why he was the Chief Minister of Kerala and was sent to Punjab to make room for the congress party. Mr. Nath

Pai said in Lok Sabha that the office of the Governor was degraded by the Centre by making it a patronage and largesse⁵⁸. In some of the cases, the defeated candidates of the congress party had been appointed as Governors. N. V. Gadgil, H. V. Patasker and V. V. Giri fall under this category. There are instances, where the Chief Minister had been appointed as Governor to make room for his successor. K. C. Reddy was removed from Mysore to make room for Hanumanthaiya. B. Gopala Reddy was removed from Andhra to make room for Sanjiva Reddy. For some-time they had been in the Central Cabinet and later on appointed as Governors. A. J. John from Kerala, H.K. Mahtab from Orissa, Bhim Sen Sachar from Punjab and Ramakrishna Rao from Hyderabad were all made Governors to make room for their successors as Chief Ministers. V. V. Giri was a reluctant Governor in the beginning and H. K. Mahtab resigned Governorship to become the Chief Minister of Orissa (1956) K. C. Reddy and Ajit Prasad Jain first grudgingly accepted Governorship and both declined office after the announcement was made, though later they both accepted again⁶⁰. Really speaking, it seems, as if the Governorship is reserved for the congressmen. Another category of Governors is that of civil servants, who are considered as the favourite boys of Central government. Mr. Dharamvira, B. N. Chakravarty, Y. N. Sukhtankar and Vishnu Sahay belong to this category. Although the civil servants have no connection with the congress party yet they are inclined to safeguard the interest of the congress party.

The standard of appointment is deteriorating day by day and men like E. M. S. Namboodripad are demanding the abolition of this post.⁶¹ The Setalvad Study Team is of the opinion that the post of the Governor is considered as a consolation prize for burnt

out politicians.⁶² Being so, during question hour in Lok Sabha, Mr. P. K. Deo demanded from the treasury benches that the congressmen particularly the defeated candidates, would not be appointed as Governors.

The main purpose of the framers in accepting the method of appointment was that the Governor would be a harmonious link between the centre and the provinces and he would be above party politics. In this connection, the first question is that the Governor can be either a constitutional head or a link. These two roles are independent of each other and contradictory. Of these two, one is actually stated in the constitution itself and the other is implied by the provisions. He has to act as a link as well as an agent not merely because of his appointment but because of his holding office.⁶³ So far as the question of party politics is concerned, the intention of framers has no place in practice. The Governors are appointed by the Central government and in most of the cases from its own party and therefore the conflict arises between the state government, if there is a government of another party, and the centre on the one hand and the Governor on the other. While opposing the method of appointment Rohini Kumar Chaudhry stated in the constituent Assembly that Governor who is selected by the congress party cannot act in harmony with the provincial cabinet if it is of another party.⁶⁴ Moreover, the method of appointment is antithetical to the concept of real democracy. Shri Bishwa Nath Dass called it democracy from toe to neck and autocracy at the head.⁶⁵

Another plea taken by the framers was concerned with expenses of elections, etc. This is not convincing that is why the expenses should not be considered as a hurdle in the way of principle. Besides, we are holding elections of State legislatures, Lok Sabha,

President and moreover the mid-term elections of day to day. There would have been no harm in the election of the Governor, had the framers adopted it. Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhry stated that if an election takes place on the same day as on the day of General Election, there cannot be any question of additional expenses.⁶⁶

Now, the question is as to what should be done? Mr. Nath Pai suggests that the appointment of the Governor should be subject to the approval of parliament.⁶⁷ But the difficulty is that this system cannot solve the problem that is why the parliament is dominated by the party in power in the Centre and the members in Parliament act according to the directions given by their party. A. R. C. tean suggests that the Chief Minister should be consulted.⁶⁸ It was intended by the framers also but this too is not workable. If the consultation is simply consultation and no more, there is no use of it. If the consent of the Chief Minister is necessary, the appointment falls in his hands and not in the hands of Central government. Moreover, suppose, a new Chief Minister comes, he would say that the Governor should be removed and a new Governor should be appointed with his consent. Syed Muhammad said that the Governor has to be appointed first and the Governor then would ask the leader of the largest party to form the ministry. "Now where is the ministry to be consulted before the Governor is appointed by the President?"⁶⁹ Mr. A. B. Vajpayee suggested that a panel of names should be placed before the Chief Minister to select one of them.⁷⁰ This is also a vague suggestion that is why it is not certain that one of the names would surely be acceptable to the Chief Minister. Moreover, the central government may suggest in the panel all the four or five persons who are bent upon to protect the interests of the

party to which the central government belongs. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh says that the appointment should be made by the president aided by a council of impartial advisers.⁷¹ It appears that Dr. Singh is talking in the air. At present, the difficulty is that the Governors are considered as partial and if the suggestion of Dr. Singh is accepted, the advisers would also be characterised as partial. He has not made any suggestion for the selection of the advisers. If they are selected by the president himself it would be a farcical element because there is no difference between the appointment made by the president himself and by the advisers selected by him. He would select the advisers of his liking. Mr. E. M. S. Namboodripad has made a very good suggestion which deserves consideration. He says that the Governor should be elected directly by the people.⁷² The elected Governor would have the confidence of the people and he would have to go to the polls to seek the verdict of the people for his actions. Under such circumstances he is bound to be fair. Prof. Siban Lal Sexena supported the method of election on the ground that "we are modelling our constitution on the British model, we must give our president and Governors the dignity that the King enjoys in England. I feel that this dignity cannot be given to the Governor if he is a nominee of the president. If he is elected by the adult votes of the people, then alone he can get, can he acquire the dignity that the King enjoys in England."⁷³

As far as the post of the Deputy Governor was concerned, the Drafting Committee suggested the abolition of this post and it was accepted. The president was empowered to make such provision as he thought fit for the discharge of the functions of the Governor on the occurrence of a vacancy or when the Governor is unable to discharge his duties for any other reason.⁷⁴

Keeping in mind the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly and the said facts and figures, we are bound to draw inferences that the framers of the constitution did not pay much heed to the consequences occurring in the future. Their intention was that the Governor would be simply a constitutional head and no more but the difficulty is that there are too much ambiguities in the language of the subsequent articles pertaining to the office of the Governor. The problem is not that the Governor is an appointed one but it remains in the fact that the Governors are misunderstood about their constitutional position inspite of the fact that it was made clear by Dr. Ambedkar that the Governor would generally be bound by the advice of the council of Ministers. Moreover, the plea taken by the framers that nowhere the system of elected Governor was adopted but they did not try to know that nowhere the constitutional head was given powers in theory and denied in practice. Had there not been ambiguities in the Constitution, the controversy over the appointment of the Governors would not have arisen. The defect lies in the fact that what was intended by the framers was not depicted in the constitution.

1. Vide B. N. Rau, *India's Constitution in the Making*, Edited by B. Shiva Rao, P. 167.
2. Vide B. N. Rau, *India's Constitution in the Making*, Edited by B. Shiva Rao, P. 167-168.
3. Minutes, Select Documents II, 22 PP 646-47 cited in B. Shiva Rao, *Framing of India's Constitution*, P. 485.
4. Minutes, select Documents, II, 19, PP 608-9 cited in *Ibid*.
5. Vide clause I of the Memorandum on the Principles of a model provincial constitution C. A. D., Vol. IV, P. 593.
6. C. A. D., Vol. IV, P. 586.
7. Vide clause 3 (2) of the Memorandum of the principles of a model provincial constitution C. A. D., Vol. IV, P. 593.
8. C. A. D. Vol. IV, P. 610.
9. *Ibid*.
10. C. A. D. Vol. IV, P. 610.
11. *Ibid*
12. Draft Constitution, Article 131
13. Vide speech of Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 431.
14. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, PP 454-55
15. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 467
16. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 428
17. Speech of H. V. Kamath, C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 428-29.
18. C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 431.
19. *Ibid*
20. Vide speech of K. M. Munshi, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 452
21. C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P 467-68
22. Speech of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, PP 455-56.
23. C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 426
24. Speech of H. V. Kamath, C. A. D., P. 429
25. *Ibid*
26. Speech of Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 432.
27. Speech of Shrimati G. Durga Rai, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 450.
28. *Ibid*
29. C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 426
30. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, PP. 467-69
31. Vide Speech of Pt. Nehru, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 456
32. *Ibid*
33. Speech of B. G. Kher, C. A. D., Vol. VIII P. 436.
34. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 433
35. Vide speech of Pt. Nehru, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 455
36. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 430
37. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 433
38. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 469
39. Speech of Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 432.

40. *Ibid*, P. 431
42. Speech of Alladi Krishna Swami Ayyar, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 431.
43. *The Tribune*, August 19, 1967 ; P. 1
44. *Ibid*, August 18, 1967, P. 1
45. K. V. Rao, "The Governor at Work", *Journal of the Society for the study of State Governments*, Vol. I, July—September, 1968, No. 3, P. 90
46. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. II, 1967, Col. 2794.
47. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. II, 1967, Col. 2795.
48. *The Statesman*, November 10, 1967, P. 1
49. Nath Pai, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, 1967, Col. 799
50. *The Statesman*, November 10, 1967, P. 1
51. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, 1967, Col. 800
52. *Ibid*, Cols. 1779-77
53. *The Statesman*, November 10, 1967, P. 1
54. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, 1967, Col. 843
55. K. V. Rao, *Op. cit*, P. 89
56. Vide Report of the States Reorganization Commission, 1955, para 243, P. 69.
57. Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Mukherjee, Deputy Chief Minister and Chief Minister of Bengal respectively, met Mrs. Gandhi and demanded the recall of Dharamvira; *The Statesman*, March 8, 1969, P. 1.
58. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. II, 1967, Col. 2793.
59. *Ibid*, Col. 2795
60. K. V. Rao, *Parliamentary Democracy of India*, 1965, P. 436.
61. *The Statesman*, March 23, 1969, P. 1
62. *The Statesman*, December 15, 1967, P. 9
63. K. V. Rao, "The Role of the State Governors in India" *The Indian Political Science Review*, Vol. II, April-September 1968, Nos. 3 & 4, P. 174.
64. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 437.
65. *Ibid*, P. 447
66. *Ibid*, P. 438
67. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. II, 1967, Col. 2793.
68. *The Statesman*, December 15, 1967, P. 9
69. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 458
70. *The Statesman*, November 17, 1967, P. 7
71. *The Indian Express*, November 30, 1970, P. 5.
72. *The Statesman*, March 23, 1969, P. 1
73. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 450
74. Article 160.



THE LIARS OF PAKISTAN

A. C.

Lying is a game which once begun never terminates. One lie requires half-a-dozen more to uphold it as truth. If a lie is found out to be a lie, then the liar has to disclaim his connection with it by concocting more tales of non-existent facts, happenings, actions and interrelations. The liars who insisted on a partition of India supported their demand by a fictitious two-nation theory. The world was informed that India had two nations with their separate languages, cultures, racial characteristics and ways of life. Of the two nations the Muslim nation had a Muslim way of life with Urdu as the Muslim language of India. All Muslims of India formed a single happy family which wished to live separately in their own Muslim state of Pakistan. Soon after the formation of Pakistan 10000 Kadiani Muslims were slaughtered by other Muslims of different sects in the newly formed West Pakistan. Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs and members of all other non-Muslim communities were terrorised and subjected to merciless persecution in the course of which several hundred thousand non-Muslims were murdered, wounded and rendered totally destitute. Thus contrary to the teachings of Islam, non-Muslims were not protected by the Islamic state of Pakistan. When the Bengali Muslims insisted that Pakistan must accept Bengali as a joint state language, as Urdu was not their language ; there was grave trouble and, even-

tually Bengali was raised to the level of a state language in Pakistan. Numerous Bengalis (Muslims) had to die and suffer before this privilege was conceded to their mother language. The Bengalis also ate rice and fish as their staple food, dressed in Dhotis and Saris, sang their own time honoured songs in their own style, had a literature which dated back to the eleventh century and their way of life gave a prominent place to swimming, rowing, fishing, boat racing ; while the West Pakistanis ate wheat, dates, Indian corn and meat ; wore pyjamas, rode horses and shot down one another for family feuds. Their languages were Punjabi, Pustu, Sindhi and Baluchi which had no literature worth anything. What they borrowed from Urdu came from the Delhi and Lucknow areas of India. Only about 18% of the Urdu speaking people of prepartition India were Muslims and 82% were Hindus. So, the assertion that Urdu was the mother language of Indian Muslims (prepartition) was a lie as was the story of a common nationality of the Muslims.

When Pakistan was carved out of India and the Pakistanis set up embassies and diplomatic missions everywhere, this lying went on non stop with a view to blacken India's image before the world. The smallest communal trouble in India was exaggerated to fantastic proportions while a steady stream of non-Muslims fled from Pakistan due to the bar-

barous persecution they were subjected to by the Pakistanis. Before the present Bangla Desh struggle began, several million Pakistani non-Muslims had already left that country to seek refuge in India. The reasons for this were expropriation, murder, rape and total lack of protection for the non-Muslims of Pakistan. The offenders were by and large the West Pakistani officials who dominated all services in both sections of that country. The West Pakistanis also exploited the Muslims of East Bengal mercilessly and in a shameful manner. While palaces went up in the cities of West Pakistan in their hundreds, essential roads, bridges, railways, dykes and protective breakwater walls remained on paper only, thus exposing the Bengalis to dangers of floods and tidal bores and to a general lack of easy communications. 80% of the lucrative jobs went to West Pakistanis. The same was the case with contracts, permits for new industries and allocations of internationally borrowed and procured funds. The Bengalis, however, produced all the tea and jute which provided the major portion of the foreign exchange earnings of Pakistan. All this exploitative lack of justice and fair play caused the Bengali led Awami League to demand the abolition of the Martial Law Administration of Pakistan and establishment of a democratic form of government. Thus the fight began which is increasing in tempo day by day all over East Bengal. The Pakistan Army, which is now exclusively manned by West Pakistanis, is finding great difficulty in coming into contact with the forces of Bangladesh which are quite numerous, lightly armed, elusive, experts in guerrilla fighting and in avoiding open warfare with the heavily armed forces of Pakistan when they deployed in numbers and in mechanised formation. These Bangladesh troops are taking a heavy toll of the soldiers of Pakistan wherever they are found in small numbers, they are destroying roads, bridges,

railway tracks and are training up more and more freedom fighters with a view to begin attacks on the cantonment towns of East Bengal. The Pakistanis have about 200 small crafts to carry soldiers to the 65000 villages of East Bengal. The freedom fighters have some power driven crafts too ; but their number is not precisely known. It may be assumed that there are many such boats fitted with outboard motors. So, even if the Pakistan army goes from village to village they will have to travel in force by several boats moving together which will require several thousand such boats to make such movement militarily effective. While the Pakistan army is arranging river transport the army of Bangladesh will not remain idle—so that, this riverine warfare will not be entirely one sided. Small rivulets and canals can be blocked too and river craft ambushed. In short, this war will not end easily.

But the Pakistanis are not giving up their habitual practice of false propaganda and spreading of lies in a blatant and shameless manner. They are going about vilifying the Awami League for this fight ; and telling the world how India instigated Sheikh Mujibur Rehman to break up Pakistan by rebellion. The liars forget to explain why the army, navy and air force of Pakistan had 90% West Pakistani personnel, why government offices in Pakistan had 85% West Pakistani incumbents, why allotment of economic development expenditure had been so far 1500 crores for East Pakistan and 5000 crores for the Western section of the country, why foreign help utilisation has been 20% for East and 80% for West Pakistan and many other such acts of injustice that alienated the Bengalis. They also forgot to explain how and why when the great cyclone which devastated East Bengal before the elections in Pakistan, it was not taken much notice of by the Military

autocrats of Pakistan, thus causing death and suffering to millions of Bengalis. They also forget to mention that the Awami League won the elections by a 98% majority in East Pakistan, much too large a majority to be explained away by Indian instigation. The cyclone whipped up tidal bores which travelled inland in an unobstructed manner for the reason that the West Pakistani autocrats did not take the trouble to have dykes and break-water walls built, although that was advised by internationally famous specialists many years ago. Having ordered an election and announced the intention to terminate martial law administration and to establish a democratic government after the elections, Yahya Khan went back on his promises when he found the Awami League had won an overall absolute majority. He thus provoked a rebellion and tried to subdue it in the most heartless and barbarous manner. He slaughtered 1500 persons in 24 hours on the 25th—26th March 1971 in Dacca, his soldiers abducted 400 college girls from the University hostel there and he ordered bombardment of Chittagong port and town about the same time. In a matter of weeks the West Pakistanis killed 500,000 persons in East Bengal, raped defenceless women everywhere and set fire to all dwellings in the poorer quarters of Dacca and other towns. "At Dacca, Khulna, Jessore and Rajshahi sixtytwo distinguished persons including poets, novelists and academicians were shot dead on March 25 midnight and March 26.....those killed included Prof. Lutfar Rahman of Rajshahi College, Prof. Syed Abdul Hai, Mrs. Nilima Ibrahim, Muhammad Abdul Hai, Prof. Anarul Karim and Ahmed Jamal Rashid a young poet of Bangla Desh.....20 academicians of Dacca University were lined up against the wall inside the campus on March 28 and shot dead." (UNI Report.)

This genocide continued unabated since

those terrible days and thousands trekked towards the Indian borders daily and entered our territory. The number who are now in refugee camps would be about four million. This number would increase to ten million unless the powers put pressure on Pakistan and force the fascists of Islamabad to liquidate their autocracy and replace it by a democratic form of government in which East Bengal will be free to change its name from East Pakistan to Bangladesh and arrange for their own government in their own manner. What Yahya Khan has done, will prevent any integration of the two states of Pakistan.

In the mean time the liars must stop lying. For example one liar has written an account of what has happened in East Bengal in the *Guardian* weekly of Britain in which he has accused the Awami League men of the atrocities that were actually committed by the soldiers of Pakistan. Such lying is not only highly reprehensible but it also lowers the Pakistanis still further in the eye of the world. For, this liar says the Pakistan army has now suppressed the revolt and the Awami League men have gone into hiding in the remoter villages of East Bengal. If that is so, then why are thousands of men, women and children entering Indian territory everyday and why are many of them suffering from bullet or bayonet wounds? Why do they all say that Pakistani soldiers have attacked them in their villages and set fire to their huts, dishonoured their women and, even, killed their children? This liar should know that atrocities of the size that Yahya's men have perpetrated cannot be white washed. Millions of men, women and children do not fabricate lies in that expert manner in which this liar has tried to put all the blame on the innocent sufferers of Yahya Khan's fascistic frightfulness. Men have been hanged by the Anglo-Americans for war crimes which were not quite so heinous and

large scale as the atrocities committed by the commanders of the Pakistan army whose El Supremo is General Yahya Khan. These men should be brought to trial as soon as possible and punished in an exemplary manner. If this is not done, genocide in peace time may become a popular pastime for top ranking sadists. We do not know whether deliberate lying can be proved to be a crime of the nature of being an accessory after the fact. If that can be accepted as a cause of action by prosecutors all the liars who have been, are and shall be aiders and abettors of these hideous crimes by their attempts at white washing the same, should be brought to trial too. There are

some newspapers in Pakistan which spread lies and the editors of these papers should be charged with aiding genocide.

The arrival of millions of refugees is a great problem for India. The Indian Government have asked the U. N. to give Rs. 200 crores for the relief of these destitutes. The U. S. Government have paid \$500,000 (Rs. 37,50,000) to India for this purpose. Other nations have sent assistance too. Scores of foreigners have personally seen what the Pakistan army has done and described the horrors to their own countrymen. But the liars of Pakistan go on lying in an unashamed manner.



A VILLAGE ASTRONOMER

APURBA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

Very few people of to-day are acquainted with the Astronomical genius of Radha Govinda Chandra whose papers on occultation of stars, variable stars, etc., were once widely published in western journals of Astronomy. The biography and career of Sri Chandra is further more important because it throws some new light on the history of Astronomical researches in Bengal. Originally a Poddar (coin-tester) in the Jessore collectorate (now in E. Pakistan) Sri Chandra studied Astronomy in his spare time at home after his whole day's office work and, within the very limited scope available in that age, he could make so much advanced studies as to draw attention of western scholars. In recognition of his published papers, Sri Chandra was offered membership of several Astronomical Societies in U. K. U. S. A. and Europe. It is unfortunate that the merit of such a scholar has remained unadmired in Bengal.

Radha Govinda had written an autobiography containing the scope and aspiration of his researches; but unfortunately the complete manuscript is now missing. The first half of it has recently been traced in his home library and the present essay has been written on its basis. The title "A Village Schoolmaster" by the English poet Goldsmith was a very favourite one to him and Sri Chandra always assumed the title "A Village Astronomer." As a token of respect to his sentiment, the present essay has also been so named.

Radha Govinda was born in B. S. 1285, 1st Sravana (1878 A. D.) in Bagchar, a suburban village of Jessore in the house of his maternal uncle. He was brought up there amidst

abundance and affluence and was educated first in the Bagchar Primary School and then at the Zilla School at Jessore. He was married at an early age while still a student of High School. The academic career of Sri Chandra was very short and simple; after three unsuccessful attempts to pass the Entrance Examination, he left the school and sat idle at home for two years. At last he joined the Jessore Collectorate as a Poddar, i. e., tester of counterfeit coins at a monthly salary of Rs. 15/- only—a post unwarranted by his family aristocracy—and after 35 years of service, with a promotion to the rank of a cashier, he retired from service.

Although nothing bright in his school career, Sri Chandra was a serious reader at home. His maternal uncle had a very rich collection of books and a very high academic atmosphere prevailed in the family. His uncle, Avoya Charan Dey had published a collection of the verses of Vidyapati from the Amrita Bazar Press; even his grandmother, an old lady of that age, had some fundamental knowledge of Astronomy. She knew the celestial positions of the important stars, constellations and planets. The editor of Arya Darsan, Sri Jogendra Nath Vidyabhusan was a friend of this family. Born and brought up in such an environment, Radha Govinda developed a special fascination for Astronomy from his very childhood. Apart from his domestic atmosphere, an essay on 'How vast is this universe', appearing in his school text-book Charupath, Part III, edited by Akshoy Kr. Dutta, fascinated him. He was further inspired in his astronomical career by the famous lawyer of Jessore, Sri Kalinath

Mukherjee, a reputed author and writer on Astronomical matters.

Sri Mukherjee had written a Star-Atlas in Bengali which was published by M/S Thacker, Spink & Co. in 1901 A. D. He had also published two other books on Astronomy in addition to several popular essays in the journals "Hindu" and "Brahmabadin".

Sri Chandra, after he had discontinued his school career, pursued his studies at home with deep devotion and continued it with equal zeal even when he joined the Jessore co-lectorate. The way to his office ran beside the residential home of Sri Mukherjee and on his way to and back, Radha Govinda noticed lively discussions of Mukherjee on Astronomical matters with his other friends. Finally, Sri Chandra also joined the circle; the manuscript of the Star-Atlas was then under preparation and Sri Chandra also corrected some proofs of it.

Halley's comet was first visible to the naked eye in India on 24th April, 1910. Sri Chandra published in two essays the results of his observations of this comet which at once attracted the attention of interested readers. Sri Jagadananda Roy of Santiniketan advised Sri Chandra to expand his personal observatory by including a telescope of higher power for advanced course of study of the sky. His personal observatory was really poorly equipped, compared to the task he had undertaken and a moderately powerful telescope was a necessity to him. He finally purchased a 3" telescope from M/s F. Barnard & Co. of England. The original cardboard tube was later on replaced by a brass tube prepared by M/s Broadhurst & Clerkson. The total cost in these two stages amounted to Rs. 260/- whereas a similar telescope would then cost Rs. 600/- in the Calcutta market.

On 7th June, 1918 A. D., a new star was visible in the constellation Aquila. The

apparent brightness of some classes of stars changes; the Nova-stars remaining faint for a long time suddenly flare up into brilliance. A Super-Nova star flares up suddenly into millions of times of its original brightness and then gradually fades away. The above star belonged to the Nova-class named Nova Aquilae no. 3. Sri Chandra and Jagadananda Roy each published two essays giving further details of this star. It may be mentioned here that the Astronomical Society of India had recognised Sri Chandra as the first discoverer of this star. Sri Chandra at the suggestion of Jagadananda Roy, who was highly impressed by his published essay, sent a copy of it to Mr. E. C. Pickering, Director of the Harvard College Observatory. But because of some pre-occupations he was late by nearly six months in doing this and by that time this Nova-star had already drawn the notice of all other Astronomers. However, Mr. Pickering, in acknowledgment of Chandra's work, presented him with a copy of the Revised Harvard Photometry and other booklets relating to studies on this Nova star. Shortly after this Sri Chandra was awarded membership of the American Association of Variable Star Observers (A. A. V. S. O in brief) and since then he had been regularly publishing papers in the journal of the Harvard College Observatory. Soon afterwards, he was awarded by the Government of France a very honourable title "Officer of the Academic Republic of France". The Diploma and badge relating to this title were forwarded by the Consulate General of the Govt. of France at Calcutta on 1st August, 1928 to Sri Chandra at Bagchar. In recognition of the merit of his published papers, Astronomical societies from several other countries also offered him membership. He, however, accepted membership of the British Astronomical Society and the Lyon Observatory of

France. Two letters are printed below to exhibit his appreciation in foreign countries.

Harvard College Observatory
Cambridge, Mass.

November 14, 1918

Mr. R. G. Chandra,
Bagchar, Jessore, India.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of September 7 is received. I take pleasure in sending you without charge a copy of the Revised Harvard Photometry, circulars 208, 210 and bulletin 661 which relate to Nova Aquilae no. 3. We are measuring its parallax, and a careful study of its spectrum is being made by Miss Cannon, but is not yet printed.

Yours very truly,
E. C. Pickering

Consulate General de La Republique
Francaise. Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

In continuation of my letter dated 26.3.28, I have the honour to inform you that the Ministry of Education has decided to confer upon you the distinction of "Officier d'Academie".

You will find herein enclosed the Brevet and the badge of this distinction for which I shall be obliged to receive a receipt.

I am pleased to convey to you my best congratulations for the token that has been granted to you in recognition of your valuable services to the observatory of Lyon.

Yours faithfully,
R. Lazonies

Consul General for France

Mr. R. G. Chandra,
Bagchar, Jessore.

The Harvard College Observatory, to aid expansion of the domestic observatory of Chandra, presented him with a 6½" telescope for his personal observations of the variable

stars, and undoubtedly this was a remarkable event. This recognition of his merit by western scholars also won him admiration from his countrymen. In this connection, part of a letter from Sri N. G. Dhar, an ex-subjudge of Purnea and founder of the telescope-manufacturing firm 'Dhar & Bros.' may be quoted here: "I would not have rejoiced so much if you had purchased even a better telescope; you have won it by your merit and hence I am so much overjoyed. The Harvard College Authority deserves special thanks because it hesitated nothing to honour the genius of a scholar from defeated India".

It must be remembered here that Radha Govinda's chief occupation at this time was strenuous work in the Jessore Collectorate and whatever researches he had been pursuing were in the spare time available to him. The difficulties of continuing researches on celestial bodies with very meagre instruments in his command must also be appreciated.

Radha Govinda will also be ever remembered in Bengal for his contributions to the calendar reformation movement. This movement originated in Bengal towards the end of the 19th century. The only two Bengali almanacs published at that time, the Gupta Press from Calcutta and Kalachand's Panjika from Serampur were both based on the Astronomical principles of the traditional Hindu Astronomical texts like the Surya Siddhanta, etc. But these texts, composed in the medieval period, were never revised in later age in the light of new discoveries in Astronomy and hence failed to give correct results. Some scholars educated in Western Astronomy observed that the planetary positions, as forecast by these two almanacs did not correspond to their real positions as seen through a telescope. Sri M. M. Banerjee Zemindar of Telenipara, published an essay to draw public attention to such discrepancies

in the conservative school of almanacs emphasising the need of reformation of calendrical calculations in light of modern Astronomy. Since then an opinion had been forming for preparation of Bengali Almanacs based on the Astronomical tables of the British Nautical Almanac;—this is known as the calendar reformation movement. Sri N. C. Chatterjee, a retired engineer, published for the first time in Bengal a reformed calendar, the 'Bisuddha Sidhanta' in B. S. 1297 based on the Nautical Almanac.

The initial excitement of this movement did not last long and later on it was reduced to a routine-work only. Radha Govinda took interest in the matter and after a thorough study of the relevant texts formed opinion in favour of the reformation movement. He published an essay on the calendars of Bengal in *Pravasi*, (Kartick 1334 B. S.,—which was reprinted in the *Bisuddha Sibbhanta Panjika* B. S. 1336 which gave a new momentum to this calendar reformation movement. An Astronomical journal was then published by the Jyotish Parisad, an association formed by Sri Indranath Nandi at 37, College Street (Later on removed to 6/2, Ram Banerjee Street). Radha Govinda became a member of this Parisad and regularly published essays in its journal (and in several other magazines also showing the discrepancies in 'tithis' and position of luminaries as shown in the conservative school of almanacs like P. M. Bagchi, Gupta Press, etc. Within a very short time this movement was revived with new impetus and there developed a great controversy amongs almanac-makers.

It is interesting to note here that the dispute between the conservative and neo-school of almanacs is still continuing and even to-day the former school greatly overrules the latter one. It is an established fact that the position of the luminaries and 'tithis', as fore-

cast in the traditional almanacs do not conform to the correct positions. Despite this the conservative school predominates over the neo-school. The chief reason for this is perhaps the Smarta Pundits' view that for religious and ritual ceremonies, the mean motion of luminaries as set forth in the Siddhantas, particularly the doctrine on tithis—mean tithi increases by 5 dandas and decreases by 6 dandas—must always be observed. Only in such phenomena which are conspicuously visible like full & new moon, eclipses, etc., the real motions are to be considered. The opinion of Mm. Pachanan Tarkaratna, a scholar of very high esteem may be quoted here. He wrote in a letter to Radha Govinda—"Any calendrical scheme based on the British or European Nautical Almanac is completely opposed to religious ceremonies. The reformers do not respect this long-standing tradition."

The Jyotish Parisad observed the Chandrasekhar memorial day on 22nd December, 1936 at the Calcutta Sanskrit College. Sri Chandrasekhar was a member of the Royal family of Kendrapara, a native state of Orissa, who had reformed the traditional conservative calendar of Orissa. Radha Govinda in an essay read in this meeting (which was later published in the *Education Gazette*) made the following remarks regarding Bengali calendar: Bengali Almanacs mention tithis and nakshatras in units of dandas, palas, vipalas, etc. But as time is now measured by Western clocks and not by the primitive ghatika yantra, dandas etc. are always reduced to minutes and seconds in the almanacs and even the orthodox class of devouts have accepted this Western scheme of time measure in social and religious ceremonies. Similarly also, there should not be any objection to our use of Western astronomical instruments like meridian circles, transit instruments, etc., for determining correct planetary positions.

The calendar reformation movement had since then been progressing with a new momentum and it was Radha Govinda who spurred this gallop. Even today also when a National Calendar has already been suggested by the Calendar Reform committee and adopted by the Govt. of India, calendar makers have not reached any unanimity. Radha Govinda was actively associated with this movement in this later phase, but a complete history of his contribution to this part of the movement could not be compiled because the relevant part of manuscript of his autobiography is missing. After partition of Bengal when he had already retired from the Jessore Collectorate, Radha Govinda moved to a small village in the 24-Parganas of West Bengal and founded an Astronomical Club at Panihati with a view to popularise Astronomy and the cause of calendar reformation movement. He also wrote some popular books on Astronomy but only one of them, a general treatise on comets (in Bengali) could appear in printed form—the rest are till now in manuscript only. Although at his new settlement at 24-Parganas, he had to forego a major part of the affluence and domestic aristocracy commanded at Jessore,

he adjusted himself to the new environments. He, however made frequent visits to his original home at Jessore and in course of such visits, some very valuable books and astronomical instruments of his observatory were lost in transit.

Radha Govinda has now permanently settled up in Barasat town. He is now slightly over 90 years of age, with very faint eye-sight and hearing power. He had written over a dozen of essays on calendar reformation alone in different magazines and all his published works, both in English and Bengali, are now scattered in different journals and magazines all of which are not readily available. The present writer had some earlier correspondence with an ex-Minister of Education of the Central Govt. regarding an well-edited publication of all the works of Radha Govinda but no progress could be made in the matter.

Radha Govinda's career serve as a beacon light in the path of progress of all others who have sincere and pious ambition and thirst for knowledge. It will always be held high as an example that no amount of preoccupation can stand in the way of acquiring knowledge.



MAC'S SMILE MAY BE DECEPTIVE : NEED FOR CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS

Dr. G. S. RAJHANS

It all began with the May Day celebrations last year. Chairman Mao gave a broad smile and a warm handshake to our Charge d' Affaires in Peking. It was followed by a few meetings of our diplomats in foreign countries with their Chinese counterparts. The Indian External Affairs Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh was quick to announce in the parliament that India would readily respond to any worthwhile gesture from China with a view to normalising relations between the two countries. For once, it was made abundantly clear that the compromise proposals made by the non-aligned Colombo powers in January 1963, would not be a precondition to talks any more. Owing to these developments, China-watchers in India and abroad have started wondering if there is any possibility of a thaw in Sino-Indian relations.

There is no denying the fact that China is gradually settling down after the Cultural Revolution. Her attitude towards outside world has been changing lately and she has been trying to re-enter the main stream of international life. But it would be naive to think that there has been a sea-change in her attitude towards India and the former is prepared to undo all the wrongs she did in 1962 and before.

It is true that China considers Soviet Russia to be a more formidable enemy than India and does not relish the growing friendship between them. It is also true that lately she has become very apprehensive of Japan's growing economic and military powers. It may be equally true that she wants to develop her trade with the neighbouring countries. But all these do not seem to be plausible

reasons for her desire to have friendly ties with India.

It is a misfortune that from the very beginning India's China policy has been guided by factors which were never very realistic. Even Mr. Nehru, the chief architect of our foreign policy, despite his deep understanding of international affairs, misjudged Maoist China's real intentions, a fact which he confessed with disarming frankness when he became a victim of Peking's perfidy. The fact that there was no war between China and India during last 2,000 years, led Mr. Nehru to believe that these two countries could never be at loggerheads, howsoever big might be their differences. China, on the other hand, was following a hostile policy from the very beginning and never took India to be a genuine friend. Soon after the Communists usurped power in China, Chairman Mao personally sent a cable to the Indian Communists, giving them his full support against the Nehru government, and expressing the view that the day was not far off when India, like China, would be liberated by the Communist party from Anglo-American imperialism and its lackeys.

Such unfriendly gestures of the Communist neighbour was conveniently dismissed, and the country was told that torn by long drawn and destructive wars, Communist China, despite her ideology, wanted peace and friendly relations with all, especially with India. It is surprising that the policy-makers in India did not wake up even when Communist China grabbed Tibet des-

pite her promise to India to the contrary. India's belief that China would settle down to peaceful internal development once her irredentist ambitions were satisfied, proved to be dangerously mistaken by subsequent events.

When, in 1954, Mr. Nehru took up the question of the maps published in China showing incorrect boundary alignment, he was told by the Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, that the People's Government of China had no time to revise old pre-liberation maps. The force of the argument was accepted by Mr. Nehru in view of his assumption that China was sincere towards India in her friendship.

When these inflated maps were again questioned in 1958, Mr. Chou En-lai bluntly told Mr. Nehru in January 1959, that the border question was raised in 1954 only because conditions were not ripe for its settlement at that time. It is significant to note that the conditions became ripe only when China had completed her strategic road in the Indian territory in Aksai Chin area and built strong military bases near NEFA.

Writing on the wall

How China duped India, since then, is a commonplace. Unfortunately we never tried to read the writing on the wall. If the Chinese are sincere in their gesture of friendship, how is it that they are still propping up the Naxalites and the Nagas against this country? Besides, President Yahya Khan's recent visit to Peking should be an eye-opener to them who are fondly hoping for a thaw in China's

attitude towards India. During the visit the Chinese leaders promised the Pakistani President an aid of Rs. 1,000 million which will perhaps be the largest quantum of aid received by Rawalpindi from Peking to-date. Once again, they harped on their only common link—hatred towards India.

Reports from Hongkong suggest that China is again propping up Nepal against India. The New China News Agency is giving currency to false propaganda that "India had increased the number of its troops along its border with Nepal last December and Indian Military aircrafts at Bagdogra military base on the Nepal-Indian border made daily flights over Nepal's border areas". Everyone in India knows that nothing can be farther from truth.

Trade and friendly relations are quite different issues which has got to be relised by our policy makers. Japan and West Germany have been trading with China without buying her friendship. India too can follow suit and start trade with China either through Hongkong or directly. But we should never be complacent about our relations with the formidable Himalyan neighbour. Although India and China cannot afford to be bitter enemies permanently, the geo-political reasons are such that they cannot be close friends either in the near future. China's real fear is that if India succeeds in building a dynamic and expanding economy under democracy, her poliitical ambition in Asia Africa will be dealt a shattering blow. Our policy-makers have got to realize this if India has to deal effectively with the challenge posed by her giant neighbour in the north.

MYSTICISM & MAGIC IN ANCIENT INDIA

ADRIS BANERJI

Evidence of any kind can be stretched to any extent. This is what Dr. Mulkraj Anand has done in interpretation of data from Pre Harappan sites in Baluchistan. (Marg, Vol. XVI, No.1.) According to him, the terracotta sculptures from Kulli and Zhob Valley seem to have been magical in significance. Ritual objects like amulets of other ancient civilizations and for instance there are many images of humped Bulls. Obviously these were ritual figures exalting a forceful expression of the superhuman power of the Bulls' personality. The first emphasis on the vitality of the whole figures is important, because, it was to characterize all later art. The early people believed that the magic of the image could enable them to conquer all the vitalities of nature. The more powerful the image the more strength they could transmit. Therefore they departed from naturalistic modelling, copying, and resorted to the exaggeration of certain features in the figurines. The humps of the Kulli Bulls are a significant form, because of the terrific impact they make on the onlooker.

The terracotta figurines from Kulli display a coarse power. Conceived on flat surface with the superimposed pellets, radiating powerful, somewhat uncanny influence worthy of the female divinities of the fertility and other cults of the ancient civilizations (which Tylor and Frazer have acquainted us with)

In the Zhob valley, according to the same authority an improvement in the handling of clay is noticed. The expressionism is sustained. The vitality of these from the Bulls of Periano-Ghundai is suggestive of emphasis on magic.

Naturalism is elsewhere. Naive but vigorous fundamentalism of the Kulli and Zhob cultures have therefore contributed that important strain of impression as the dominant part of the sculptures, in order to make it the medium of magic. The technique is elaborated, to heighten the passion and the plastic values arise from the impulse with the object.

The terracotta of Harappa and Mohenjodaro are distinguished by a finer finish and embody greater care for details though they still achieve the dramatisation of the structure, through the imposition of the mouths, lips, the eyes and the jewellery.

There is a warmth of treatment which contributes to freedom of expression. The enormous numbers of animal terracotta figurine as well as dynamic vegetation shows great familiarity with life force. From the Yogic posture of the three faced figure, it is possible to presume that the magical cults of the people had evolved some kind of pantheon though it is difficult to postulate whether any mystic method of approach to the deity had been evolved.

Now these statements contain great deal of easily challengeable material, not borne out by acceptable evidence that the significant forms in the Zhob and Kulli Bulls convey magical values is not correct. As pointed out by Clive Bell, they might be due to the primitiveness of art, lacking the swagger and superciliousness of mature plastic style. The significant forms are the hall mark of primitive art. In the second place, the contents of the Seals and Sealings of the Harappa Culture are what is best known as 'descriptive sculpture' which by no stretch of the

imagination can be regarded as cult objects. Sir John Marshall had specifically warned us not to take them as exact copies of the pantheon of cult objects and in India a cult object and forms in a descriptive sculpture have often differed. Whether the three faced divinity, with tigers and other animals, seated on a deer throne, was actually worshipped as such by the Harappa people has not been established. In the third place Patanjali's **Yoga darsana** merely mentions eight stages to reach **samadhi** but does not specify **asanas**. Therefore whether a primitive and crude form of Yoga existed or was practised is another moot point. Again, mysticism is something which has often been distorted. Mysticism is not magic, nor is it Hathayoga. It implies in the highest sense of the word an intuitive and ecstatic union with the deity obtained by means of contemplation and other mental exercises. Elehmann thought that it is very rarely found amongst primitive people, who had no idea about the Absolute. It is indeed correct to question, in view of our extreme ignorance of the religious condition of the Harappa culture, whether they had developed any concept of the Absolute or the Soul. Because, Caird had correctly pointed out that "Religion in its most concentrated form is an attitude of mind in which all other realities are swallowed in the relation of soul to God. (ERE, vol. pp. 85, 113 and 114 of article on mysticism).

The existing evidence from Mohenjodaro and Harappa permits us to conclude that the plastic art though betraying generations of experience at the stage whose materials have reached us, is nonetheless comprehensive. The stage is evidently a declining slope, neither the classical nor the primitive or archaic stage have been found except in Baluchistan. Whether there was Saktism practised by the

city builders and traders of Harappa's maritime empire can not be affirmed or denied in the present state of our knowledge. That there was practised some sort of magic or rituals similar to it, is evident from several seals. Whether there was **Tantras** as suggested by late Dr. Prannath of the Benares Hindu University it is difficult to state, but esoteric practices **might have been** the base of Harappa religion. These sometimes survived in more evolved and polished form is also evident. Take for example the Phallus, the **urdha-medha**, the sanctity of Bulls etc.

With the dawn of the historical period, we find often on clay and stone and gold objects a female figure with a prominent vulva. These have been found at many historical sites from Taxilla to Lauriya Nandangarh. Exactly what was its cult or spiritual value, we do not know, but, they are suggestive of female fertility cult, possibly even Saktism. But whether it was an esoteric divinity can not also be gainsaid. That in the Buddhas' time Magic was practised is more than evident from Pali cannon. The most prominent case is that of Pindola Bharadvaja, whose performance of magical power was objected to by Gautama and the fraternity was forbidden to resort to Magic. Yet when he was challenged by the Jainas and others he resorted to it himself, saying that the taboo was meant for his followers and did not apply to himself. The best example is the **Yamaka-patiharya** or the double miracle of Sravasti.

Having accepted the challenge of the heretics, he promised to show his magical powers near a mango tree before one of the city gates of Sravasti. The heretics to prove him false, cut down every mango tree within a couple of square miles of the city. Buddha obtained a mangoo seed from Ganda or inmate of the Palace of Sravasti, and planted it near one of the city gates. It

sprouted immediately, with branches and fruits. Hence it is called the Miracle near the Gandamba tree. This event took place in the 6th year after enlightenment. **Dhammapadamthakatha**: P. T. Series, Vol. II, pp. 199ff ; 199-230).

At first he created a jewelled path in the air by the side of Gandamba, and took his stand on the path. There he performed the twin miracle (Yamaka-patiharya), so called, because, of performance of two contradictory phenomena by producing flames from the upper body and streams of water from lower portion. Finally, alternatively from right and left sides of his body, from pores of his body, rays of six colours darted forth upwards and downwards. Secondly, he caused a large lotus with a golden stem sprout forth from the earth, held on either side by Nagas on which he seated himself. This is not the only instance, but, while he was visiting Kapilavastu first time after **sambodhi** he performed Magic to convince his relatives of the powers of a Buddha. Historically interpreted it means that, Magic was known in his day. That Pindola Bhārdvāja and Gautama were not the only persons is evident from the fact on hearing of his promise to perform Magic several of his pupils, most prominent saints of early Buddhism, like Gharani, Chulla Anathapinda, Chira, Chunda, Moggallāna and Uppalavanna (Sanskrit. Utpalavarna) volunteered to take his place. It showed that they at least did not consider them less proficient than Gautama, if not equal.

In the beginning of the Christian era, two revolutionary incidents overtook Buddhism and its plastic activity. The first was advent of Mahayana with its new theories of Bodhisattva ideal and speculation about Nibbāna and Sunyata, mixed up with Karuna. The second and decidedly more significant was the introduction of the image of Buddha, replacing the traditional symbolism of

Buddhist art as far as incidents of Gautama's life were concerned. It changed the history of Buddhist iconography and also the course of international Buddhist art. That there was a violent or non-violent controversy between the traditionalists and the new school, between the orthodox and the progressives, is more than evident from the mention of the images as 'Bodhisattvas' while they are shown wearing **tri-chivaras**, the regulation monastic uniform designed by Buddha, from fields of Magadha. But what objectivity forces us to accept is that this great departure, by humanising the coarse heaviness of Yaksha forms significantly brutal in their form, paved the way not merely for the tantrik art of a far later date, but the human form now playing a significant role in Indian art.

The Mathura art was admittedly syncretic. Nevertheless, that Nudism or Magic seems to have played a significant role is clear. While sufficient data must still be garnered for establishing the existence of Magic, Nudism is undeniable. While the nude females in Bacchalian scenes is pardonable, the prominent vulva of the Yakshi on Bhutesvara pillars is definitely suggestive. The present writer has already drawn attention to the tradition of naked Yakshi at Mathura from **Majjhima Nikaya** (PTS), Vol. II, p. 83) in his **Origins of the Buddhist Church Art**. (Calcutta. 1967 ; p. 44). Even then it is difficult to explain the evident nakedness of the body of the various **vriksha-bhanjikas** like Asoka pushpa collectors etc., unlike the Prasadhika attendant (V. S. Agrawalla-Masterpieces of Mathura Sculpture, Plates VI-IX). The survival of magic however is more proved by the biography of Nagarjuna who learnt Mahayana from Maitreya, often confused with Maitreya. Having visited the so-called Nagarjuna hills, otherwise known as Barabar hill in Gaya district I have a suspicion that he was an alchemist, because, the

walls of the ancient city of Gorathagiri was made of rocks of iron ore. As late as 7th century Banabhatta in his work credited Nagarjuna with magical powers of creating jewels, gold etc. With the advent of 7th cent we arrive in the period of Buddhist esoterism. It was magic, which according to Suzuki and Kimura were taught by Buddha to some of his trusted followers. Whatever be the truth, we find that supernatural powers or rather development of these powers to attain **Sunyata** being openly preached.

What was the art of this new esoteric Buddhism, which we know as Vajrayana? It is a language between spirit and men, bridging the two worlds of visible and the invisible, made with the help of colours, stone, clay and cloth. This art was indeed grounded in the physical world, but in attaining maturity reached the world of spirits, devotion and mysticism. It is correct to think that in ancient times, the art acted as a vehicle for any sort of theological speculation, every sort of usage, ideas, beliefs, religions, dogmas and even narratives.

After passing the Old and New Stone ages, the agrarian civilisations subordinated exactness of observation to a pre-conceived geometric consistency, ultimately to be governed by a ruler and compass. Classical architecture of every nation within the repertory of forms shared the same fate, generated by lines, curves, circles and rectangles. Their simple objective was to create cult objects with the aid of contrasts of light and shade, which is equally true of sculpture as well as paintings. The fundamental doctrine of Vajrayana was to lead men to **mahasukha** (Light) from the darkness of this impermanent (*anitya*) world with the help of forms. Therefore discovery of grammar of these forms is our primary duty.

Art is the language or intellectuals, defined by forms which are its idioms. It is indeed

the reflection of the intellectual world, though it also helped the backward and semi-literate people, by giving them a visible object of worship and veneration. It never could and never will, lend itself easily to an emotional life; save perhaps indirectly through deformations, disintegration and devolution. It is a clear structure imposed upon the turmoil of sensations, upon their ever changing mirages. To be more precise forms project on to sensation, upon thoughts. In the ancient world the Sumerian and the Assyrian were well aware of this. The ancient Greeks define both the terms 'Forms' and 'Ideas' by the word **EIDOS**. They link with form in common disposition in terms of representations. Forms are the logic which order visual representations, both aiming at liberating knowledge from uncertainties and changes inherent in human experience and to isolate the constants that serve as concrete base for concepts.

Through the centuries the Indians had developed a noble and dignified craftsmanship. Long before the birth of Christ they produced bronze images cast in **cir perdue** process, stone sculptures, terracotta figurines and paintings able to clarify the symbolism, the mysticism of the Bramhinal faith. Indian art never permitted complete freedom to their artists except within certain limits. Instead with the help of forms they translated their own experience and visions as represented by the images, figures, the intricate paths through which the **sadhaka** must progress in order to transcend the temporal plane to attain **moksha**, **nirvana** or **mahasukha**. They are like hieroglyphic writings in which the elect may read the intimations of redemption.

At the same time one must not lose sight of the fact that these images are laden with scriptural or and conceptual implications, the cumulative result of mystical experience

of India during the millenia that preceeded. The **mithuna** or **dampatis** were not products of erotic insanity, running rampant over society, as is the case to-day, but symbolises two opposite principles from whose united labour life springs eternally.

Since the Buddhist art is a part of the national aesthetic experience, it was indeed an abstract and religious art. The outstanding fact remains that inspite of the organic art of the Indus valley, when we meet with the stone carvers at the earliest stage we find the absence of anthropomorphic representaions of the **Tathagata**. In scenes representing life stories he is indicated by symbols. It is also a fact that simultaneously a folk art was also being practised as proved by the images of **Yakshas**. This state of affairs continued till the commencement of the Christian era, when images of Buddha were introduced in the church art. But inspite of wearing formal monks robes they were mentioned in the votive records as **Bodhisattvas**.

Therefore in assessing the origins and development of **Vajrayana** art, we must isolate the individual forms and their consorts. The situation, however is complicated by occurrence of typical cult images, earlier than the texts—the difference being of few centuries. The fact that the tradition was carried on orally from the preceptor to pupil does not solve the problem. This puzzle first made its appearance in 1914, by the find of **Lokanatha**, **Nilakantha** and **Bodhisattva** images in the excavations of **Sarnath**. **D. R. Sahni** in his **Catalogue** labelled them as **Mahayana** not being aware of the **Yogachara**. But collections of about 450 **Dharanis** show that many

Mahayana **sutras** and **stavas** were reduced to **Dharanis**. As Prof. Winternitz has pointed out that the **Manju Sri Mulakalpa**, which claims to be a **Maha Vaipulya Sutra**, is leaning heavily on **Tantrayas**. The conceptual transformation is not bridged. But in between comes **Yogachara** preached by **Nagarjuna**, **Asanga** and **Vasubandhu** and we possess very little knowledge of the contents of their **sutras**. Some of these have been edited, but without analysis. They are all Greek to even intellectuals, far more so to the public in general. While the typical **Vajrayana** texts do not go beyond 8th century at the latest. Just like **Sarnath**, cult images are found in the caves of **Pitalkhora**, **Ellora** and **Aurangabad** in **Maharashtra** belonging to 7th-8th centuries A. D., that is **Chalukya-Rashtrakuta** times. There too except the presumtive hypotheses, that **Hinayana** was supplanted by **Sarvasativadins** and they by **Mahasanghikas**, again like **Sarnath** (**Banerji—Schism and Sarnath, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 7th Session, Madras. pp. 90-103**), they were overtaken by **Mahayana** and ultimately by **Yogachara**. The point to remember is, that esoteric Buddhism with fully developed pantheon, reached the rugged valleys of **Maharashtra** by the 7th or 8th century A. D. Undeniable, as undoubted is the fact that they presuppose its origin and development somewhere else in this sub-continent in some undefined previous ages. Most probably there were two centres: one in the extreme North West in **Gandhara** and **Suvastu** (sic. **Swat**) and other in the extreme east at **Kamakhya** etc. But some 'time allowance' must be made for them to migrate to hostile territories.

Current Affairs

All Symptoms and No Results

President Nixon says the world will soon become one and people will in the near future, move freely from one country to another, without any restrictions of any kind. America will become friendly with the rest of the world, including China and (we say) the kingdom of heaven on earth will become firmly established. The great politicians of past ages, some of whom were definitely greater men than President Nixon, harboured and gave expression to similar thoughts; but the world did not respond for the reason that neither America nor any other country agreed to sacrifice any of their interests, advantages or policies of self-aggrandizement. The Chinese emperors wanted to unite the world by conquering all countries and bringing them under a single imperial overlordship. Chengiz Khan, Tamer Lane, Charlemagne, Napoleon, Kaiser Wilhelm or Hitler followed similar plans of world conquest; perhaps more for self glorification than for uniting the world. When communism arrived on the scene, the leaders of the workers of the world, expected to unite the world through a general acceptance of their ideology by the peoples of all countries. In Russia, the idea of conquest prevailed where it concerned the vassal soviet states of the erstwhile Czarist imperial territories. Other states which accepted communism of the Russian variety combined in a manner of speaking within the so called iron curtain, but the people of these states did not have the freedom to move about from state to state without let or hindrance. So

that neither imperialism nor communism succeeded in uniting the world in the sense that we understand human unity. President Nixon's "democratic" approach to world unity will be resisted by those who are not democratic in their outlook. If he is hoping to achieve this unity through what is called the spirit of peaceful co-existence, that can work only during the interim period between two wars.

We find Mr. Heath of Britain and M. Pompidou of France having talks of collaboration; but that concerns only the European Common Market and is purely a commercial matter. Such arrangements as may be made will estrange these countries from the world at large. And if a few governments fall in Europe the situation may change radically. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt is also trying for things but not succeeding in achieving whatever he is aiming at. In order to create an atmosphere, he is displaying a modification of Egypt's utterly pro-Russian policy. How far that is genuine and not merely a move which has Russia's approval, will become clearer after sometime. Russia's anti-zionist attitude, which has led to persecution of the Jews in Russia, makes it unlikely for Israel to be friendly with an Egypt which is for all practical purposes a vassal state of Russia. This move has therefore all the appearance of a tempting bait for the Israelis.

The most outrageous and politically dangerous incident that has occurred in recent times in any country is the Bangladesh affair of East Bengal. This fascistic genocide per-

petrated by the military dictators of a member state of the United Nations Organisation, has potentialities which can easily lead to a world war. Yahya Khan, the President of the martial law administration of Pakistan, appears to have made promises of terminating his autocratic rule and of setting up a democratic government. He ordered elections for this purpose and discovered, to his dismay, that his opposers had won an absolute majority in the elections. He therefore reimposed martial law, arrested many political leaders of East Bengal, where 98% of the voters had voted against Yahya Khan's men, and let loose a reign of terror in which hundreds of thousands of men, women and children were shot down by Yahya's soldiers. Rape, arson and loot became the order of the day and abductions of girls and young women were numberless. The powers, viz Britain, America, Russia, China and other states, got full information of these atrocities; but policy induced them to remain inactive. Oppositions in Britain and America, let the cat out of the bag in those countries. China and Russia did not have any opposition parties and, therefore, knew nothing officially about the facts of the "revolt of East Pakistan." But being well informed nations, by reason of possessing a very good system of espionage, which keeps the leaders of these dictatorial states properly posted about international matters; China and Russia cannot pretend to be ignorant about all that has happened and are happening in East Bengal. The policy of the powers, so far, has been to declare this hideous episode in Pakistan as an internal administrative matter which does not concern the outside world. If murdering half-a-million men, women and children, abducting fifty thousand girls and women, numerous cases of rape, arson and looting; are just internal affairs of Pakistan; then the world should arrange to abolish Pakistan as a state; for humanity

should not tolerate the existence of a political entity which indulges in such awful crimes against humanity in the normal course of managing its internal affairs. The British press has been proclaiming the stoppage of all economic aid to Pakistan. So has the American press, by and large. But strangely enough both these states are trying to sneak in some fresh loans or gift of money to the arch criminals of Islamabad. This utterly sadistic organisation is now existing on help received from China and from the policy makers of Washington. The war crimes for which many top ranking Germans and Japanese were executed after W. W. II fade into insignificance in comparison with the crimes of Yahya Khan. When will he and his assistants climb the scaffold to pay for their inhuman atrocities?

The idea of world unity appears to be an unrealisable ideal. All nations which habitually act contrary to what is preached by them, are the nations that have the resources to break that unity even to the extent of starting world wars. So one has to face the unpleasant fact that the powers are self-seeking and insincere and they do not mean to bring about any international unity.

Jai Prakash Narayan's Visit to Cairo

Sir Jai Prakash Narayan went to Cairo to discuss Bangla Desh affairs with the president of UAR and the Egyptian Press. He could not see the president after waiting for two days and the Egyptian press did not shift from the position they have taken relating to the rebellion in East Bengal. They have chosen to believe that Pakistan administration is blameless in this matter and that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman is responsible for all that has happened. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, according to Pakistani assertions, is in custody at Rawalpindi. The Egyptians know this as they like to listen only to what the Pakistanis say.

If, then the Sheikh has been in custody since the 25th of March, how could he be responsible for anything that has happened since then. He did not even foresee what Yahya Khan had planned otherwise he would not have played into Yahya's hand. The Pakistanis have bombed many places from the air, shelled places by their artillery and bombarded other places from their naval craft. What did Mujibur do to justify such wanton use of force against a civil population? Why have the Pakistan army chased five million men, women and children into Indian territory? The Arab countries are at heart "Pan-Islamists" and they dislike the idea of Pakistan's disintegration. They are therefore ready to ignore facts and support the sadistic orgies that Yahya's soldiers have indulged in. What Mr. Narayan had expected to gain by going to Cairo is not known to us. He thought the President of the UAR would do something to make Pakistan stop this genocide in East Bengal. He should have known better; for people who kill 500000 men, women and children in cold blood are hardly of the type which is amenable to reason and will respond to appeals to the heart. Such types only understand brute force and should be subjected to military attack, conquest and subjugation to make them fit to live in a civilised world. As they are now, they deserve no human consideration.

Pakistan's Cricket

Pakistan has always been quite good at playing Cricket. But now after twenty four years of indulgence in things that are not cricket, Pakistan will miss the spirit of the game. In Britain this year the Pakistan Cricket team has been booed by large crowds which disapprove of Pakistan's actions in East Bengal. We donot think that the members of the cricket team

had any personal connection with the "affaire Yahya" in East Bengal; but national infamy is just as contagious as national glory and that being so, the poor fellows would be affected by the mass criminality of their national army, navy and air force. In other words the Pakistani Cricket team would be suffering from some sort of an inferiority complex and that would interfere with their free self expression through proper bowling, batting and fielding in cricket. Of course if that happened and the Pakistanis did not do so well in their matches, Yahya Khan would say, India had put a spell on the cricket team of Pakistan by use of black magic. A stupid criminal who could say that the six million refugees from East Bengal who had entered India recently and among whom were 150000 babies, 200000 girls, 200000 boys, 500000 women of all ages, 300000 old men, were all Indian infiltrators going back to India; can fudge up any lie to satisfy his pathological outlook against India. This affaire Yahya is going to affect all human relations of Pakistan in all spheres of Pakistani life quite soon and the only way to save whatever semblance of good reputation Pakistan has as a nation, is by removing from power the criminals who now dominate the so-called Islamic Republic.

Arabs and Jews

There are vague talks about reopening the Suez Canal through friendly collaboration of Arabs and Jews; but no one knows precisely what actually is being aimed at. President Sadat is appearing to be assuming full powers and is trying to get rid of Russians as far as possible. That is, the Russians are now anti-Jewish and their presence in Egypt makes it difficult for President Sadat to establish friendly relations with Israel. At the same time, people are saying that the Russians are supplying the MIG 23, (Fox Bat) fighters to

Egypt; which would be unlikely if Egypt did not have whole hearted friendly relations with the Kremlin. It is therefore thought that the real position is not what might appear on the surface. If the Suez Canal is opened, it would be advantageous for the Russians, because they have plans of developing their mercantile and naval connections with the countries which have ports in the Indian Ocean. The Arab-Jew conflict also has stabilized in a manner of speaking, as no further open war is expected in the area with territorial expansion as its purpose. If anything happens, Israel may agree to give up some conquered zones in exchange of a clear recognition by the Arabs of Israel's right over the rest of the area occupied by Israeli troops. Israel armed with American and French planes can meet any attack that the Arabs can make. They have however much to gain, politically if the Arabs recognized Israel as a state with clearly shown geographical boundaries.

China and U. S. A.

China has permitted a table tennis team from America to go to mainland China for participation in competitive games there. This

is indeed a departure from the policy that Mao 'tse Tung had been following during recent years. We also hear that Mr. Chu En Lie has welcomed the team on arrival and has expressed hopes of seeing better political relations develop from this very sporting beginning. China appears to have realised that she cannot afford to have the two giants, USA and USSR as her enemies, and she is therefore trying to be friendly with the USA. The USA also considers it wise to keep out of war and to achieve its own objective by encouraging China, so that a Sino-Russian war may weaken both those countries; leaving the USA as the strongest surviving power on Earth. The Chinese and the Americans can meet on neutral ground as they have no quarrels relating to ideological interpretations. Russia and China cannot come to any settlement as they differ on interpretations of Marxist doctrines. Thus similarities in faith and belief make differences insurmountable. Where there are basic and fundamental differences in beliefs, clashes do not occur for the reason that the two parties can not come close enough ideologically to fight over interpretations of dogma.



INDEPENDENT M. P.—A VICTIM OF IDEOLOGICAL INDECISION

PROF. C. R. RATHEE

Lord Asquith, the late Prime Minister of Great Britain once remarked while addressing an Independent member of the House of Commons, "either you are a Conservative or a Labour or a Liberal ; if you are neither you are a victim of ideological indecision." Most scientists and artists of politics have held almost an identical opinion about the place of Independent M.P.'s (un-attached, as they are known in Great Britain). One of the most successful Independent members of the First Lok Sabha, Dr. Lanka Sundaram said that "if in France, the difficulty is about a multitude of parties and groups in the Chamber of Deputies, the difficulty in India is about a multitude of individuals who seek to enter the nation's legislative bodies."

A comparative study of the composition of the legislative bodies all over the world would show that nowhere there are so many Independent legislators as in India. (It is another question that most Independents here are not genuinely so). The first Lok Sabha had as many as 38 Independent M.P.'s while in the fourth general elections, 43 members were elected as Independent.¹ Their number is manifold in the case of various State Legislative Assemblies. But more alarming than this is the number of persons who contest the election to the Lok Sabha in the capacity as Independents. From 529 such contestants in 1952, their number rose to 829 in 1967 and as

the press reports reveal nearly 1435 persons have filed Nominations Papers to contest the snap poll to the Lok Sabha scheduled to be held in the First week of March 1971. They may not fare well in view of the de-linked nature of the poll, as also in view of the alliances and adjustments among various political parties, but their re-entry to the Lok Sabha in a big way can not be altogether ruled out.

What is the role of an independent (genuinely unattached) M.P. in a political system like ours ? Is he of a likeable political species ? What is the record of parliamentary performance of the Independents during the last two decades of Lok Sabha ? And what are the practical disabilities of a genuinely unattached M.P. caused by the Parliamentary procedure ? A reply to these and allied questions should make an interesting, informative and highly valuable reading for anyone interested in the working of parliamentary government, not only in India, but in any country of the world.

In a two party system like the one they have in Great Britain, candidates of minor parties have only a small chance of election and Independents virtually none. The five Labour Members who had been expelled from their party and stood as Independents at 1950—General Election were all heavily defeated. Independent candidates, generally

except in unusual circumstances, forfeit their deposits. It is the party label which counts and the general body of electors do not concern themselves much with the manner in which it is fixed, or on whom.^{2a} In 1959 one Independent (Sir David Roberston) was elected but this was rather a special case in that Sir David had been previously elected as a Conservative, had resigned from the party on one specific issue and was not opposed by an official Conservative candidate. At the 1964 and 1966 elections, no Independents were elected in that country.² In fact with the abolition of the special constituencies for the British Universities, Independents as members of the House of Commons have become a thing of the past. The fact that every Member of the House of Commons has a party label has been lamented by some writers. For example, Dr. Ross wrote of the House of Commons elected in 1950 that it was something quite new in the history of this country in that (apart from the Speaker) every member was elected as a nominee or protege of a major political party, and all but nine Liberals were tied to either the Conservative party or the Labour party. It had less variety of membership, was more purely a major-party House and had less freedom of opinion, than any of its predecessors down the centuries.^{2b}

The present situation in England is that the entry to the House of Commons is controlled by parties. Without party-support, the prospects of election are negligible. "However desirable a sprinkling of Independent Members may be, it is very hard to think of any electoral system which would allow their election and yet still preserve the strength of two major parties which is essential for the British system of government. In theory, eminent persons of no-party can make a useful contribution to Parliament in the House of Lords. In practice, however, although some appointments of this kind are

made, the majority of peerages are awarded to party supporters".⁴ Even the House of Lords which is not taken seriously by the people, allows too few opportunities to men and women of no particular party to play their part in parliamentary life. In Britain an Independent M. P. is defined as the one who could not be depended upon.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram said "let there be no mistake that the Independents would be totally lost, in even such huge houses as the Lok Sabha".⁵ His only regret is that the Independents are not unattached by conviction. Once they enter the portals of a legislature, they become or permit themselves to become waifs and strays. This fact has been amply borne out by a recent treatise on defection by Dr. Subhash C. Kashyap who has concluded that the Independents are the greatest danger to the fabric of parliamentary democracy. "Not being Independents on any principle, they were prepared to trade their labels and offer their vote to the highest bidder. The largest number of defectors to various political parties—most of them being to the Congress—were contributed by the Independents. Of the 174 Independents elected to the Assemblies in Bihar, Haryana, M.P., Manipur, Punjab, Rajasthan, U.P. and West Bengal, as many as 90 joined various parties after election. It was perhaps natural that under conditions of general instability and marginal majority governments, Independent legislators should be in a position to tilt the balance and often play the decisive role in toppling the existing governments and installing new ones."⁶ After the historic congress-split, the government at the Centre was also reduced to 'marginal-majority' and as things stand today, the mid-term poll may not be of much help in improving the numerical position of the ruling group. This naturally implies that if Independents continue to exist

in their present numerical strength, the game of defection we witness in states, may afflict the government at the centre also.

This, however, is not to decry the "Independent" as a totally useless political specimen. The Independents can enrich Parliamentary life with robust contributions; they can act as shock absorbers between the political parties perpetually-at-war and can ensure policy-making on consideration of merit. The proud parliamentary record of Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru and Dr. Lanka Sundaram as Independents (to name only a couple of them) is a proof of the fact that they can play the role referred to above. But the tragedy is that genuine Independents like Dr. Kunzru and Dr. Lanka Sundaram are very rare.

The rules of procedure of the Lok Sabha are such that members belonging to 'recognised' political parties and groups get more opportunity to influence legislative business, which is the principal duty of a legislator in a democracy. The Independents are generally ignored. This explains the formation of Independents' Parliamentary Group in the fourth Lok Sabha.⁷ An independent member of Indian Parliament questioned as to the way he worked in the House of People, replied without hesitation, 'The first thing you have to understand is that a number of us Independents have formed a group'.⁸

The speaking time in Lok Sabha is allocated on the basis of party strength. Thus if 4½ hours are allotted to the discussion of a bill (as was the case with Nath Pai's Bill in 1968 winter session) the Independents' share will be 29 minutes (taking into account the fact that in 1968 the Lok Sabha had sixty unattached M.P.'s).⁹ Whereas the parties give their allotted time to one or two of their spokesmen, frequently the party leaders, the Independents have to share their "29 minutes" among them is of no consequence. The Inde-

pendents are left to the attention of the Speaker. They may "catch the Speaker's eye" (only the prominent ones like Acharya J. B. Kriplani do) or they may fail to do so. Thus the opportunity to participate in the parliamentary life by an Independent M.P. depends on mere chance.

Once an Independent breaks through in debate, his next problem is one concerning the manner in which the House would listen to him. Normally, all the leaders of parties and groups, which are recognised as such, obtain a hearing which is dignified and respectful. In cases like those of the late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, the attention bestowed on his intervention by the House was comparable to that which was available to the then Leader of the House itself, viz Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, this privilege is denied to most Independents who are perforce reduced to worse than nothingness.

Another disadvantage of an Independent M.P. is that he has neither the prestige of a party or group, nor the merit of their ideology or policy in general to back him up, and almost alone, unfriended, melancholy and slow, he has to fend for himself. Only men of recognised merit can ever hope to function as Independents, and as the process of survival is indeed a tremendous struggle, each minute, each day, and each month of their existence in Parliament counts. They have to break through the barricades of Parliamentary procedure—whether it be through submission of amendments, through resolutions, through special motions of privilege, or through points of order—to be able to get a hearing let alone a respectable hearing.

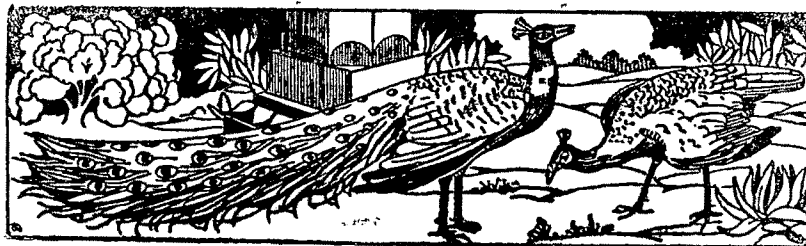
The work of the Lok Sabha is not confined only to the Question Hour and debates which come in a series phalanx, session after session. Equally significant is the committee work, without which any discussion of parlia-

mentary life remains incomplete. Dr. Lanka Sunilaram very aptly says, "I consider that committee work is not only co-equal with work in the House itself, but is in some cases important. In fact the real test of a Parliamentarian is in committee, though this is an aspect of his career which is least publicised and is more or less completely hidden from the gaze of the public. I find that committee is most exhilarating though the dividends in terms of public recognition are extremely small. "It is very rare that the Independents find place on any of the important committees of the Parliament. And if at all some are associated with the committee work, they are not much bothered about.

The unattached M.P. is thus written off from Parliamentary pattern of Polity.

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8. W. H. Morris Jones : PARLIAMENT IN INDIA (Longmans ? 1957) P. 166.
9. The General Time allocation formula is
$$\frac{(\text{total time allotted})}{\text{Total Opposition strength}} \times \text{Party Strength}$$
 Half of total time goes to majority party.



SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

Khowja Faizullah

Khowja Faizullah was a young man of 25 to 30 years at the time of the Russian Revolution in Nov. 1917, and being impressionable was much moved by the communists and their program specially by land being confiscated from the land lords and distributed to the landless. He was not a communist theoretically but he organised a band of young people, mostly poor peasants and tried to overthrow the rule of the oppressive Ameer. It was primarily a peasant revolt and the Ameer was besieged in the Fort by the liberation army. Russia was herself attacked from all sides and had no spare forces to be sent to Bokhara, but due to the urgent appeal of Khowja Faizulla, sent a few guns & gunners, which completely turned the tide and the Ameer had to run away to Kabul. Khowja Faizulla was working in close relation with the Soviet Govt. in Moscow.

In fact, when we were in Bokhara, Khowja Faizullah was in Moscow for negotiating a treaty of friendship between the Soviet Govt. in Moscow and the National Soviet at Bokhara. He came back, when we were still in Bokhara, and we had the good luck of seeing the big and enthusiastic demonstration, that greeted him on his return from Moscow, after signing the treaty which was very favourable to Bokhara. We watched the huge procession with Khowja Faizulla at the head, which passed through the main market and important roads of the city. At the end there was a huge meeting where Faizulla explained the terms of the

treaty signed by him at Moscow on behalf of the Revolutionary Govt. of Bokhara. I attended the meeting with some of my colleagues. Maulana did not think it proper to attend the meeting though he watched the procession with keen interest. Khowja Sahib spoke in a dialect of Persian and I could follow only a little but I could hear his eloquent and forceful speech, punctuated by clappings and slogans very often and very vigorously. My colleagues explained the gist of the speech to me. I thought and Maulana Obeidulla, agreed, why not a National Soviet in India. But that was a long, long way off. Under the National Soviet, people were making much progress, in the short time of a few months, after the Ameer had fled away.

One of the eye witnesses of the Revolution was Comrade M. N. Roy, who had been sent to Bokhara by the Communist International with a watching brief. In his memoirs, he has graphically described, how the Army of Liberation, tackled the problems of the revolution and particularly of the big harem of the Ameer. It was much more crude than what Amanulla had done with the equally big harem of Ameer Habibulla, after Amanullah ascended the throne. In the former case, all Begums who had no issues were allowed to marry again, whomever they wanted. Those who had children, were given stipends or state help to rehabilitate themselves. In the case of Bokhara, the soldiers simply entered the harem and took any Begum, one liked and often

there were quarrels between the soldiers themselves for the possession of any beautiful Begum and the superior officers had to arbitrate in the process of peaceful distribution, the choice of the Begum herself being the deciding factor. The Begums were taken along with their earthly possessions, clothes, ornaments etc.

Attitude to Soviet Russia

My attitude to Soviet Russia, had a thorough change in her favour, after watching the situation in Bokhara. Formerly, I was thinking that Communism was another method of exploiting the non-white Asian people by the white people. Formerly, it was in the name of Christianity that the white exploited the non-white. This idea of mine got very much modified by what I saw and learnt in Bokhara. Moulana himself was also much moved but he was rather a hard nut to crack, specially because his whole training and thinking was on the basis of religion, but even he modified his non-communist attitude very considerably. Being a convinced atheist, it was much more easy for me to take an objective view. Maulana had a short and formal interview with Khawja Faizullah, where only mutual appreciation was expressed.

To Tashkent

From Bokhara, arrangements were made for our trip to Tashkent. This time the arrangements were made by the Govt. of Bokhara. Some of us including the Moulana, were keen to reach Moscow soon, but that could not be arranged easily from Bokhara, the communications being not very quick. However, when it was decided to go to Tashkent, it was in a way happy to be able to spend a few days in a real Soviet state (not National Soviet as in Bokhara) of backward and non-white Asians.

The journey to Tashkent was eventless, only the carriage was better and also the speed

of the train. The Railways had been repaired properly up to Bokhara and the railway journey was as in India. Only it was winter and the trees were leafless and there was snow on the fields and on the leafless trees.

Uzbek Soviet

The people of Tashkent are called Uzbeks and the similarity between the Bengali word *ujbuek* (a fool) and the word *uzbek*, was made occasion for humorous references. At Tashkent we were lodged in a hotel like establishment. It was no more of the feudal type as in Bokhara. We had good rooms and beds. We had food served in the European style on tables with chairs to sit and not squatting on blankets and taking meals collectively. We were approaching Europe, and adopting European style, step by step. Now Tashkent has become an important Geographical name for Indians, as the treaty between India and Pakistan was negotiated and settled there after 18 days of war between the two countries. The good offices of Soviet Russia was welcomed by both India and Pakistan and the negotiations were direct between the two countries, Soviet Russia, being the host country, with a watching brief only. Late Lal Bahadur Shastri was the then Prime Minister of India, who had conducted the war with great grit and skill and showed that the might of India had to be reckoned with by the sabre-rattling Pak Army, in contrast with the gentle attitude and talk of late Lal Bahadur. His death soon after the conclusion of the talks at Tashkent itself, has left a poignant memory, associated with the name of Tashkent for all Indians. India was deprived of the opportunity of honouring and giving a hero's welcome to late Lal Bahadur after the successful talks. This is recent history.

But Tashkent was famous from the days of Taimur Lung. His Capital at Samarkand

has still the blue domed tomb of the great warrior with insatiable lust for conquest which Delhi and Northern India had to suffer from by his invasion. The Capital was shifted from Samarkand to Tashkent many centuries back. Now Samarkand is an abandoned city whereas Tashkent is flourishing more and more. When we reached Tashkent, we found there were two Tashkents, as we had two Delhis and two Calcuttas during the British Rule.

Two Tashkents

There was one Tashkent, with wide clean streets, better houses, streets better lighted. Where the Russian Rulers mainly used to stay and the other was dirty and congested with narrow roads and poor houses or huts. In Delhi, the new Delhi and old Delhi may be contrasted and similarly in Calcutta, Chourin-ghiee may be contrasted with Shambazar or Kidderpur.

But after the Revolution, the former rulers the Russians were no longer there, except a small garrison. All ministers were Uzbeks but still the age old difference of the two sections remained, not as Russians and Uzbeks, but at the rich and the poor sections of the town. After the Revolution, no such wide differences remained between Uzbeks and Uzbeks. Though difference of income were brought down to only 1 to 10, but some people had still some wealth accumulated in the past and not completely confiscated and so they managed to have a little higher standard of living than the other wage-earners or peasants. There was attempt to improve the 'poor' Tashkent and bring it nearer to the standard of the rich Tashkent.

N. E. P.

In Bokhara, Russians were very scarce, but in Tashkent there were many shops and business establishments, which were run by

Russians. With the introduction of New Economic Policy or NEP, many Russians restarted their shops and businesses, in the fashionable quarters. In the old or 'native' part of the city however, the old order of buying and selling, weekly markets and haggling continued unchallenged.

In the barbers shops young and attractive assistants, mostly Jewish, were engaged not for hair cuts or shaves, but to attract customers, as is the custom in Europe and specially in Japan.

There was the weekly and also daily market in the old city, where one could buy vegetables, meat and fish rather cheap and we used to frequent those markets for our special menu. There were tea shops where people used to assemble and use them as clubs. People used to take tea in rounds and rounds, eat some snacks and play chess and spend the time in gossiping. On Fridays or other holidays or leave days, the tea shops were full to the brim. They were mostly in their native dresses.

1922 and 1963

It was in 1922, but when I was returning from Moscow after three weeks tour as head of May Day delegation of Hind Mazdur Sabha in May 1963, I had to stay in Tashkent for 24 hours due to inclement weather. I made it a point to see not only the big wide roads and big houses being built in both the Tashkents (old and new or poor and rich) but made it a point to go to the old market and take tea and snacks in one of the tea shops or tea clubs there. The main difference I could see, was that many of them had European style of dress. Seeing a foreigner, they got interested and offered me a cup of tea free from their tea pot. When the tea pot was exhausted I ordered one tea pot and we all shared the tea in a leisurely manner. When I told them that I was there 41 years back, frequenting those very tea shops almost in the same conditions,

they become naturally more interested. The language used for talks was Persian mixed with Russian and I could follow them, though they had some difficulty in understanding me. Maulana also used to go with us to the same market place and sit with us in the tea shops. Long 41 years had passed and there were many new and fashionable Hotels and Restaurants had been started, but my attraction was for the old tea shops, frequented by us 41 years back. I knew much of their present day conditions of life and they freely spoke to me about themselves and they also put many intelligent questions to me about conditions in Independent India.

After a stay of about a week, arrangements for our journey to Moscow were completed and one fine morning, we went to the station and boarded the train. It was a passenger train and nine of us were put in one compartment. It was congested no doubt for a long journey of three thousand miles from Tashkent to Moscow.

One dropped in Tashkent

During these days, from crossing the river Oxus, upto our stay in Tashkent, we found out, that we were not getting the V.I.P. treatment as Maulana Obeidulla and ourselves had expected from the talks in superlatives by Ahmad Hossain. He was disappointed too, but things had changed specially due to the NEP or New Economic Policy. Moreover, Soviet Russia had the worst famine year in 1921, when millions had died of famine, for peasants refused to grow food as a protest against heavy levy by Government. By 1922, things had improved as a result of mass transportation of peasants to Siberia to starve or do slave labour. But still in December 1922, Soviet Russia was not out of the woods and almost famine conditions prevailed. Hence the treatment given to us, was far short of expectations. We, rather the Maulana, decided that we should reduce our number as much as possible. The advance party should proceed to Moscow as quickly as possible and the rest would be sent for from Moscow, if the conditions were favourable. Maulana's idea was that out of ten of us

five should start first and the other five should wait at Tashkent, till he sent for them. But it did not work. Ahmad Hossain had to go to make arrangements and Abdul Aziz was his Ward. The Maulana was the most important person and his trusted lieutenant Jaffar Hossain and his nephew, his personal attendant could not be left back. Iqbal Sadai and his ward Quader also could not be left out. Dr. Noor Md., the only one who had ample resources of his own could not be left out. I volunteered to stay back, but being the only man from Bengal and incidentally, the only Hindu could not be allowed to remain behind—that was the firm opinion of Maulana. The only one who could be left behind was Abdul Rashid, the teacher and he arranged to do so voluntarily. It was thought that he could stay at Bokhara or even go back to Kabul and be a teacher once more and thus keep the line of communication between India and the Maulana, wherever he might be.

Ultimately Abdul Rashid, the school master was left behind. There was not much money to spare for him, but all the surplus articles which were bought in Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif and brought by individuals with them for fear of not getting them in Russia viz extra suits, shirts, under wear, boots, slippers, boot polish, tooth pastes etc were left behind with Abdul Rashid. The NEP allowed us to buy them and there was no necessity to carry them. This reduced our luggage to one-third only. I had not much to spare, but I left my bed sized, Persian carpet which I had bought at Mazar-e Shareef and also my pasthin or sheep skin which smelt sheeplike, as the fleece was not properly treated. The last one was almost a good riddance, as the others in the team had been objecting to it. Abdul Rashid was to dispose of them as best as he could. The total value was about Rs. 2000/- in all. Even if he could dispose of them at half the price, it would be neat little sum to last him some 6 months at least. It was not an ideal arrangement. But there was no other alternative.

So, from Tashkent 9 of us sped towards Moscow in December 1922, in a passenger train.

PARKINSON'S LAWS

JATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

Professor C. Northcote Parkinson, once a professor of History in Malaya, has become law-giver to all who sit at a desk. His principle of work dilatation and staff expansion is, in its own sphere, as perturbing as Darwin's theory of natural selection and Freud's theories of sex and the unconscious.

Before he put forward his now well-known Parkinson's Law, the name Parkinson was in vogue only in the medical world in connection with Parkinson's disease or shivering palsy. Now it is associated with diseases of bureaucracy and business administration,

While a professor of History in Malaya, he wrote an article in 1931, entitled "The Educationists and the Pyramid", as a rejoinder to a politician, who had reportedly assured a conference on adult education that governments in Malaya were over-worked and understaffed. He questioned whether over-working was a symptom of under staffing. According to him "A large staff creates work for itself by a law of its own nature which has yet to be plotted on a graph, and it grows still larger by a progression best shown as oversteepening course". The rule is that to raise the summit of your pyramid you must widen the base. This is Parkinson's law in embryo. He little dreamt then that he would one day rock the foundations of bureaucracy and big business.

It was only in 1955 that he gave the final shape to the idea by writing an article published in the London "Economist" and in 1957, the essay was published in book form, along with other perceptive studies, under the title

"Parkinson's Law." According to him, "Work expands so as to fill the time available for its completion". Even the bureaucrat, now acknowledge the truth of Parkinson's Law after they have put in their pension papers.

The Law is in the form of a Syllogism. The major premise is that officials want to multiply their subordinates, not their rivals. The minor premise is officials make work for one another. The conclusion is, work is in no way related to staff expansion. By inference it is related only to the time factor.

The working of Parkinson's Law is best seen in large organisations with a strongly hierarchical structure and large quantities of paper work, to which every employee contributes his mite. Instead of searching for post-cards and addresses etc. by an elderly lady wishing to write a post-card to her niece and requiring an hour in finding the post-card, another hour in hunting for spectacles, another half an hour in search of the address etc., a paragraph is struck out from a draft by an employee in a large organisation and another of identical import substituted or a file is passed on from desk to desk till it reaches an employee, who can not claim that it is not his baby.

Parkinson propped up his Law with statistics from the British Navy Estimates and the Cabinet Office. He demonstrated how, in one case, the clerical staff has increased by leaps and bounds with the decline in the number of capital ships in commission, and, how, in the other, it has gone from strength to strength as the number of Britain's colonies decreased.

'The Law and the Profits' exposes the twin themes of Parkinson, viz., waste in administration and excessive taxation. In it he enunciated his Second Law, namely, 'expenditure rises to 'meet income'. It is a serious work with under-lying humour. If Kinsey fathered applying statistics to sex, Parkinson pioneered in showing that figures can be tinged with fun. According to him, excessive taxation is like killing the goose that lays golden eggs. It (excessive taxation) has played a great part in the gradual dwindling of many States, both ancient and modern, and was an upshot of extravagance and waste. It often became a cause for revolt and rebellion. In modern times, the tax-payer seems to be helpless about high taxation. He does in fact evade the tax when the cost of evasion becomes less than the cost of paying up. Alternatively there might be flight of capital. The mortal limit of taxation, in times of peace, is 36 per cent of the national income.

Parkinson's researches on Comitology have demonstrated that committee has an optimum size, beyond which it ceases to be effective, as conversations develop in eddies and pools in different parts of the table. Experiments have confirmed his observations about the behaviour of groups. One person (the ideas specialist) does most of the talking, while another (the most-liked man) does most of the dittoing, and the rest are the 'don't know' types, which constitute the 'centre block'.

In the working of a finance committee, the critical point at which the members lose interest in the items on the agenda, is when the sum involved passes beyond their comprehension, for example, £ 100 million, what is beneath their notice, for example £50. This is the Law of Triviality.

Parkinson has great in-sights into the organic nature of human organisations, be they committees, industrial empires or depart-

ments of government. Like living beings, these are subject to the biological law of birth, growth and death. His Third Law avers "Expansion means complexity, and complexity leads to decay. Perfection of planning is achieved only by institutions on the point of collapse". A magnificent edifice generally houses a moribund organisation. The great days of the Papacy were no more when Basilica and the Vatican were even planned. New Delhi was constructed when the British Empire was already on the wane.

The diseases of organisations are similar to those of the human beings. The symptoms of the disease are inefficiency, smugness and finally decay. Cure in the primary stage consists in the injection of drugs, Intolerance, Ridicule and Castigation. In the Secondary stage, blood transfusion is required. In the third stage, there is no known recipe for the malaise, and the building should be destroyed to prevent further infection, after heavily insuring it.

Parkinson discovered sex in the Limited Liability Company. A male organisation has a rough exterior and is inclined to be extravagant and aggressive in its methods. The female organisation has neat, tidy offices, and is likely to be cautious and fussy over details. The sexuality of firms became manifest during the Great Depression, when they embraced with one another, and underwent mergers.

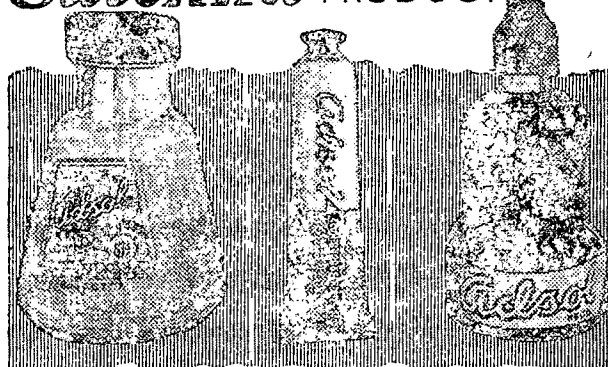
Parkinson's literary ancestors are John Mansfield, Hilaire Belloc and G.K.Chesterton. He resembles Chesterton in his frequent use of paradox to startle the reader, but unlike G. K. Chesterton, who often sells the reader a dummy, Parkinson gives facts and figures to buttress an apparently absurd statement. As a humorist he belongs to the down-roarious school, which employs under-statement and is more subtle than the humour of exaggeration. A favourite device of his is to introduce an air of absurdity with that of solemnity.

In common with other humorists, he is not fortunate with his serious writings. He recently complained that his wrong book, namely, Parkinson's Law, has attracted the greatest attention, where as his most important book "East and West" almost goes unnoticed. It is just like Lewis Carroll, who has become immortal for 'Alice in Wonderland', while his mathematical books have sunk into oblivion.

Parkinson's Laws have spread their tentacles in administration and big business in India as well. The personnel of the bureaucracy is

getting more inflated day by day. Nearly two-third of the entire revenue goes to meet the expenses of the public servants, as in the case of Kerala and other States. Public Sector undertakings share the same fate. Yet there are frequent strikes, bunds etc. to enhance the wages of the public servants, though there is no machinery to enforce the corresponding duty of full work to inculcate efficiency and to increase production to ensure economic prosperity among the members from the highest to the lowest cadre of the bureaucracy.

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Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Industrial Disputes Act Outdated

The following extract is from the *Coal Field Tribune*.

Asansol, April 23. West Bengal Labour Minister Dr. Gopal Das Nag told the reporters here to-day that the Industrial Disputes Act was out-dated and it should be amended to suit the time. In regard to police intervention in labour disputes, Dr. Nag said that "under normal case, police will not interfere into democratic trade union movement nor police will be utilised to curb trade union rights of workers. Police, he said, however, would interfere in case of breach of peace in industry. He also stated that the casual and the temporary workers engaged in industries would be brought into permanent basis. In regard to re-opening of closed mines, Dr. Nag stated that Govt. was alive to the situation and very soon it would take the matter with the Centre because, coal was Centre's jurisdiction.

In a sense all legislation becomes obsolete as changes occur in the social, industrial, political and other fields of life. But legislations continue to function until suitable amendments are clearly and precisely worked out by constructive thinkers. Mere criticism does not achieve anything useful.

Brahmo Movement of Orissa

Prof. Amiya Kumar Sen has written an interesting account of the growth of the Brahmo Samaj in Orissa in the *Indian Messenger*. The Brahmo Samaj changed and developed the nation's social and moral ideals and attitude very profoundly and the history of the Brahmo Samaj is an integral part of the history of modern India and of the change over from

mediaevalism to a progressive outlook. We are giving certain excerpts from Prof. Sen's article.

A branch of the Adi Brahmo Samaj was established in Cuttuck by Maharshi Devendranath Tagore when he came to visit his zamindari in 1861. Babus Jagamohun Ray, Gourisankar Ray, Trailokyanath Mukherjee and others were associated with the Samaj. Weekly Divine Service according to the ritual of the Adi Brahmo Samaj was held every Wednesday at a Mandir constructed through the efforts of Babu Jagamohun Ray. In 1869 Babu Haranath Bhattacharyya came to Cuttuck as a Professor in the college classes attached to the Cuttuck Zilla School. Educated in the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta, he, very early in life, came under the influence of Keshub Chandra Sen and, though not formally initiated into Brahmoism, led his life according to its principles. Some worked with him and accepted the Brahmo religion. Among them Pyarimohun Acharyya, Madhusudan Rao and Chaturbhuj Pattanaik were the leaders.

Madhusudan was the centre of the entire group. During his career in the education department he, through his poems and essays prescribed as text-books for young students, through journals that he edited, through the sermons he preached, spread the ideals of the Samaj among the people of Orissa. He established the Town School for placing high and liberal ideals before young students. On his initiative eminent Brahmos came to Orissa as teachers and strengthened the influence of the Brahmo Samaj.

Pearymohun, a serious and meditative young man, was enthusiastic about all progre-

ssive movements. Even when he was a student he started in 1871 a journal, *Utkal Putra*, where he and his associates fearlessly criticised the actions of the authorities. For one of its articles he was expelled from the school. Convinced of the necessity of another school in the town he, along with Pandit Govinda Nath, developed an existing pathsala into a school. For defraying its expenses he led a very frugal life and utilised all that he could thus save. He afterwards became the Manager of Dompara state and spent all his income for meeting the deficit of the school. He wrote a learned History of Orissa which was for some time used as a text-book. He was a speaker of no mean order and used to spread liberal ideas on educational and social reform through his speeches. His was a very short life of usefulness and he died in 1881.

Haranath Bhattacharyya established the Utkal Brahmo Samaj in 1869. It used to hold its sittings every Saturday evening, in the Adi Brahmo Samaj building with the permission of the Managing Committee.

Meantime a group of youngmen attracted by the sermons of Madhusudan joined the Brahmo Samaj. Viswanath Kar was going away from Cuttuck to join his appointment as a teacher in Nirole. He accidentally attended the maghotsab at the Mandir. Madhusudan's fervent prayer and sermon delivered on that occasion changed his entire outlook on life. He joined the Brahmo Samaj and, boldly confronting the oppressions of orthodoxy, continued to serve it till the end of his life. He edited *Utkal Sahitya* for long thirty eight years and made it a power in Orissa. By his lifelong endeavours he established a high standard of literature, which strongly influenced modern writers. His strong personality left its stamp in all the different spheres of activities, social literary and political in which he participated.

Sadhucharan Ray joined the Brahmo Samaj inspite of the oppressions of his relatives. He showed great moral courage and faced all critical situations fairly and squarely. As a teacher of Pyarimohan Academy and the Cuttuck Town School he tried to instill into his pupils higher ideals both social and religious. He was a noted man of letters. He was one of the principal contributors to *Utkal Sahitya*, edited *Nabasambad* and wrote several books of poetry. He was an active worker of the Utkal Brahmo Samaj.

World Bank and Pakistan

Patrick Keatby writing in *Guardian Weekly* says:

"The World Bank is believed to have completed its report on the debt crisis of President Yahya Khan and his Administration in Pakistan and is forwarding copies to Britain and the seven other Western Governments in the Aid Consortium.

"The document has been prepared by a senior official of the bank, Mr. I Cargill, who spent the first part of last week (week ending May 8th 1971) in Rawalpindi collecting information and interviewing senior officials of the Pakistan Government. Mr. Cargill acts as chairman of the consortium meetings.

"Member-Governments of the consortium can act individually if they decide, and the United States has already told President Yahya that American military and economic aid has ceased and will not resume until certain conditions are accepted by his Government. This was conveyed by Washington about a fortnight ago and clearly involved conditions bearing on the actions of the Pakistan troops in East Bengal, where the nationalist movement under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has been banned.

"The U. S. has also turned down an emergency mission sent to Washington recently

by President Yahya with a request for £ 40 millions in economic aid.

"On April 30 Pakistan was forced to announce postponement of interest and other servicing payments on her existing foreign aid programme. It is believed that these payments, amounting to about £ 80 millions, were due in the period beginning May 1. President Yahya's Government now says that it will attempt to resume payments on November 1.

"The report...will...guide...the Governments of the Aid Consortium in deciding on a joint strategy over Pakistan...experts...feel...Yahya's problems are insoluble as long as he continues.....military repression."

Phenomenal Growth of State Expenditure

We are reproducing below the Rajasthan letter published in *Swarajya* weekly of May 8, 1971. The statement showing the states financial condition as compared to what it was like about twenty years ago is interesting in so far as it is typical of what has happened in the other states of India. The central government too falls in line with the states in matters financial.

Jaipur, April 22: Since Rajasthan came into being the *per capita* tax burden has been on the increase—going up to Rs. 37.99 during 1971-72. In 1950-51 the tax burden was only Rs. 6.99, both direct and indirect. In other words, the *per capita* tax burden has increased by Rs 31 in the last 20 years.

According to the Finance Minister, Mr Mathura Das Mathur, the Rajasthan Budget in 1950-51 had shown a surplus of Rs 1.15 crores as against the staggering deficit of Rs 25.51 crores registered during 1971-72. On March 31, 1951, the Government's total debts were to the tune of Rs 9.57 crores, compared to Rs. 674.14 crores at the close of 1970-71. No doubt, the value of the assets has

correspondingly gone up from Rs 24.56 crores then to Rs 588.95 crores now.

Talking about the *per capita* income, Mr Mathur said that it was only Rs 233 in 1954-55. According to the revised estimates of 1969-70, the *per capita* income of Rajasthan has gone up to Rs 496. He also said that during 1971-72 the State's administrative expenditure would be 56.37 per cent of the total revenue expenditure.

The Government came under heavy fire in the State Assembly during the five-day general discussion on the budget for 1971-72. Not without surprise some Congress members also criticized the Government for increasing its administrative expenditure by resorting to overdrafts. The members pointed out that the fiscal position of the Government had become extremely critical and urged that immediate remedial measures be taken. They also asked the Government to effect economy in its administrative expenditure.

Mr Sukhadia intervening in the debate, justified the heavy loans the Government had taken in order to build up the infrastructure of the State's economy. He assured the members that the Government was in a position to repay the loan besides meeting its interest liability. The Chief Minister said that acute famine conditions in a major part of Rajasthan during the last ten years had shattered the economy in the countryside.

The Finance Minister said that it might not be possible to find out productive and non-productive investments made by the last 20 years. He however admitted that the interest liability of the Government had increased to Rs 35 crores.

Moshe Dayan Speaks

There is much talk about Arab Israeli settlement now. It does not appear that either side will agree to any substantive compromise. The Defence Minister of Israel,

Mr. Moshe Dayan says, "we want security, not documents" and sums up his statement in the following manner.

"Finally, a few words on our army. I want to state just one thing, a very general formula—namely, that it is our belief that, should the Egyptians decide to resume the war, the Israel Defence Force will not be routed. All of us—soldiers and civilians alike—wish for the cease-fire to turn into permanent peace. But in addition to its wish for peace, the Israel Defence Force is also equipped, drawn up and prepared for war. I trust that not only we, but also our neighbours and their advisors, are aware of this. And this will perhaps decide their considerations and pave the way for serious peace negotiations."

News From Holland

We reproduce the following from *The Netherlands*:

State of the Netherlands increases its interest in KLM to 70%

The holding of the State of the Netherlands in Royal Dutch Airlines (KLM) is to be raised from something over 50% to about 70%. To this end the net worth of the company will be increased by f200 million to f 510.54 million. This f 200 million will be issued exclusively to the State of the Netherlands in the form of 10% preference shares.

At the same time the Government credit guarantees granted to KLM will be prolonged and raised from f 100 million to f 200 million. The law which enabled the Government to grant guarantees up to f 100 million to KLM expired on 1st January, 1971.

You can have an Electro Cardiogram made by Telephone in the Netherlands ?

The Dutch Postal Service has developed equipment making it possible to transmit an electro-cardiogram by telephone, using the ordinary cables. This new technique, described as "telecardiography", enables economy

doctors of the postal service to pass an electro-cardiogram by telephone to the headquarters of their organisation's central medical service, located in The Hague. An electrocardiogram is a graph of the changes of electric current occurring during the action of the heart muscle and it is one of the most important aids to the study of normal and abnormal heart conditions.

A rather similar transmission technique is already in use in other parts of the world. But this technique is unsuitable for the Dutch telephone cable network, and furthermore works well on short distance only. The techniques developed by the Dutch postal service is geared to the properties of the telephone system in Holland and can be used for long-distance transmission, as well.

The development may be seen as a continuation of a Dutch tradition, for cardiography was, in fact, developed in this country. The basis for it was laid by Holland's Nobel-Prize winning physiologist Professor Willem Einthoven, who died in 1927.

State and Private Enterprise

J. B. Kripalani has contributed a very interesting article on the above subject in the *Swarajya* of May 29, 1971. We reproduce below his major contentions :

In politics one can use words that are undefined and lack content. One can indulge in double talk and half-truths and slogans. One can say one thing and mean another and do something quite different. For instance, a dictatorship may be called a democracy—people's democracy, grass-root democracy, guided democracy, etc. One can talk of peace between nations, produce armaments and supply them to other countries who want to use them for aggressive purposes and even to suppress legitimate and peaceful freedom movements, within their own borders. A nation can talk of peaceful co-existence and yet

enslave weaker neighbours and tell them that this is being done for their own good, to civilize them or to change their social order for the better. A nation can call aggression self-defence. Politicians can acquire dictatorial powers maintaining the form of democracy. There is nothing in politics which cannot be made to appear what it is not by the manipulation of words and phrases.

This manipulation through words is not possible in economics; at least it is much less possible. Anyway, it can soon be found out. This is because economics has less to do with words and more to do with the hard facts of life. For instance, it deals with the creation of wealth, its exchange and distribution. These processes cannot be done by the manipulation of words and phrases or by indulging in slogans. One cannot create wealth by misguiding people through words as one can acquire power in the political field. A government can be changed by a military or a political coup, but economic power cannot be created through a coup. It requires hard labour; it requires capital, which can come only from previous savings; it requires knowhow; it requires an established and functioning social order.

In India, we have been trying to establish socialism merely by repeating the word, by striking attitudes or by trying to divide existing wealth, which may or may not be used for future production. Such short-cuts to increased production may help win political elections, but they cannot create wealth. They cannot provide employment or reduce poverty.

For many years now, we have been arguing about the respective merits of the private and State undertakings. We have been conditioned to think that wealth is best created and fairly distributed through State and not through private enterprise. We seem to think that wealth is created without previous savings but through taxation, or through foreign borrowings or, worse still, through inflation. We

also seem to believe that the wealth of the capitalists is the result of the exploitation of labour, as the capitalists work for private profit. It is forgotten that if a capitalist did not use his savings for expanding industry, it will soon disappear. It will yield no profit to the capitalist. The capitalist can enjoy his ill-begotten wealth only for a time. For the continued enjoyment of his savings he must reinvest his savings.

In India, the fact is conveniently ignored that all enterprise, whether in the so-called State or so-called private sector, is national. State enterprise may not be properly run. In that case, it will work against the best interests of the nation and even of labour, for whose benefit it is supposed to have been undertaken. On the other hand, private enterprise working for private profit may be so well conducted as to benefit labour, the consumer and the nation and also make some savings for future production. If these conditions are fulfilled by State enterprise, it will also be equally beneficial to all the parties concerned. The conflict is not and should not be between State and private enterprise but between enterprise well and efficiently run against enterprise inefficient and wastefully managed.

The affluent nations in the West as well as Japan and Formosa, have all prospered through so-called private enterprise, well organized and well conducted. Labour in these countries enjoys facilities not available even to the middle class people in the developing countries. In affluent societies, a labourer working in the private sector owns a neat little house, his own private car, a telephone, a refrigerator, a radio and television set in his house. His children have a fair amount of basic education which they can increase so as to be able to occupy the highest positions in a democracy. The labourer in these countries enjoys more comforts than the labourer

communist countries where all economic activity is in State hands.

In addition, the former enjoys democratic freedom. He values this freedom. He controls to a great extent the government, through the vote. He could clothe the State if he so desired with power to manage the entire economic life of his country; but he is zealous of his rights as a free citizen.

Man may make a machine and be enslaved by his own creation. The common people in affluent societies seem to have learnt the dictum of Lord Atkin that, 'power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. They, therefore, do not want to arm the State both with political and with economic power. They do not want the State to force them to be happy. They want to enjoy the fruits of their labour in the way they think best, while not interfering with the similar liberty of others. They have realized that they can do this only in a climate of freedom of the individual, guaranteed by democracy. Labour in affluent countries is against communism, because it believes that under democracy with all its shortcomings, the members of its class are the masters in their homes, which they consider their castle.

I am afraid that some intellectuals and politicians in India are so enamoured of the 'socialism' that they refuse to think in real economic terms. They believe that State enterprise is capitalism. It is, therefore, imperialism. This may have been true in the days of Marx. There were empires before the rise of capitalism. They forget that private enterprise, small European empires like the Baltic States, Switzerland, New Zealand, Canada and several others did not become imperialists. They believe that enterprise, under democratic conditions, has brought all the economic advancement that has not been achieved under communist societies, there are,

of course, people who possess great wealth. But the labourer is not jealous of this wealth because he enjoys the basic necessities of life, which keep on increasing with enhanced economic production and general prosperity. The Labour Party in Britain has tried to establish social justice without claiming to have established 'socialism' which word is vague and undefined.

The question then arises: "Why do some of our intellectuals and politicians fail to see that the economic problem in India, as elsewhere in democratic countries, is not whether private or State enterprise works for the public good? Both can work for the good of the nation as we have said before, if they are run properly. Both can harm the nation if defectively run. Rather, an improperly run State enterprise may prove to be worse as, both its capital and losses are borne by the helpless tax-payer who is generally poor.

If some intelligent people in India are against private enterprise and in favour of State enterprise even when they criticize its working, they are so, may I submit, because they feel that the advocacy of State enterprise is radical, leftist and socialist politics. Their preference has little to do with economic considerations. This is the politicalization of economics, which should stand on its own feet and be judged by its own laws and standards.

Politics and economics will prosper when each observes its own laws, so to say, its own 'Dharma'. Maybe the *Dharma* of Economics is inferior to that of politics. But, inferior though it be, it will benefit the country if it follows its own laws. In an organized society no department of life works in isolation. There are predominantly political, economic, social, moral and religious departments of life, each controlled and governed by its own laws and formulations.

In what I have written, it must not be

thought that I am in favour of private as against State enterprise. I am in favour of neither, nor against either. My submission is, let both systems be judged on their merits and not on grounds of political ideas, ideologies and slogans. Each must be judged by the advantage accruing therefrom in terms of public good or the good of all.

Robbery with Violence to Secure arms and explosives

The police in India do not feel ashamed of their own ineffectiveness ; nor are they considered to be useless by our top ranking politicians by reason of their failure to protect the lives and properties of the citizens of India. So India continues to maintain a large and expensive police force, while thieves, robbers, wagon breakers, murderers, bomb throwers and all other varieties of criminals move about freely and indulge in their evil practices without much inconvenience. No one has made a statistical study of crimes in India and worked out the percentages of detections, prosecutions and convictions. But the general impression is that of the numerous crimes committed very few are detected and sent up for trial.

The police have recently been faced with a very large number of robberies for obtaining arms and explosives. The following extract from the *Coal Field Tribune* gives a typical example.

"Asansol, May, 5. About 42,000 high explosive detonators were said to have been stolen at the small hours on May 3 from the magazine of Sripur Group of Collieries."

"The miscreants overpowered the magazine guards and made good their escape with the booty. This is the second big theft of detonators from colliery magazine in about one month's time. It may be recalled that 31,000 high explosive detonators, and 17,000 ft. safety fuse were stolen from the New Satgram Colliery magazine on April, 5."

The police have not been able to do anything remarkable in stopping this type of crime either. The only thing they have been able to suggest is that people should not keep any arms, but deposit the same with the police. But arms are also stolen from police armoury. Some cases are recorded where armed police men have been overpowered by miscreants who have snatched away the arms in the possession of the armed policemen. In such circumstances arms kept in the custody of the police are no more safe than if they were kept by their owners. The only thing that will help will be legislation permitting the use of fire arms against persons who try to steal or rob the same. Handing over fire arms to the police will be of no use ; for the police will never be able to give protection to the life and property of the people who now hold licences for fire arms. The police will then perhaps suggest that people should deposit their cash, ornaments and other valuables with the police too. Looting does not end with gold or silver either. In Birbhum and Burdwan, for instance, cutting off other people's crops, removing paddy from granaries by force and chasing the rightful owners by setting fire to their houses have been fairly common. The Police cannot prevent these acts of lawlessness. They even did not suggest that the crops and grain should be deposited with the police in safe custody.

In short the Police cannot grant safe custody to anything. The entire police organisation has become ineffective and should be replaced by a more reliable and efficient organisation. Legislation can do any good to strengthen the enforcement of such laws rests in the hands of untrustworthy sympathisers of the criminals. The public should insist on setting up a new organisation for protecting property. They must force the government to agree to this.

cor ses in the Sun

acti he New Statesman in its editorial says :
 free arvation has been a weapon of war since
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 what he wants. For two weeks, the
 ral's closest adviser, Mr. M. M. Ahmed,
 been trying to bring pressure on the
 cl-ican Government and the International
 cometary Fund, for a handout now and a big
 de e commitment. He has been telling them,
 men ect, that his country is bankrupt. The
 hom war is costing some \$2m. a day. It has

I wed up Pakistan's foreign exchange
 politic s—more than half of which originated
 word st wing. It has been estimated that
 practiced and his master require \$500m. to
 private the western half of Pakistan alone—
 fore impenion the amount needed to repair
 in the dng damage which natural and man-
 before tasters have inflicted upon the east.
 despite pin reaction is to give Yahya the
 countries like Islamabad government has long
 Australia, New West, not least through the army
 others have naich provided its last two
 equal that private alist governments in general
 elec discipline, gives the preserving the status quo.
 ordines, promised book about non-interfe-
 as munism. In affil of sovereign states and

these tend to be applied in an especial
 cynical way to breakaway movements in the
 Third World. We patronisingly agree that
 would be wrong to hurt ir feeling by takir
 sides, when in truth we are intervening, on
 behalf of the powers that be. However, this
 time the built in mechanism has not operated
 quite so smartly as Mr. Ahmed hoped. Public
 feeling in the US appear to have been unexpect-
 tedly hostile. The message had got through
 that this was not a little local difficulty, but a
 brutal attempt to crush a democratically elected
 majority party. Unless West Pakistan can
 produce some sort of political solution, it may
 be difficult to persuade the senate to pay
 up.

For Yahya, promises of aid would
 certificate of respectability. Th
 gestures he is ready to make to
 is the prospect of a return
 including negotiations with the A
 But 'truck with secessionis' and
 although the phrase may ha isible
 ring in European ears, it is p onsense.
 Ninety percent of the East agalis, at a
 conservative estimate, are secessionists now.

A team from the World Bank is about to
 arrive in Bangla Desh to study the situation
 there, and a lot will depend on their report
 back at the end of the month. It will matter
 a good deal, for instance, how far they are
 convinced that the present Pakistan govern-
 ment intends to keep even the promises it has
 so far made. To put it bluntly, any aid given
 to Yahya, if it is in cash, could simply be used
 to prolong the war. If it consists of sacks of
 food, the East Bengalis assume it will be given
 first to the army, and that what is left over
 will be used as an instrument of coercion.

The problem from Britain is how to com-
 bine humanitarian commitment with expedient
 politics. On an elementary level, these
 converge in the question of getting food and

medical supplies through to the people most in need. There are two options. First, we should insist that the relief be internationally administered. There is, however, evidence that the West Pakistanis are determined to resist any such terms. In which case, there is a short-term alternative. The rich countries could take on—via government grants, UN agencies, and charities—the job of feeding the five or six million people now in refugee camps. India cannot cope alone. It might also be possible, at the same time, to allow some supplies to be taken across the frontier by supporters of—let us stress it once more—the democratically elected Bengali government.

Two things become very clear from the excerpts. One is that Yahya Khan's

lies are not convincing even his best friends. He has committed barbarous atrocities, murdered a million men, women and children, chased out of hearth and home five million innocent members of his own country and exposed the rest of the people of East Bengal to terrifying prospects of famine and pestilence, wantonly out of a criminal lust for power. The peoples of the world are not going to trust him even with relief material, leave alone cash. The British have doubts about America's official policy relating to Pakistan; but they are sure that many countries like "France, Italy, Holland, Canada and West Germany will refuse to buy guns for Yahya's army, or bullets for his troops." That will reduce the chances of a war between India and Pakistan too.

